

# **Exhibit 3**

*The Andrew Goodman Foundation v. Bostelmann*, No. 19-cv-955 (WD Wisc.)

**Expert Report of Kenneth R. Mayer, Ph.D.**

**January 21, 2020**

**I. Introduction and Summary of Conclusions**

I have been asked by Plaintiffs in the above-captioned matter to offer an opinion about the effects of the college and university ID provisions of Wisconsin Act 23 on young voter participation in Wisconsin elections after Act 23's enactment. This report provides that analysis and concludes that Act 23 reduced registration and turnout among students in the 2016 and 2018 elections, below what it would have been had the requirements not been in effect. The number of student registrations declined significantly between 2012 and 2016, and between 2014 and 2018, and changes in student turnout were far below the national turnout figures for college and university students.

I am being compensated at a rate of \$350 per hour for my services in this matter.

**II. Qualifications and Expertise**

I have a Ph.D. in political science from Yale University, where my graduate training included courses in econometrics and statistics. My undergraduate degree is from the University of California, San Diego, where I majored in political science and minored in applied mathematics. I have been on the faculty of the political science department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison since August 1989. My curriculum vitae is attached to this report as Appendix B.

All publications that I have authored and published in the past ten years appear in my curriculum vitae. Those publications include the following peer-reviewed journals: *Journal of Politics*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Election Law Journal*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *American Politics Research*, *Congress and the Presidency*, *Public Administration Review*, *Political Research Quarterly*, and *PS: Political Science and Politics*. I have also published in law reviews, including the *Richmond Law Review*, the *UCLA Pacific Basin Law Journal*, and the *University of Utah Law Review*. My work on campaign finance has been published in *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Regulation*, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, *Richmond Law Review*, the *Democratic Audit of Australia*, and in an edited volume on electoral competitiveness published by the Brookings Institution Press. My research on campaign finance has been cited by the U.S. Government Accountability Office, and by legislative research offices in Connecticut and Wisconsin.

My work on election administration has been published in the *Election Law Journal*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Public Administration Review*, *Political Research Quarterly*, and *American Politics Research*. I was part of a research group retained by the Wisconsin Government Accountability Board to review their compliance with federal mandates and reporting systems under the Help America Vote Act, and to survey local election officials throughout the state. I serve on the Steering Committee of the Wisconsin Elections Research Center, a unit with the UW-Madison College of Letters and Science. In 2012, I was retained by the United States Department of Justice to analyze data and methods regarding Florida's efforts to identify and remove claimed ineligible noncitizens from the statewide file of registered voters.

In the past nine years, I have testified as an expert witness in trial, deposition, or report in the following cases:

Federal: *Kumar v. Frisco Independent School District*, No. 4:19-cv-00284 (E.D. Tex. 2019); *Vaughan v. Lewisville Independent School District*, No. 4:19-cv-00109 (E.D. Tex. 2019); *Tyson v. Richardson Independent School District*, No. 3:18-cv-00212 (N.D. Tex. 2018); *Dwight et al. v Raffensperger*, No. 1:18-cv-2869-RWS (N.D. Ga. 2018); *League of Women Voters of Michigan, et al. v. Johnson*, No. 2:17-cv-14148-DPH-SDD (S.D. Mich. 2018); *One Wis. Institute, Inc. v. Thomsen* 198 F. Supp. 3d 896 (W.D. Wis. 2016); *Whitford v. Gill*, 218 F. Supp. 3d 837 (W.D. Wis. 2016); *Baldus v. Members of Wis. Gov't Accountability Bd.*, 849 F. Supp. 2d 840 (E.D. Wis. 2012).

State: *Priorities U.S.A., et al. v. Missouri, et al.*, No. 19AC-CC00226 (Cir. Ct. of Cole Cty., MO 2018); *Milwaukee Branch of the NAACP v. Walker*, 851 N.W. 2d 262 (Wis. 2014); *Kenosha Cty. v. City of Kenosha*, No. 11-CV-1813 (Wis. Cir. Ct., Kenosha Cty., WI 2011).

Courts consistently have accepted my expert opinions, and the basis for those opinions. No court has ever excluded my expert opinion under *Daubert* or any other standard. Courts have cited my expert opinions in their decisions, finding my opinions reliable and persuasive. See *Priorities U.S.A., et al. v. Missouri, et al.*, No. 19AC-CC00226 (Cir. Ct. Cole Cty., MO); *Whitford v. Gill*, 218 F. Supp. 3d 837 (W.D. Wis. 2016); *One Wis. Inst., Inc. v. Thomsen* 198 F. Supp. 3d 896 (W.D. Wis. 2016); *Baldus v. Members of Wis. Gov't Accountability Bd.*, 849 F. Supp. 2d 840 (E.D. Wis. 2012); *Milwaukee Branch of the NAACP v. Walker*, 851 N.W. 2d 262 (Wis. 2014); *Baumgart v. Wendelberger*, No. 01-C-0121, 2002 WL 34127471 (E.D. Wis. May 30, 2002).

### III. Background

Wisconsin Act 23, which went into effect in 2016, requires voters to show a qualifying photo ID at the polls before obtaining a ballot (absentee voters must show ID before receiving a ballot if they vote in person, or provide a photocopy of an ID when applying by mail). The most common forms of qualifying ID are a Wisconsin driver's license or state-issued Department of Motor Vehicles photo ID. Individuals lacking a WI license or ID must use another form of identification, such as a passport, military or veterans ID, college/university ID, or a special DMV-issued ID solely for voting.

College and university student IDs qualify as a voter ID only if they include a signature, a date of issuance, and have an expiration date no more than two years after the date of issuance. Students using this form of ID also must show proof that they are currently enrolled at the institution that issued the ID.

Approximately 230,000 students are enrolled at 4-year accredited public or private colleges and universities in Wisconsin.<sup>1</sup> Standard IDs at most of these institutions do not qualify as voter ID, because they are issued for more than two years or lack a signature. While many institutions also provide a second, qualifying ID for voting use upon request, obtaining this second ID generally requires a separate trip to a registrar or other office that issues the voting ID. And students, of course, must be aware that they need to obtain such an ID. To my knowledge, the only UW campuses with a standard qualifying ID are Eau Claire, Green Bay, Stout, and Superior. The only private institutions with a standard qualifying ID are Beloit, Edgewood, Lakeland, Marian, Mount Mary, Northland, Ripon, and Wisconsin Lutheran.

The student ID requirements of Act 23 impose a particular burden on students. Students whose standard ID does not qualify must acquire and then retain their voter ID for up to two years, even though

---

<sup>1</sup> This does not include the roughly 55,000 full-time equivalent students in the Wisconsin Technical College system or at 2-year UW campuses.

they might use it only a handful of times. This imposes both information and time costs on students, who would have to reacquire a voter ID every two years. In addition, unlike every other form of qualifying ID, student IDs for voting have a specific geographic requirement, as students must also show that they are currently enrolled at an institution to use a student ID. These requirements are administrative deadweight that do nothing to enhance the ability of these IDs to demonstrate or prove student identity, the purpose of requiring a photo voter ID for voting. Rather, it only adds a burden, as students would already have to establish residency in order to register to vote.<sup>2</sup> Neither a signature, 2-year expiration date, nor proof of enrollment is necessary in order to establish identity.

While all students without a qualifying voter ID are burdened by these restrictions, the burden will likely fall most heavily on students originally from outside Wisconsin, who are less likely to have a Wisconsin driver's license or state ID: obtaining one requires the individual to surrender an out of state license or ID, something that a qualified Wisconsin registrant in college may be reluctant to do (even if they meet the residency requirement for voting).<sup>3</sup> In 2016, I found that 21.4% of registered voters in wards in an around Wisconsin college campuses lacked a Wisconsin driver's license or state-ID card, a rate almost three times that of all registered voters.<sup>4</sup>

These administrative requirements will make it harder for students - particularly the roughly 35,000 out of state U.S. residents who attend a UW System 4-year campus - to vote in Wisconsin. The academic literature on election administration has consistently confirmed that administrative complexity creates barriers to participation (whether voting or with respect to other government programs; *see* Herd and Moynihan 2018). I have conducted research establishing that the complexity of voter ID requirements leads to confusion: in a recent study of nonvoting registrants, half of individuals who cited lack of ID as the main reason they did not vote actually possessed a qualifying ID but did not realize it (DeCrescenzo and Mayer 2019, 351-353). One likely source of confusion: a Wisconsin driver license or state ID used for registration must show the registrant's current residential address, but a Wisconsin driver license or state ID used for *voter ID* does not. That work also found that the more people are confused about ID requirements, the more likely they are to cite lack of ID as a reason they did not vote.

This confusion effect is consistent with a broader literature on voter ID (Hasen 2016; Hobby et al. 2015; Jones, Cross and Granato 2017).

