

Applewhite, et al. v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, et al.
No. 330 MD 2012

EXHIBIT 3

Petitioners' Disclosure of Expert Reports

Applewhite, et al.,

Plaintiff,

v.

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *et. al.*

Defendant,

Case No. 330 MD 2012

EXPERT DECLARATION OF LORRAINE C. MINNITE

I, Lorraine C. Minnite, of full age hereby do declare as follows:

1. I have been asked by attorneys for petitioners in this case to offer an opinion regarding the following statement from Respondents' Supplemental Response to Interrogatory Number 24 of Petitioners' Third Set of Interrogatories: "...from the public record of legislative history leading to the enactment of the Photo ID Law (including information received at legislative hearings), Respondents do contend that the General Assembly had concerns about public confidence in the integrity of the election system and that citizens of the Commonwealth (as well as members of the General Assembly) do not have confidence that the voting system, absent a Photo ID Law, includes adequate measures to reliably assure that those who cast ballots in the Commonwealth's polling places are who they say they are."¹

2. This report supplements my report dated July 16, 2012. I am being compensated at a rate of \$100 per hour.

3. Attorneys have provided me with what I believe is the complete public record of hearings and floor debates from the legislative history leading to the enactment of the Photo ID Law ("Act 18")²:

- transcript, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania House of Representatives, State Government Committee, Hearing on House Bill 934 and House Bill 647, dated March 21, 2011;

¹ *Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Docket No. 330 MD 2012, Respondents' Supplemental Response to Interrogatory Number 24 of Petitioners' Third Set of Interrogatories, May 21, 2013.

² See PA B. Hist., 2012 Reg. Sess., H.B. 934, Pennsylvania General Assembly, 196th General Assembly, 2012 Regular Session, June 10, 2012.

- *Legislative Journal*, 195th Session of the General Assembly, June 20, 2011, June 21, 2011, June 23, 2011, and June 24, 2011, floor debates on HB 934, PN 1805;
- transcript, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania House of Representatives, House Appropriations Committee Public Hearing: Department of State, dated March 7, 2012;
- *Legislative Journal*, 196th Session of the General Assembly, March 7, 2012, March 12, 2012, March 13, 2012, March 14, 2012, floor debates on HB 934, PN 3166.

4. In addition, attorneys asked me to analyze certain factual statements concerning the issue of public confidence in Respondents' Pretrial Memorandum, which attorneys also provided to me.³

5. I will first assess whether the public record of the legislative history leading to the enactment of the Photo ID Law supports Respondents' claims that 1) the General Assembly had concerns about public confidence in the integrity of the election system, and 2) that citizens of the Commonwealth (as well as members of the General Assembly) do not have confidence that the voting system, absent a Photo ID Law, includes adequate measures to reliably assure that those who cast ballots in the Commonwealth's polling places are who they say they are. I will then review what the academic literature says about public confidence and voter identification laws, and conclude with my analysis of Respondents' mischaracterization in their Pretrial Brief of the relationship between the introduction of the predecessor of Act 18 and the federal law, the Help America Vote Act of 2002, and the "Carter-Baker Report."

³ *Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Docket No. 330 MD 2012, Respondents' Pretrial Memorandum, June 17, 2013.

6. In my opinion, the legislative record of hearings and floor debates does not support Respondents' claim that with respect to the Photo ID Law the General Assembly as a whole had concerns about public confidence in the integrity of the election system, or that the General Assembly had information about the public's concerns (but see Rep. Aumont's comments below). Supporters of HB 934, the bill that became Act 18 (the "Photo ID Law"), asserted that adopting photo ID would increase public confidence in the electoral system. However, research discussed below suggests photo ID laws could have the opposite effect, and those asserting public confidence would increase rarely offered evidence in support of their views. For example, Rep. Barrar said, "Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of HB 934. This bill dealing with photo ID is the number one most important thing we can do to protect the integrity of the election process."⁴ Rep. Pileggi stated, "Mr. President, as I said before, this is a very simple, straightforward matter that most Pennsylvanians can understand and appreciate. It is a small step forward to take this additional step to require photo identification, but it will result in a tremendous increase in the integrity of the election process and in the confidence of Pennsylvania citizens in our election process here in Pennsylvania. I ask for an affirmative vote."⁵ Rep. Aument said, "Some would have you believe that this Commonwealth should be reactionary and not proactive in modernizing our election process, in deterring and detecting fraud, and safeguarding voter confidence. In recent studies, 62 percent of Americans felt voter fraud was very common or somewhat common. Nearly 82 percent of Americans support photo ID laws. Why? Because confidence in the integrity of our

⁴ *Legislative Journal*, Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 195th General Assembly, 2011 Regular Session, "Remarks Submitted For the Record" from Rep. Stephen Barrar, June 23, 2011.