#### IV. Empirical Questions and Expectations

Capturing the effects of voter ID requirements is difficult, as it involves estimating how often something *does not* occur: an individual not voting because they lack (or believe they lack) the necessary ID, who would have voted in the absence of an ID requirement (DeCrescenzo and Mayer 2019). We know whether someone votes, but have only indirect evidence of nonvoting: we can observe if someone registered to vote does not cast a ballot, but individuals who are not registered (or, in the case of students not originally from Wisconsin, registered in another state) are not easy to identify and observe. The turnout effects of voter ID requirements are likely to be small (on the order of 1% of turnout) and could be obscured by overall changes in turnout through mobilization or heightened interest in an election. Nevertheless, even small aggregate effects do not negate the impact the requirements can have on individuals who are prevented or impeded from voting, and those individuals likely number into the thousands.

---

<sup>2</sup> [https://elections.wi.gov/sites/elections.wi.gov/files/2019-01/27-28%20Proof%20of%20Residence%20DL%20update\\_0.pdf](https://elections.wi.gov/sites/elections.wi.gov/files/2019-01/27-28%20Proof%20of%20Residence%20DL%20update_0.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> <https://wisconsin.gov/Pages/dmv/license-drvs/how-to-apply/ooslicense.aspx>.

<sup>4</sup> Kenneth R Mayer Expert Report, *One Wisconsin Institute, Inc. et al. v. Nichol, et al.* No. 3:15-CV-324, December 10, 2015, p. 19.

The key is comparing observed turnout to the unobserved counterfactual of what turnout *would have been* in the absence of the voter ID law. A sustained mobilization effort could attract new student voters who have a qualifying ID, while still excluding those who do not or are confused by the requirements. An increase in turnout does not, by itself, mean that the ID law had no effect, because even a significant increase in total voting does not negate the possibility that individuals were unable to vote and would have voted if voter ID were not in effect. Drawing inferences requires careful assessment of the political environment, intervening effects, and indirect data.

## V. Data and Methodology

To address the empirical questions and expectations posted above, ideally I would have data on the number of enrolled college or university students who were eligible to vote, whether they were in-state or out-of-state residents, whether they obtained a special student voter ID if they were at a campus where the standard ID would not qualify, whether they registered in Wisconsin or another state, whether or how they voted (at school, at home in person, at home absentee, or out of state absentee), and if they did not vote, why.

These data, however, were not available, something which is common in social science research. As a result, we must use the best data available. I reached conclusions about the effect of Act 23's student ID requirements using three types of data. *First*, I used the Wisconsin statewide file of registrants (Wisvote) to identify individual registrants who were living in on-campus residential housing at a 4-year college or university in Wisconsin. *Second*, I analyzed aggregate data by school collected by the National Study of Learning, Voting and Engagement (NSLVE), which is available for some campuses in Wisconsin.<sup>5</sup> *Third*, I analyzed patterns in provisional voting in Wisconsin in 2016 and 2018, as virtually all provisional ballots were issued for ID-related reasons. Wisvote data is at the individual level. NSLVE is at the school level. Provisional ballot data are ward-level. By using multiple types of data from different levels I am able to draw credible inferences about the impact of the requirements surrounding voter ID. The use of these data and the methodologies that I employed to analyze them (calculations of registration numbers and turnout percentages; comparing turnout in different populations; and analysis of provisional ballots) are standard in my field, and I use them in my academic work and practice. I have used similar methodologies in the context of litigation as well.

As part of my analysis, I wanted to evaluate turnout and registration of students. Because individual data on which voters are students is not available, I looked at data that identified individuals living in residential halls on colleges and universities in Wisconsin, and who are registered at an on-campus address at an accredited 4-year college or university in Wisconsin.<sup>6</sup> This method identifies those registrants who are almost certain to be students, and the exceptions will be extremely rare.<sup>7</sup> It is an underinclusive definition, as it does not count students who live off-campus. As a result, my analysis is conservative and reflects a lower bound of the effect of Act 23.

After identifying registrants with an on-campus address in the 2019, 2017, and 2015, and 2013 pulls from Wisvote. I deleted inactive registrants, those who registered after election day, and those

---

<sup>5</sup> <https://idhe.tufts.edu/nslve>.

<sup>6</sup> This data consisted of voter files and a database of on-campus housing residential addresses. I relied on data from Dr. Michael Herron that matched registration addresses to the addresses of residential halls, which controlled for differences in how addresses might be formatted (such as specific apartment numbers in a multiunit residential building). Relying on data such as this is standard in my field.

<sup>7</sup> At Beloit College, for example, a small number of full-time professional Residential Life Coordinators live on campus (<https://www.beloit.edu/offices/residential-life/campus-life-community/>).

identified as no longer eligible to vote at the address in the Wisvote file. I aggregated this data to the ward level and identified the campus for each ward.<sup>8</sup>

## VI. Analysis and Results

### A. Registration Analysis

The number of student registrants is one metric of estimating the ability to comply with Act 23's student ID requirements. A student who was confused about what she needed to vote or did not believe she would be able to vote, might not even bother with registering. This is consistent with the academic literature on administrative burden, voting, and registration. Because Act 23 was in full effect for the November 2016 general election, we have two sets of comparable elections to compare: the 2012 (no voter ID required) and 2016 (voter ID required) presidential election, and the 2014 (no voter ID required) and 2018 (voter ID required) midterm elections. This creates a control-treatment setting.

The results for each election are shown in table 1.

<b>Table 1 - On Campus Registrants</b>			
	<b>Number of Wards</b>	<b>On-Campus Registrants</b>	<b>Change from Previous Election</b>
2012	47	30,128	
2016	47	27,099	-10.1%
2014	48	26,864	
2018	49	21,644	-19.4%

The most notable characteristic of this data is the decline in the number of registrations from on-campus addresses: from 30,128 in 2012 to 27,099 in 2016, a drop of 10.1%, and from 26,864 in 2014 to 21,611 in 2018, a decline of 19.4%. These drops – far more than the decline in enrollments over the same period<sup>9</sup> – are consistent with the hypothesis that more difficult voting and registration processes such as the restrictions on student IDs deterred otherwise eligible individuals from registering and voting.<sup>10</sup> Over the entire 2012-2018 period, student registrations declined by 28.2%.

<sup>8</sup>I used 10 student registrants as a cutoff unless a registration was unambiguously on campus; some students identified as living in a campus residence had moved to an off-campus address after an election. This cutoff did not have any effect on my conclusions.

<sup>9</sup> I do not have historical enrollment figures for each school in Wisconsin, but data from the University of Wisconsin System, which enrolls over 70% of the state's college students, show a 1.1% enrollment decline between 2012 and 2016 on 4-year campuses, and a 2.3% enrollment decline between 2014 and 2018.

<sup>10</sup> It is possible that some of this drop may be due to a change in campus residential housing capacity, but I am not aware of reductions in capacity over the 2014-2018 period. There were actually additional residential facilities constructed at UW Eau Claire that added student registrants in 2 wards in 2018, but I did not include these students in the 2018 student registration calculations.

The total number non-student registrants in Wisvote remained roughly the same over the same period: 3,660,370 in 2012 and 3,405,405 in 2018, a decline of only 1.5%.<sup>11</sup>

### B. Turnout Changes 2012-2016

In comparing turnout over time, we have the same control-treatment sets as for the registration figures: the 2016 election compared to 2012, and the 2018 compared to 2014.

Using voter files pulled after voter histories for the most recent federal election had been added, I generated a ward-level file with the number of student registrants, nonstudent registrants, student voters, and nonstudent voters. I used this to calculate overall student and nonstudent turnout.

Appendix A shows the percentage of on-campus registrants for each ward for 2012 and 2016. The numbers are similar across both years, with the exception of two wards with very small schools - Milwaukee Ward 186 (Milwaukee School of Art and Design), and Waukesha Ward 14 (Carroll). The Town of Somers renumbered its wards in 2016, changing ward 10 to ward 12.<sup>12</sup> The percentages are highly correlated from 2012 to 2016 at  $r = .984$ , and from 2014 to 2018 at  $r = .976$ , a level that demonstrates a high degree of stability from one election to another, and indicating no anomalies that suggest instability in ward registrations or significant changes in on-campus residential patterns<sup>13</sup>

The results of my turnout analysis for 2012-2016 are contained in Table 2 below.

<b>Table 2</b>		
<b>Turnout Comparisons, 2012-2016, % Registered</b>		
	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>
<b>Overall Student Turnout</b>	67.1%	68.1%
<b>Overall Nonstudent Turnout</b>	83.1%	80.4%

Overall on-campus student turnout increased by 1 percentage point at a time when, nationally, student turnout rose by 3.8 percentage at 4-year public institutions and by 5.6% at 4-year private institutions, as a percentage of registrants.<sup>14</sup> When combined with the 10% drop in on-campus student registrations, the result is a marked decrease in student voting in Wisconsin compared to what the counterfactual turnout would likely have been absent Act 23, both overall and in comparison to the national student population.

In NSLVE data, Wisconsin ranked 38<sup>th</sup> of 39 states in the median institutional turnout change between 2012 and 2016 (figure 1). Notably the turnout change in every institution in the state was below national median turnout change (Thomas et al. 2017, 14).

Figure 1 – Institutional Turnout Change by State 2012-2016, NSLVE

<sup>11</sup> This number includes students who are not living on campus, and therefore likely overstates the decline in total nonstudent registrations statewide.

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.somers.org/news/2016/01/27/voting-wards-revised-for-village-and-town-of-somers/>.

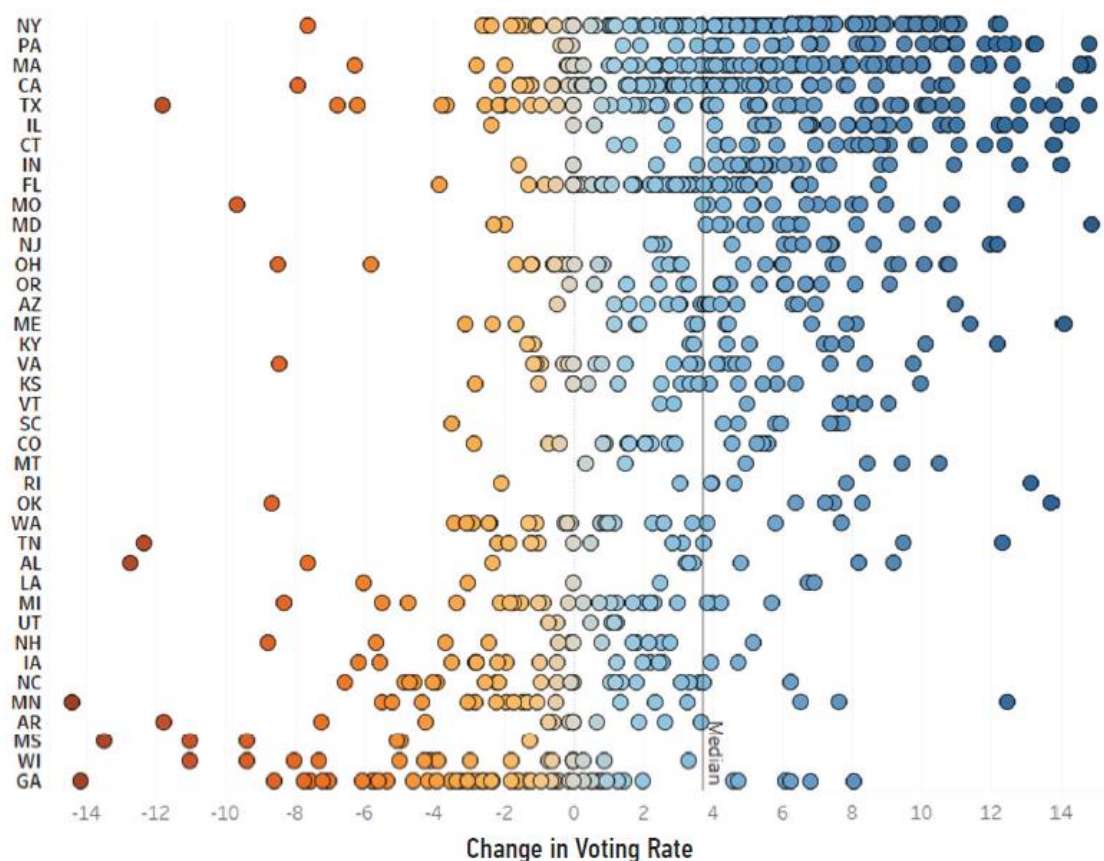
<sup>13</sup> Correlation coefficients can range from 0 (no relationship) to 1 (a perfect relationship).

<sup>14</sup> Data available at the NSLVE Data Portal, <https://idhe.tufts.edu/nslve/nslve-data-portal>

### CHANGES IN INSTITUTIONAL VOTING RATES BY STATE

Each point in the figure represents an institution's change in voting rate from 2012 to 2016.

*NOTE: States with fewer than five NSLVE institutions are not included. Institutions with a voting rate change of 15 percentage points or more are presented in the aggregate. Thirteen institutions' voting rates increased by 15 percentage points and six institutions' voting rates dropped by more than 15 percentage points.*



Change in voting rate NRA adjusted  
 -14.43 14.86

SOURCE: IDHE ANALYSIS OF NSLVE DATA, 2012 AND 2016

### C. Turnout Changes 2014-2018

Nationally, turnout increased substantially overall between 2014 and 2018; national turnout as a percentage of the voting age population was nearly 50%, the highest level since at least 1914.<sup>15</sup> The NSLVE found that turnout also increased significantly among college students nationally (Thomas et al. 2019), by 23.1 percentage points at 4-year public institutions and by 24.9 percentage points at 4-year private institutions.<sup>16</sup> NSLVE also found that the number of students who registered to vote nationally increased by 7 percentage points.

Data from Wisconsin show the following (table 2):

<sup>15</sup> United States Election Project, <http://www.electproject.org/national-1789-present>.

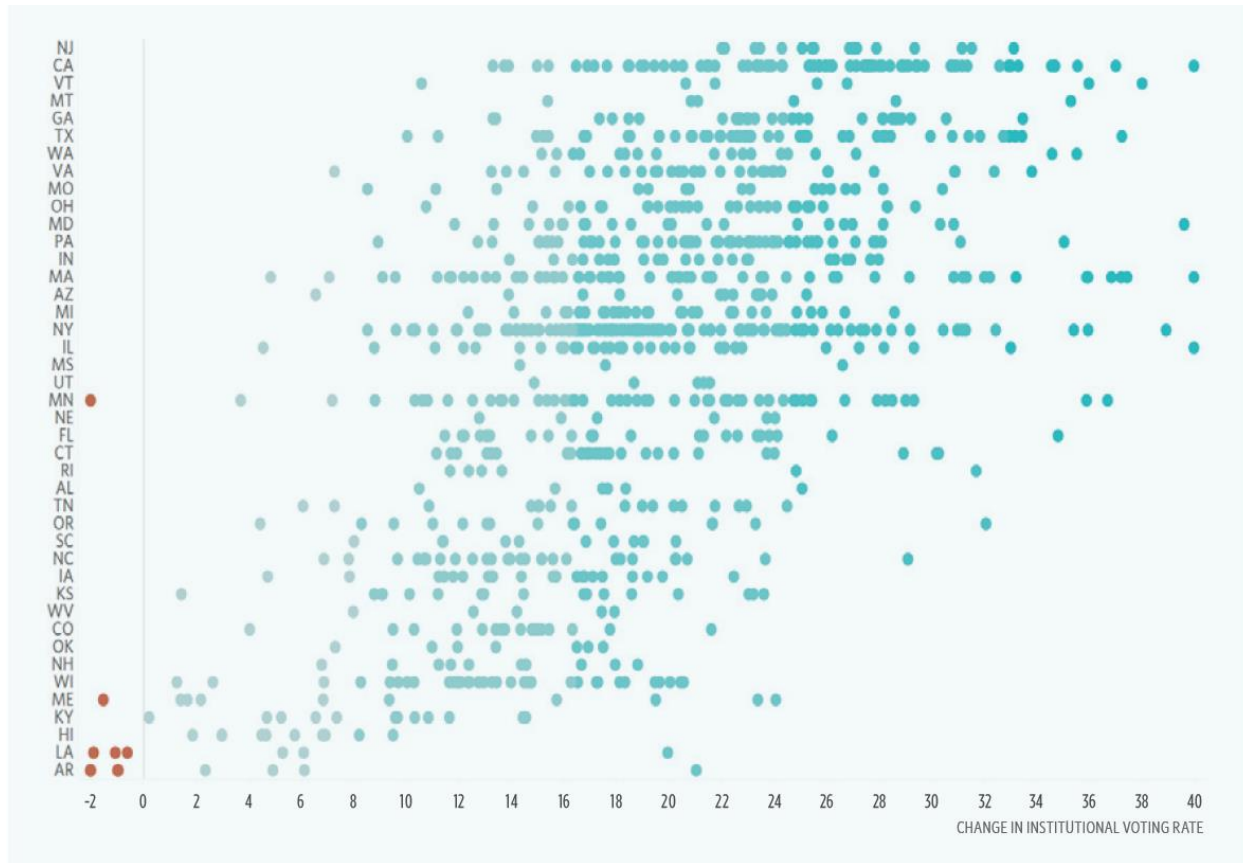
<sup>16</sup> <https://idhe.tufts.edu/2018-nslve-data-portal>.



<b>Turnout Comparisons 2014-2018, % Registered</b>		
	<b>2014</b>	<b>2018</b>
<b>Student Turnout</b>	42.1%	61.0%
<b>Nonstudent Turnout</b>	69.7%	77.8%

Despite the significant increase in student turnout, Wisconsin lagged well behind national trends. On-campus turnout as a percentage of registrants rose by 18.9%, well below the 25.4% national increase among students measured by NSLVE (Thomas et al. 2019, 7). NSLVE data show Wisconsin ranked 37<sup>th</sup> of 42 states in median institutional turnout change between 2014 and 2018 (Thomas et al. 2019, 9). Figure 2 again shows every institution in Wisconsin below the average nationwide change in student turnout.

Figure 2 – Institutional Turnout Change by State 2014-2018, NSLVE



If Wisconsin had matched national increases for student registration and turnout, 2018 would have shown an additional 7,100 student registrants and an additional 5,500 student voters over what was observed.

The key quantity at issue is the number of eligible students who did not register or vote because of the complex requirements of using a student ID for voting. While we cannot observe this, we can draw meaningful inferences from the significant drop in student registrations between 2014 and 2018, the relationship between increases in voting at Wisconsin colleges and universities and the increase in voting that occurred at colleges and universities elsewhere, and the number of ID related provisional ballots cast in student wards. This amounts to very strong evidence that, absent Act 23, student turnout would have been higher than it was. While I cannot pinpoint the precise magnitude of the effect given the available data, I have no doubts that the effect was negative.

#### D. Provisional Ballots

Prior to the 2016 election Wisconsin issued very few provisional ballots because virtually all eligibility questions could be resolved through election day registration. There were only 64 provisional ballots cast in 2010, and 132 in 2012. The number jumped to 674 ID-related provisional ballots in 2016 and to 411 in 2018.

Wisvote does not indicate which voters cast provisional ballots, but student wards - defined as those in which there are registrants at an on-campus residence - are disproportionately overrepresented in provisional vote totals.

In 2016, 37 of 674 provisional ballots, or 5.5%, were cast in student wards while these wards comprised only 2% of the total number of registrants in the state.<sup>17</sup> The disparity was even more pronounced in 2018, when 49 of 411 provisional ballots (11.9%) were cast in these wards, even though the wards held only 1.6% of registrants.<sup>18</sup>

There are limits to the inferences than can be drawn from small numbers, but the results are consistent with the known effect of voter ID laws, as well as with the expectations that the effects are and will be particularly felt by students in upcoming elections.

### **C. Conclusions**

These data reveal a consistent pattern: the student ID requirements of Wisconsin Act 23 impose a particular burden on students:

- The number of students registered from on-campus addresses declined significantly between 2012 and 2016 (-10%), and between 2014 and 2018 (19.4%). Notably, 2016 was the first year in which the student ID requirements for voting were in place, and the complex procedures undoubtedly caused confusion among students and were a cause of reduced registration.
- Student turnout from on-campus addresses in Wisconsin was significantly behind student turnout nationally, whether measured in absolute amounts or by change from the previous election. As a percentage of registered voters, on-campus student turnout increased in Wisconsin by 1% between 2012 and 2016, when student turnout increased nationally by 3.8% at public institutions and by 5.6% at private institutions. Between 2014 and 2018, on campus turnout in Wisconsin increased by 18.9%, when student turnout increased nationally by 25.4%.
- Data from NSLVE showed Wisconsin ranked 38<sup>th</sup> of 39 states in turnout change between 2012 and 2016, and 37<sup>th</sup> of 42 states in turnout change between 2014 and 2018.
- ID-related provisional ballots were disproportionately cast in these student wards: 5.5% were cast from these wards in 2016, though the wards contained only 2% of all registrants; 11.9% of all provisional ballots were cast in these wards in 2018 even though the wards contained only 1.6% of all registrants.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the above-stated information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

---

<sup>17</sup> The 674 provisional ballots is calculated using ward totals in the 2016 Presidential and General Election EL-190 data (October 5, 2017): <https://elections.wi.gov/publications/statistics/gab-190/November-2016>.

<sup>18</sup> Some provisional ballots were recorded were in reporting units consisting of higher combined registration totals than the individual student wards. Taking this into account does not change my conclusions.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Kenneth R. Mayer, Ph.D

### Sources

- Michael G. DeCrescenzo and Kenneth R. Mayer. 2019. “Voter Identification and Nonvoting in Wisconsin - Evidence from the 2016 Election.” *Election Law Journal* 18:342-359.
- Hasen, Richard L. 2016. “Softening Voter ID Laws Through Litigation: Is It Enough?” *Wisconsin Law Review Forward* September: 100–121.
- Herd, Pamela, and Donald P. Moynihan. 2018. *Administrative Burden: Policymaking by Other Means*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.
- Hobby, Bill, Mark P. Jones, Jim Granato, and Renre Cross. 2015. *The Texas Voter ID Law and the 2014 Election: A Study of Texas’s 23rd Congressional District*. James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University and University of Houston.
- Jones, Mark P., René Cross, and Jim Granato. 2017. *The Texas Voter ID Law and the 2016 Election: A Study of Harris County and Congressional District 23*. University of Houston Hobby School of Public Affairs
- Thomas, Nancy, Inger Bergom, Ishara Casellas Connors, Prabhat Gautam, Adam Gismondi, and Alena Roshko. 2017. *Democracy Counts: A Report on U.S. College and University Voting*. National Study of Learning, Voting, and Engagement, Institute for Democracy & Higher Education, Tufts University.
- Thomas, Nancy, Adam Gismondi, Prabhat Gautam, and David Brinker. 2019. *Democracy Counts 2018: Increased Student and Institutional Engagement*. National Study of Learning, Voting, and Engagement, Institute for Democracy & Higher Education, Tufts University.

# APPENDIX A

Appendix A  
On Campus Registrant Share of Ward Registration, 2012-2018

Ward	School	Percent Students 2012	Percent Students 2014	Percent Students 2016	Percent Students 2018
City of Beloit - Ward 16	Beloit	58.1%	54.8%	62.1%	64.2%
City of De Pere - Ward 11	St. Norbert	78.4%	74.2%	77.3%	70.6%
City of Eau Claire - Ward 5	UW Eau Claire	-	-	-	5.0%
City of Eau Claire - Ward 20	UW Eau Claire	84.2%	86.0%	87.1%	81.0%
City of Eau Claire - Ward 24	UW Eau Claire	100.0%	100.0%	99.7%	97.6%
City of Eau Claire - Ward 31	UW Eau Claire				14.3%
City of Fond du Lac - Ward 19	Marian	23.0%	20.4%	21.0%	13.4%
City of Green Bay - Ward 3	UW Green Bay	62.5%	59.6%	61.4%	57.0%
City of Kenosha - Ward 3	Carthage	98.5%	98.5%	98.9%	97.7%
City of La Crosse - Ward 8	UW La Crosse	77.3%	80.6%	80.4%	76.6%
City of Madison - Ward 54	UW Madison	96.8%	97.8%	97.6%	96.0%
City of Madison - Ward 55	UW Madison	1.4%	1.5%	1.4%	1.5%
City of Madison - Ward 56	UW Madison	36.9%	38.8%	39.6%	42.8%
City of Madison - Ward 58	UW Madison	98.4%	99.3%	99.3%	98.0%
City of Madison - Ward 59	UW Madison	94.1%	96.7%	98.8%	97.7%
City of Madison - Ward 65	Edgewood	11.5%	11.1%	9.9%	7.0%
City of Menomonie - Ward 3	UW Stout	41.9%	50.5%	53.9%	43.9%
City of Menomonie - Ward 4	UW Stout	11.4%	7.3%	3.1%	9.6%
City of Menomonie - Ward 5	UW Stout	64.1%	70.8%	69.9%	70.5%
City of Menomonie - Ward 7	UW Stout	52.8%	63.3%	60.3%	60.2%
City of Milwaukee - Ward 130	UW Milwaukee	94.2%	89.4%	94.3%	93.8%
City of Milwaukee - Ward 131	UW Milwaukee	1.6%	1.0%	1.5%	1.7%
City of Milwaukee - Ward 180	UW Milwaukee	3.6%	4.3%	4.5%	5.4%
City of Milwaukee - Ward 184	UW Milwaukee	3.4%	3.5%	5.8%	5.3%
City of Milwaukee - Ward 185	M Sch. Of Engineering	4.8%	5.7%	7.9%	6.2%
City of Milwaukee - Ward 186	M Art and Design	-	0.9%	3.8%	4.9%
City of Milwaukee - Ward 187	Marquette	36.3%	36.6%	24.2%	20.5%
City of Milwaukee - Ward 190	Marquette	37.7%	42.3%	30.6%	23.6%
City of Milwaukee - Ward 191	Marquette	27.3%	31.9%	27.6%	45.7%
City of Milwaukee - Ward 210	WI Lutheran	28.7%	30.4%	35.7%	33.7%
City of Milwaukee - Ward 280	Alverno	2.7%	3.0%	3.7%	3.2%
City of Oshkosh - Ward 3	UW Oshkosh	93.2%	98.4%	99.4%	98.1%
City of Oshkosh - Ward 4	UW Oshkosh	41.1%	42.5%	32.8%	32.8%
City of Platteville - Ward 5	UW Platteville	81.4%	81.9%	85.8%	78.9%
City of Platteville - Ward 6	UW Platteville	90.5%	82.3%	89.3%	85.5%

City of Platteville - Ward 7	UW Platteville	19.0%	24.6%	30.0%	20.7%
City of River Falls - Ward 12	UW River Falls	29.6%	29.1%	40.0%	33.0%
City of River Falls - Ward 9	UW River Falls	34.6%	53.4%	57.4%	50.8%
City of Stevens Point - Ward 4	UW Stevens Point	89.5%	89.1%	89.6%	82.7%
City of Stevens Point - Ward 7	UW Stevens Point	100.0%	99.9%	99.9%	97.8%
City of Stevens Point - Ward 31	UW Stevens Point	99.8%	99.9%	99.9%	99.1%
City of Superior - Ward 22	UW Superior	24.0%	17.1%	22.5%	13.2%
City of Superior - Ward 7	UW Superior	9.5%	6.9%	5.2%	1.3%
City of Waukesha - Ward 14	Carroll	0.9%	0.8%	-	-
City of Waukesha - Ward 18	Carroll	36.7%	31.4%	36.2%	24.6%
City of Waukesha - Ward 25	Carroll	19.2%	18.9%	27.9%	23.5%
City of Whitewater - Ward 7	UW Whitewater	11.3%	13.2%	13.5%	14.4%
Town of Herman - Ward 3	Lakeland	14.6%	7.0%	34.4%	38.4%
Town of Somers Ward 12 / Village of Somers Ward 10	UW Parkside	75.8%	69.4%	69.1%	70.5%
Town of Washington - Ward 2	UW Eau Claire	1.4%	1.8%	2.3%	1.5%

Notes: Construction at UW Eau Claire built new residential halls in 2017, adding 242 student registrants in 2018 in wards 5 and 31; The Town of Somers incorporated as the Village of Somers in 2015, and renumbered its wards in 2017.



# APPENDIX B

**Kenneth R. Mayer**

Department of Political Science  
Affiliate, La Follette School of Public Affairs  
110 North Hall / 1050 Bascom Mall  
University of Wisconsin – Madison  
Madison, WI 53706

Phone: 608-263-2286  
Email: [krmayer@wisc.edu](mailto:krmayer@wisc.edu)

**Education**

Yale University, Department of Political Science, Ph.D., 1988.  
Yale University, Department of Political Science, M.A., M.Phil., 1987.  
University of California, San Diego, Department of Political Science, B.A., 1982.

**Positions Held**

University of Wisconsin, Madison. Department of Political Science.  
Professor, July 2000-present.  
Associate Professor, June 1996-June 2000.  
Assistant Professor, August 1989-May 1996.  
Fulbright-ANU Distinguished Chair in Political Science, Australian National University (Canberra, ACT), July-December 2006.  
Director, Data and Computation Center, College of Letters and Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison, June 1996-September 2003  
Consultant, The RAND Corporation, Washington DC, 1988-1994. Conducted study of acquisition reform, and the effects of acquisition policy on the defense industrial base. Performed computer simulations of U.S. strategic force posture and capabilities.  
Contract Specialist, Naval Air Systems Command, Washington D.C., 1985-1986. Responsible for cost and price analysis, contract negotiation, and contract administration for aerial target missile programs in the \$5 million - \$100 million range.

**Awards**

American Political Science Association, State Politics and Policy Section. Award for best Journal Article Published in the *American Journal of Political Science* in 2014. Awarded for Burden, Canon, Mayer, and Moynihan, "Election Laws, Mobilization, and Turnout."  
Robert H. Durr Award, from the Midwest Political Science Association, for Best Paper Applying Quantitative Methods to a Substantive Problem Presented at the 2013 Meeting. Awarded for Burden, Canon, Mayer, and Moynihan, "Election Laws and Partisan Gains."  
Leon Epstein Faculty Fellow, College of Letters and Science, 2012-2015  
UW Housing Honored Instructor Award, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2018  
Recipient, Jerry J. and Mary M. Cotter Award, College of Letters and Science, 2011-2012  
Alliant Underkofler Excellence in Teaching Award, University of Wisconsin System, 2006  
Pi Sigma Alpha Teaching Award, Fall 2006  
Vilas Associate, 2003-2004, University of Wisconsin-Madison Graduate School.  
2002 Neustadt Award. Awarded by the Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science Association, for the best book published on the American presidency in 2001. Awarded for *With the Stroke of a Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power*.  
Lilly Teaching Fellow, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993-1994.  
Interfraternity Council award for Outstanding Teaching, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993.  
Selected as one of the 100 best professors at University of Wisconsin-Madison, Wisconsin Student Association, March 1992.  
Olin Dissertation Fellow, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1987-1988

### **Service as an Expert Witness**

*Suresh Kumar v. Frisco Independent School District et al.*, No.4:19-cv-00284 (E.D. Tex.), voting rights (2019)

*Vaughan v. Lewisville Independent School District*, No. 4:19-cv-00109 (E.D. Texas), voting rights (2019).

*Dwight et al. v Raffensperger*, No: 1:18-cv-2869-RWS (N.D. Ga.), redistricting, voting rights (2018).

*Priorities U.S.A.et al. v. Missouri et al.*, No. 19AC-CC00226 (Circuit Court of Cole County, MO), voter ID (2018).

*Tyson v. Richardson Independent School District*, No. 3:18-cv-00212 (N.D. Texas), voting rights (2018).

*League of Women Voters of Michigan, et al. v. Johnson*, No. 2:17-cv-14148-DPH-SDD (S.D. Mich.), redistricting (2018).

*One Wisconsin Institute, Inc., et al. v. Nichol, et al.*, 198 F. Supp. 3d 896 (W.D. Wis.), voting rights (2016).

*Whitford et al. v. Gill et al*, 218 F. Supp. 3d 837, (W.D. Wis.), redistricting (2016).

*Milwaukee NAACP et al. v. Scott Walker et. al*, N.W.2d 262 (Dane County WI Circuit Court), voter ID (2012).

*Baldus et al. v. Brennan et al.*, 849 F. Supp. 2d 840 (E.D. Wis.), redistricting, voting rights (2012).

*County of Kenosha v. City of Kenosha*, No. 22-CV-1813 (Kenosha County WI Circuit Court) municipal redistricting (2011).

*McComish et al. v Brewer et al.*. 2010 WL 2292213 (D. Ariz.), campaign finance (2009).

*Baumgart et al. v. Wendelberger et al.*, 2002 WL 34127471 (E.D. Wis.), redistricting (2002).

### **Grants**

“Analyzing Nonvoting and the Student Voting Experience in Wisconsin.” Dane County (WI) Clerk, \$44,157. November 2016-December 2017. Additional support (\$30,000) provided by the Office of the Chancellor, UW-Madison.

Campaign Finance Task Force, Stanford University and New York University, \$36,585. September 2016-August 2017.

Participant and Board Member, 2016 White House Transition Project, PIs Martha Joynt Kumar (Towson State University) and Terry Sullivan (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill).

“How do You Know? The Structure of Presidential Advising and Error Correction in the White House.” Graduate School Research Committee, University of Wisconsin, \$18,941. July 1, 2015-June 30, 2016.

“Study and Recommendations for the Government Accountability Board Chief Inspectors’ Statements and Election Incident Report Logs.” \$43,234. Co-PI. With Barry C. Burden (PI), David T. Canon (co-PI), and Donald Moynihan (co-PI). October 2011-May 2012.

“Public Funding in Connecticut Legislative Elections.” Open Society Institute. September 2009-December 2010. \$55,000.

“Early Voting and Same Day Registration in Wisconsin and Beyond.” Co-PI. October 2008- September 2009. Pew Charitable Trusts. \$49,400. With Barry C. Burden (PI), David T. Canon (Co-PI), Kevin J. Kennedy (Co-PI), and Donald P. Moynihan (Co-PI).

City of Madison, Blue Ribbon Commission on Clean Elections. Joyce Foundation, Chicago, IL. \$16,188. January-July 2008.

“Wisconsin Campaign Finance Project: Public Funding in Connecticut State Legislative Elections.” JEHT Foundation, New York, NY. \$84,735. November 2006-November 2007.

“Does Public Election Funding Change Public Policy? Evaluating the State of Knowledge.” JEHT Foundation, New York, NY. \$42,291. October 2005-April 2006.

“Wisconsin Campaign Finance Project: Disseminating Data to the Academic, Reform, and Policy Communities.” Joyce Foundation, Chicago, IL. \$20,900. September 2005- August 2006.

“Enhancing Electoral Competition: Do Public Funding Programs for State and Local Elections Work?”

Smith Richardson Foundation, Westport, CT. \$129,611. December 2002-June 2005

WebWorks Grant (implementation of web-based instructional technologies), Division of Information Technology, UW-Madison, \$1,000. November 1999.

“Issue Advocacy in Wisconsin during the 1998 Election.” Joyce Foundation, Chicago, IL. \$15,499. April 1999.

Instructional Technology in the Multimedia Environment (IN-TIME) grant, Learning Support Services, University of Wisconsin. \$5,000. March 1997.

“Public Financing and Electoral Competitiveness in the Minnesota State Legislature.” Citizens’ Research Foundation, Los Angeles, CA, \$2,000. May-November 1996.

“The Reach of Presidential Power: Policy Making Through Executive Orders.” National Science Foundation (SBR-9511444), \$60,004. September 1, 1995-August 31, 1998. Graduate School Research Committee, University of Wisconsin, \$21,965. Additional support provided by the Gerald R. Ford Library Foundation, the Eisenhower World Affairs Institute, and the Harry S. Truman Library Foundation.

The Future of the Combat Aircraft Industrial Base.” Changing Security Environment Project, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University (with Ethan B. Kapstein). June 1993-January 1995. \$15,000.

Hilldale Student Faculty Research Grant, College of Letters and Sciences, University of Wisconsin (with John M. Wood). 1992. \$1,000 (\$3,000 award to student)

“Electoral Cycles in Federal Government Prime Contract Awards” March 1992 – February 1995. National Science Foundation (SES-9121931), \$74,216. Graduate School Research Committee at the University of Wisconsin, \$2,600. MacArthur Foundation, \$2,500.

C-SPAN In the Classroom Faculty Development Grant, 1991. \$500

### **Professional and Public Service**

Education and Social and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board, 2008-2014. Acting Chair, Summer 2011. Chair, May 2012- June 2014.

Participant, U.S. Public Speaker Grant Program. United States Department of State (nationwide speaking tour in Australia, May 11-June 2, 2012).

Expert Consultant, Voces de la Frontera. Milwaukee Aldermanic redistricting, (2011).

Expert Consultant, Prosser for Supreme Court. Wisconsin Supreme Court election recount (2011).

Chair, Blue Ribbon Commission on Clean Elections (Madison, WI), August 2007-April 2011.

Consultant, Consulate of the Government of Japan (Chicago) on state politics in Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, 2006-2011.

Section Head, Presidency Studies, 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Co-Chair, Committee on Redistricting, Supreme Court of Wisconsin, November 2003-December 2009.

Section Head, Presidency and Executive Politics, 2004 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

Presidency Research Group (organized section of the American Political Science Association) Board, September 2002-present.

Book Review Editor, *Congress and the Presidency*, 2001-2006.

Editorial Board, *American Political Science Review*, September 2004-September 2007.

Consultant, Governor’s Blue Ribbon Commission on Campaign Finance Reform (Wisconsin), 1997.

### **PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Books**

*Presidential Leadership: Politics and Policymaking*, 11<sup>th</sup> edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, forthcoming 2019. With George C. Edwards, III and Steven J. Wayne. Previous

- editions 10<sup>th</sup> (2018).
- The 2016 Presidential Elections: The Causes and Consequences of an Electoral Earthquake*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2017. Co-edited with Amnon Cavari and Richard J. Powell.
- The Enduring Debate: Classic and Contemporary Readings in American Government*. 8<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 2017. Co-edited with David T. Canon and John Coleman. Previous editions 1<sup>st</sup> (1997), 2<sup>nd</sup> (2000), 3<sup>rd</sup> (2002), 4<sup>th</sup> (2006), 5<sup>th</sup> (2009), 6<sup>th</sup> (2011), 7<sup>th</sup> (2013).
- Faultlines: Readings in American Government*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 2017. Co-edited with David T. Canon and John Coleman. Previous editions 1<sup>st</sup> (2004), 2<sup>nd</sup> (2007), 3<sup>rd</sup> (2011), 4<sup>th</sup> (2013).
- The 2012 Presidential Election: Forecasts, Outcomes, and Consequences*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014. Co-edited with Amnon Cavari and Richard J. Powell.
- Readings in American Government*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 2002. Co-edited with Theodore J. Lowi, Benjamin Ginsberg, David T. Canon, and John Coleman). Previous editions 4<sup>th</sup> (1996), 5<sup>th</sup> (1998), 6<sup>th</sup> (2000).
- With the Stroke of a Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2001. Winner of the 2002 Neustadt Award from the Presidency Studies Group of the American Political Science Association, for the Best Book on the Presidency Published in 2001.
- The Dysfunctional Congress? The Individual Roots of an Institutional Dilemma*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 1999. With David T. Canon.
- The Political Economy of Defense Contracting*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991.

### **Monographs**

- 2008 Election Data Collection Grant Program: Wisconsin Evaluation Report*. Report to the Wisconsin Government Accountability Board, September 2009. With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Stéphane Lavertu, and Donald P. Moynihan.
- Issue Advocacy in Wisconsin: Analysis of the 1998 Elections and A Proposal for Enhanced Disclosure*. September 1999.
- Public Financing and Electoral Competition in Minnesota and Wisconsin*. Citizens' Research Foundation, April 1998.
- Campaign Finance Reform in the States*. Report prepared for the Governor's Blue Ribbon Commission on Campaign Finance Reform (State of Wisconsin). February 1998. Portions reprinted in Anthony Corrado, Thomas E. Mann, Daniel Ortiz, Trevor Potter, and Frank J. Sorauf, ed., *Campaign Finance Reform: A Sourcebook*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1997.
- "Does Public Financing of Campaigns Work?" *Trends in Campaign Financing*. Occasional Paper Series, Citizens' Research Foundation, Los Angeles, CA. 1996. With John M. Wood.
- The Development of the Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missile: A Case Study of Risk and Reward in Weapon System Acquisition*. N-3620-AF. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation. 1993.
- Barriers to Managing Risk in Large Scale Weapons System Development Programs*. N-4624-AF. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation. 1993. With Thomas K. Glennan, Jr., Susan J. Bodilly, Frank Camm, and Timothy J. Webb.

### **Articles**

- "Voter Identification and Nonvoting in Wisconsin - Evidence from the 2016 Election." *Election Law Journal* 18:342-359 (2019). With Michael DeCrescenzo.
- "Waiting to Vote in the 2016 Presidential Election: Evidence from a Multi-county Study." *Political Research Quarterly* 71(2019). With Robert M. Stein, Christopher Mann, Charles Stewart III, et al.
- "Learning from Recounts." *Election Law Journal* 17:100-116 (No. 2, 2018). With Stephen

- Ansolabehere, Barry C. Burden, and Charles Stewart, III.
- “The Complicated Partisan Effects of State Election Laws.” *Political Research Quarterly* 70:549-563 (No. 3, September 2017). With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, and Donald P. Moynihan.
- “What Happens at the Polling Place: Using Administrative Data to Look Inside Elections.” *Public Administration Review* 77:354-364 (No. 3, May/June 2017). With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Donald P. Moynihan, and Jacob R. Neiheisel.
- “Alien Abduction, and Voter Impersonation in the 2012 U.S. General Election Evidence from a Survey List Experiment.” *Election Law Journal* 13:460-475 No.4, December 2014). With John S. Ahlquist and Simon Jackman.
- “Election Laws, Mobilization, and Turnout: The Unanticipated Consequences of Election Reform.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 58:95-109 (No. 1, January 2014). With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, and Donald P. Moynihan. Winner of the State Politics and Politics Section of the American Political Science Association Award for the best article published in the *AJPS* in 2014.
- “Executive Power in the Obama Administration and the Decision to Seek Congressional Authorization for a Military Attack Against Syria: Implications for Theories of Unilateral Action.” *Utah Law Review* 2014:821-841 (No. 4, 2014).
- “Public Election Funding: An Assessment of What We Would Like to Know.” *The Forum* 11:365-485 (No. 3, 2013).
- “Selection Method, Partisanship, and the Administration of Elections.” *American Politics Research* 41:903-936 (No. 6, November 2013). With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Stéphane Lavertu, and Donald Moynihan.
- “The Effect of Administrative Burden on Bureaucratic Perception of Policies: Evidence from Election Administration.” *Public Administration Review* 72:741-451 (No. 5, September/October 2012). With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, and Donald Moynihan.
- “Early Voting and Election Day Registration in the Trenches: Local Officials’ Perceptions of Election Reform.” *Election Law Journal* 10:89-102 (No. 2, 2011). With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, and Donald Moynihan.
- “Is Political Science Relevant? Ask an Expert Witness,” *The Forum*: Vol. 8, No. 3, Article 6 (2010).
- “Thoughts on the Revolution in Presidency Studies,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39 (no. 4, December 2009).
- “Does Australia Have a Constitution? Part I – Powers: A Constitution Without Constitutionalism.” *UCLA Pacific Basin Law Journal* 25:228-264 (No. 2, Spring 2008). With Howard Schweber.
- “Does Australia Have a Constitution? Part II: The Rights Constitution.” *UCLA Pacific Basin Law Journal* 25:265-355 (No. 2, Spring 2008). With Howard Schweber.
- “Public Election Funding, Competition, and Candidate Gender.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* XL:661-667 (No. 4, October 2007). With Timothy Werner.
- “Do Public Funding Programs Enhance Electoral Competition?” In Michael P. McDonald and John Samples, eds., *The Marketplace of Democracy: Electoral Competition and American Politics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2006). With Timothy Werner and Amanda Williams. Excerpted in Daniel H. Lowenstein, Richard L. Hasen, and Daniel P. Tokaji, *Election Law: Cases and Materials*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2008.
- “The Last 100 Days.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 35:533-553 (No. 3, September 2005). With William Howell.
- “Political Reality and Unforeseen Consequences: Why Campaign Finance Reform is Too Important To Be Left To The Lawyers,” *University of Richmond Law Review* 37:1069-1110 (No. 4, May 2003).
- “Unilateral Presidential Powers: Significant Executive Orders, 1949-1999.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32:367-386 (No. 2, June 2002). With Kevin Price.
- “Answering Ayres: Requiring Campaign Contributors to Remain Anonymous Would Not Resolve

- Corruption Concerns.” *Regulation* 24:24-29 (No. 4, Winter 2001).
- “Student Attitudes Toward Instructional Technology in the Large Introductory US Government Course.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33:597-604 (No. 3 September 2000). With John Coleman.
- “The Limits of Delegation – the Rise and Fall of BRAC.” *Regulation* 22:32-38 (No. 3, October 1999).
- “Executive Orders and Presidential Power.” *The Journal of Politics* 61:445-466 (No.2, May 1999).
- “Bringing Politics Back In: Defense Policy and the Theoretical Study of Institutions and Processes.” *Public Administration Review* 56:180-190 (1996). With Anne Khademian.
- “Closing Military Bases (Finally): Solving Collective Dilemmas Through Delegation.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 20:393-414 (No. 3, August 1995).
- “Electoral Cycles in Federal Government Prime Contract Awards: State-Level Evidence from the 1988 and 1992 Presidential Elections.” *American Journal of Political Science* 40:162-185 (No. 1, February 1995).
- “The Impact of Public Financing on Electoral Competitiveness: Evidence from Wisconsin, 1964-1990.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 20:69-88 (No. 1, February 1995). With John M. Wood.
- “Policy Disputes as a Source of Administrative Controls: Congressional Micromanagement of the Department of Defense.” *Public Administration Review* 53:293-302 (No. 4, July-August 1993).
- “Combat Aircraft Production in the United States, 1950-2000: Maintaining Industry Capability in an Era of Shrinking Budgets.” *Defense Analysis* 9:159-169 (No. 2, 1993).

### **Book Chapters**

- “Is President Trump Conventionally Disruptive, or Unconventionally Destructive?” In *The 2016 Presidential Elections: The Causes and Consequences of an Electoral Earthquake*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2017. Co-edited with Amon Cavari and Richard J. Powell.
- “Lessons of Defeat: Republican Party Responses to the 2012 Presidential Election. In Amnon Cavari, Richard J. Powell, and Kenneth R. Mayer, eds. *The 2012 Presidential Election: Forecasts, Outcomes, and Consequences*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. 2014.
- “Unilateral Action.” George C. Edwards, III, and William G. Howell, *Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- “Executive Orders,” in Joseph Bessette and Jeffrey Tulis, *The Constitutional Presidency*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- “Hey, Wait a Minute: The Assumptions Behind the Case for Campaign Finance Reform.” In Gerald C. Lubenow, ed., *A User’s Guide to Campaign Finance Reform*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.
- “Everything You Thought You Knew About Impeachment Was Wrong.” In Leonard V. Kaplan and Beverly I. Moran, ed., *Aftermath: The Clinton Impeachment and the Presidency in the Age of Political Spectacle*. New York: New York University Press. 2001. With David T. Canon.
- “The Institutionalization of Power.” In Robert Y. Shapiro, Martha Joynt Kumar, and Lawrence R. Jacobs, eds. *Presidential Power: Forging the Presidency for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000. With Thomas J. Weko.
- “Congressional-DoD Relations After the Cold War: The Politics of Uncertainty.” In *Downsizing Defense*, Ethan Kapstein ed. Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 1993.
- “Elections, Business Cycles, and the Timing of Defense Contract Awards in the United States.” In Alex Mintz, ed. *The Political Economy of Military Spending*. London: Routledge. 1991.
- “Patterns of Congressional Influence In Defense Contracting.” In Robert Higgs, ed., *Arms, Politics, and the Economy: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1990.

### **Other**

- “Campaign Finance: Some Basics.” Bauer-Ginsberg Campaign Finance Task Force, Stanford

- University. September 2017. With Elizabeth M. Sawyer.
- “The Wisconsin Recount May Have a Surprise in Store after All.” *The Monkey Cage* (Washington Post), December 5, 2016. With Stephen Ansolabehere, Barry C. Burden, and Charles Stewart, III.
- Review of Jason K. Dempsey, *Our Army: Soldiers, Politicians, and American Civil-Military Relations*. *The Forum* 9 (No. 3, 2011).
- “Voting Early, but Not Often.” *New York Times*, October 25, 2010. With Barry C. Burden.
- Review of John Samples, *The Fallacy of Campaign Finance Reform* and Raymond J. La Raja, *Small Change: Money, Political Parties, and Campaign Finance Reform*. *The Forum* 6 (No. 1, 2008).
- Review Essay, *Executing the Constitution: Putting the President Back Into the Constitution*, Christopher S. Kelley, ed.; *Presidents in Culture: The Meaning of Presidential Communication*, David Michael Ryfe; *Executive Orders and the Modern Presidency: Legislating from the Oval Office*, Adam L. Warber. In *Perspective on Politics* 5:635-637 (No. 3, September 2007).
- “The Base Realignment and Closure Process: Is It Possible to Make Rational Policy?” Brademas Center for the Study of Congress, New York University. 2007.
- “Controlling Executive Authority in a Constitutional System” (comparative analysis of executive power in the U.S. and Australia), manuscript, February 2007.
- “Campaigns, Elections, and Campaign Finance Reform.” *Focus on Law Studies*, XXI, No. 2 (Spring 2006). American Bar Association, Division for Public Education.
- “Review Essay: Assessing The 2000 Presidential Election – Judicial and Social Science Perspectives.” *Congress and the Presidency* 29: 91-98 (No. 1, Spring 2002).
- Issue Briefs (Midterm Elections, Homeland Security; Foreign Affairs and Defense Policy; Education; Budget and Economy; Entitlement Reform) *2006 Reporter’s Source Book*. Project Vote Smart. 2006. With Meghan Condon.
- “Sunlight as the Best Disinfectant: Campaign Finance in Australia.” Democratic Audit of Australia, Australian National University. October 2006.
- “Return to the Norm,” *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, November 10, 2006.
- “The Return of the King? Presidential Power and the Law,” *PRG Report* XXVI, No. 2 (Spring 2004).
- Issue Briefs (Campaign Finance Reform, Homeland Security; Foreign Affairs and Defense Policy; Education; Budget and Economy; Entitlement Reform), *2004 Reporter’s Source Book*. Project Vote Smart. 2004. With Patricia Strach and Arnold Shober.
- “Where’s That Crystal Ball When You Need It? Finicky Voters and Creaky Campaigns Made for a Surprise Electoral Season. And the Fun’s Just Begun.” *Madison Magazine*. April 2002.
- “Capitol Overkill.” *Madison Magazine*, July 2002.
- Issue Briefs (Homeland Security; Foreign Affairs and Defense Policy; Education; Economy, Budget and Taxes; Social Welfare Policy), *2002 Reporter’s Source Book*. Project Vote Smart. 2002. With Patricia Strach and Paul Manna.
- “Presidential Emergency Powers.” *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*. December 18, 2001.
- “An Analysis of the Issue of Issue Ads.” *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 7, 1999.
- “Background of Issue Ad Controversy.” *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 7, 1999.
- “Eliminating Public Funding Reduces Election Competition.” *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 27, 1999.
- Review of *Executive Privilege: The Dilemma of Secrecy and Democratic Accountability*, by Mark J. Rozell. *Congress and the Presidency* 24 (No. 1, 1997).
- “Like Marriage, New Presidency Starts In Hope.” *Wisconsin State Journal*. March 31, 1996.
- Review of *The Tyranny of the Majority: Fundamental Fairness in Representative Democracy*, by Lani Guinier. *Congress and the Presidency* 21: 149-151 (No. 2, 1994).
- Review of *The Best Defense: Policy Alternatives for U.S. Nuclear Security From the 1950s to the 1990s*, by David Goldfisher. *Science, Technology, and Environmental Politics Newsletter* 6 (1994).
- Review of *The Strategic Defense Initiative*, by Edward Reiss. *American Political Science Review*



- 87:1061-1062 (No. 4, December 1993).
- Review of *The Political Economy of Defense: Issues and Perspectives*, Andrew L. Ross ed. *Armed Forces and Society* 19:460-462 (No. 3, April 1993)
- Review of *Space Weapons and the Strategic Defense Initiative*, by Crockett Grabbe. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 527: 193-194 (May 1993).
- “Limits Wouldn’t Solve the Problem.” *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 5, 1992. With David T. Canon.
- “Convention Ceded Middle Ground.” *Wisconsin State Journal*, August 23, 1992.
- “CBS Economy Poll Meaningless.” *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 3, 1992.
- “It’s a Matter of Character: Pentagon Doesn’t Need New Laws, it Needs Good People.” *Los Angeles Times*, July 8, 1988.

### **Conference Papers**

- “Voter Identification and Nonvoting in Wisconsin – Evidence from the 2016 Election.” Presented at the 2018 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL April 5-8, 2018. With Michael G. DeCrescenzo.
- “Learning from Recounts.” Presented at the Workshop on Electoral Integrity, San Francisco, CA, August 30, 2017, and at the 2017 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 31-September 3, 2017. With Stephen Ansolabehere, Barry C. Burden, and Charles Stewart, III.
- “What Happens at the Polling Place: Using Administrative Data to Understand Irregularities at the Polls.” Conference on New Research on Election Administration and Reform, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA, June 8, 2015. With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Donald P. Moynihan, and Jake R. Neiheisel.
- “Election Laws and Partisan Gains: What are the Effects of Early Voting and Same Day Registration on the Parties’ Vote Shares.” 2013 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 11-14, 2013. Winner of the Robert H. Durr Award.
- “The Effect of Public Funding on Electoral Competition: Evidence from the 2008 and 2010 Cycles.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 1-4, 2011. With Annon Cavari.
- “What Happens at the Polling Place: A Preliminary Analysis in the November 2008 General Election.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 1-4, 2011. With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Donald P. Moynihan, and Jake R. Neiheisel.
- “Election Laws, Mobilization, and Turnout: The Unanticipated Consequences of Election Reform.” 2010 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2-5, 2010. With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Stéphane Lavertu and Donald P. Moynihan.
- “Selection Methods, Partisanship, and the Administration of Elections. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 22-25, 2010. Revised version presented at the Annual Meeting of the European Political Science Association, June 16-19, 2011, Dublin, Ireland. With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Stéphane Lavertu and Donald P. Moynihan.
- “The Effects and Costs of Early Voting, Election Day Registration, and Same Day Registration in the 2008 Elections.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada, September 3-5, 2009. With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, and Donald P. Moynihan.
- “Comparative Election Administration: Can We Learn Anything From the Australian Electoral Commission?” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29-September 1, 2007.
- “Electoral Transitions in Connecticut: Implementation of Public Funding for State Legislative Elections.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29-September 1, 2007. With Timothy Werner.

- “Candidate Gender and Participation in Public Campaign Finance Programs.” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, April 7-10, 2005. With Timothy Werner.
- “Do Public Funding Programs Enhance Electoral Competition?” 4<sup>th</sup> Annual State Politics and Policy Conference,” Akron, OH, April 30-May 1, 2004. With Timothy Werner and Amanda Williams.
- “The Last 100 Days.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 28-31, 2003. With William Howell.
- “Hey, Wait a Minute: The Assumptions Behind the Case for Campaign Finance Reform.” Citizens’ Research Foundation Forum on Campaign Finance Reform, Institute for Governmental Studies, University of California Berkeley. August 2000.
- “The Importance of Moving First: Presidential Initiative and Executive Orders.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 28-September 1, 1996.
- “Informational vs. Distributive Theories of Legislative Organization: Committee Membership and Defense Policy in the House.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2-5, 1993.
- “Department of Defense Contracts, Presidential Elections, and the Political-Business Cycle.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2-5, 1993.
- “Problem? What Problem? Congressional Micromanagement of the Department of Defense.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, August 29 - September 2, 1991.

### **Talks and Presentations**

- “Turnout Effects of Voter ID Laws.” Rice University, March 23, 2018; Wisconsin Alumni Association, October 13, 2017. With Michael DeCrescenzo.
- “Informational and Turnout Effects of Voter ID Laws.” Wisconsin State Elections Commission, December 12, 2017; Dane County Board of Supervisors, October 26, 2017. With Michael DeCrescenzo.
- “Voter Identification and Nonvoting in Wisconsin, Election 2016. American Politics Workshop, University of Wisconsin, Madison, November 24, 2017.
- “Gerrymandering: Is There A Way Out?” Marquette University. October 24, 2017.
- “What Happens in the Districting Room and What Happens in the Courtroom” Geometry of Redistricting Conference, University of Wisconsin-Madison October 12, 2017.
- “How Do You Know? The Epistemology of White House Knowledge.” Clemson University, February 23, 2016.
- Roundtable Discussant, Separation of Powers Conference, School of Public and International Affairs, University of Georgia, February 19-20, 2016.
- Campaign Finance Task Force Meeting, Stanford University, February 4, 2016.
- Discussant, “The Use of Unilateral Powers.” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 28-31, 2014, Washington, DC.
- Presenter, “Roundtable on Money and Politics: What do Scholars Know and What Do We Need to Know?” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 28-September 1, 2013, Chicago, IL.
- Presenter, “Roundtable: Evaluating the Obama Presidency.” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 11-14, 2012, Chicago, IL.
- Panel Participant, “Redistricting in the 2010 Cycle,” Midwest Democracy Network,
- Speaker, “Redistricting and Election Administration,” Dane County League of Women Voters, March 4, 2010.
- Keynote Speaker, “Engaging the Electorate: The Dynamics of Politics and Participation in 2008.” Foreign Fulbright Enrichment Seminar, Chicago, IL, March 2008.
- Participant, Election Visitor Program, Australian Electoral Commission, Canberra, ACT, Australia. November 2007.
- Invited Talk, “Public Funding in State and Local Elections.” Reed College Public Policy Lecture Series.

Portland, Oregon, March 19, 2007.

Fulbright Distinguished Chair Lecture Tour, 2006. Public lectures on election administration and executive power. University of Tasmania, Hobart (TAS); Flinders University and University of South Australia, Adelaide (SA); University of Melbourne, Melbourne (VIC); University of Western Australia, Perth (WA); Griffith University and University of Queensland, Brisbane (QLD); Institute for Public Affairs, Sydney (NSW); The Australian National University, Canberra (ACT).

Discussant, "Both Ends of the Avenue: Congress and the President Revisited," American Political Science Association Meeting, September 2-5, 2004, Chicago, IL.

Presenter, "Researching the Presidency," Short Course, American Political Science Association Meeting, September 2-5, 2004, Chicago, IL.

Discussant, Conference on Presidential Rhetoric, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX. February 2004.

Presenter, "Author Meets Author: New Research on the Presidency," 2004 Southern Political Science Association Meeting, January 8-11, New Orleans, LA.

Chair, "Presidential Secrecy," American Political Science Association Meeting, August 28-31, 2003, Philadelphia, PA.

Discussant, "New Looks at Public Approval of Presidents." Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, April 3-6, 2003, Chicago, IL.

Discussant, "Presidential Use of Strategic Tools." American Political Science Association Meeting, August 28-September 1, 2002, Boston, MA.

Chair and Discussant, "Branching Out: Congress and the President." Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, April 19-22, 2001, Chicago, IL.

Invited witness, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Commercial and Administrative Law, U.S. House of Representatives. *Hearing on Executive Order and Presidential Power*, Washington, DC. March 22, 2001.

"The History of the Executive Order," Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia (with Griffin Bell and William Howell), January 26, 2001.

Presenter and Discussant, Future Voting Technologies Symposium, Madison, WI May 2, 2000.

Moderator, Panel on Electric Utility Reliability. Assembly Staff Leadership Development Seminar, Madison, WI. August 11, 1999.

Chair, Panel on "Legal Aspects of the Presidency: Clinton and Beyond." Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, April 15-17, 1999, Chicago, IL.

Session Moderator, National Performance Review Acquisition Working Summit, Milwaukee, WI. June 1995.

American Politics Seminar, The George Washington University, Washington D.C., April 1995.

Invited speaker, Defense and Arms Control Studies Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA, March 1994.

Discussant, International Studies Association (Midwest Chapter) Annual Meeting, Chicago IL, October 29-30, 1993.

Seminar on American Politics, Princeton University, January 16-17, 1992.

Conference on Defense Downsizing and Economic Conversion, October 4, 1991, Harvard University.

Conference on Congress and New Foreign and Defense Policy Challenges, The Ohio State University, Columbus OH, September 21-22, 1990, and September 19-21, 1991.

Presenter, "A New Look at Short Term Change in Party Identification," 1990 Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA.

#### **University and Department Service**

Cross-Campus Human Research Protection Program (HRPP) Advisory Committee, 2019-present.

Athletic Board, 2014-present.

General Education Requirements Committee (Letters and Science), 1997-1998.

Communications-B Implementation Committee(Letters and Science), 1997-1999  
Verbal Assessment Committee (University) 1997-1998.  
College of Letters & Science Faculty Appeals Committee (for students dismissed for academic reasons).  
Committee on Information Technology, Distance Education and Outreach, 1997-98.  
Hilldale Faculty-Student Research Grants, Evaluation Committee, 1997, 1998.  
Department Computer Committee, 1996-1997; 1997-1998, 2005-2006. Chair, 2013-present.  
Faculty Senate, 2000-2002, 2002-2005. Alternate, 1994-1995; 1996-1999; 2015-2016.  
Preliminary Exam Appeals Committee, Department of Political Science, 1994-1995.  
Faculty Advisor, Pi Sigma Alpha (Political Science Honors Society), 1993-1994.  
Department Honors Advisor, 1991-1993.  
Brown-bag Seminar Series on Job Talks (for graduate students), 1992.  
Keynote speaker, Undergraduate Honors Symposium, April 13 1991.  
Undergraduate Curriculum Committee, Department of Political Science, 1990-1992; 1993-1994.  
Individual Majors Committee, College of Letters and Sciences, 1990-1991.  
Dean Reading Room Committee, Department of Political Science, 1989-1990; 1994-1995.

### **Teaching**

#### Undergraduate

Introduction to American Government (regular and honors)  
The American Presidency  
Campaign Finance  
Election Law  
Classics of American Politics  
Presidential Debates  
Comparative Electoral Systems  
Legislative Process  
Theories of Legislative Organization  
Senior Honors Thesis Seminar

#### Graduate

Contemporary Presidency  
American National Institutions  
Classics of American Politics  
Legislative Process