⁵ *Legislative Journal*, Pennsylvania Senate, 196th General Assembly, 2012 Regular Session, March 7, 2012, 190-191.

system is important. A photo identification is not an unnecessary burden...I encourage a vote to concur on HB 934.”⁶ (Note: Studies of public opinion regarding the incidence of voter fraud vary widely depending on the methodology – how voter fraud is defined, question wording and overall survey design. Some, as discussed below, find a much smaller percentage of voters who think voter fraud is very or somewhat common, especially when voter fraud is defined as illegal voting and not election machine ballot count tampering, or manipulation of the rules and procedures by elites. Survey methodology also affects the support for voter ID laws. For example, David Wilson at the University of Delaware’s Center for Political Communication finds that support varies depending on whether ID laws are framed as combating fraud or taking away voting rights.⁷ Support for photo ID laws also must be understood in the context of a high rate of personal possession of drivers’ licenses in the United States, estimated at 87 percent.⁸ Those with the requisite ID are likely to support requiring it. I address other problems concerning the misuse of public opinion data to support arguments about “public confidence” below in my discussion of the Ansolabehere and Persily study.⁹)

⁶ *Legislative Journal*, Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 196th General Assembly, 2012 Regular Session, March 14, 2012, 190-191.

⁷ David C. Wilson, “Public Opinion on Voter ID Laws: Strong Support, Shaky Foundation,” *Huffington Post*, July 18, 2012; accessed June 29, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-c-wilson/public-opinion-on-voter-i_b_1683873.html.

⁸ *Our Nation’s Highways, 2011*, U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, Office of Highway Policy Information, Highway Finance Data Collection; accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/policyinformation/pubs/hf/pl11028/chapter4.cfm>.

⁹ Ansolabehere and Persily offer this caution on the use of public opinion in constitutional cases: “When judges base their decisions on untested empirical assumptions about political behavior, there is always a risk that a more serious inquiry into the data will prove them wrong. This risk is particularly great when judges attempt to assess American public opinion and its likely consequences.” See Stephen Ansolabehere and Nathaniel Persily, “Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder: The Role of Public Opinion in the Challenge to Voter Identification Requirements,” *Harvard Law Review* 121 (2008), 1758; citing Nathaniel Persily, Jack Citrin, and Patrick J. Egan, eds., *Public Opinion and Constitutional Controversy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, 3-17.

7. When an opponent of HB 934 addressed the question of whether adopting the Photo ID Law would increase public confidence in the electoral system, it was to challenge the way supporters of HB 934 had framed the issue. During a Senate floor debate on March 7, 2012, Senator Leach stated:

“So, in order to solve this problem that never happens, we then have to look at what are the costs. We already know the benefits. The benefits are that it solves a crime that never happens, or at least there is no evidence that it ever happens, and intuitively, you would think it would never happen. Then there was the other defense of the crime in that we want some sort of a warm, fuzzy feeling about the election process. There is no evidence that I can find anywhere that says the people of Pennsylvania believe that there is rampant voter fraud or do not have confidence in the election system. And to the extent they do not have confidence, there are a lot of other things, as I think a Senator on the other side of the aisle said we could do to increase confidence, like a paper trail for voting, more access to voting, early voting, and things like that. But voter impersonation is not something that is causing a lot of angst because it never happens, as we have discussed.”¹⁰

8. Senator Leach is not alone in looking for evidence and finding none in support of Respondents’ claim (that the public record of the legislative history leading up to the enactment of the Photo ID Law shows) “...that citizens of the Commonwealth...do not have confidence that the voting system, absent a Photo ID Law, includes adequate measures to reliably assure that those who cast ballots in the Commonwealth’s polling places are who they say they are.”¹¹ No such evidence is in the record.

9. In addition, there is no evidence in the political science literature that would support Respondents’ broad claim about the views of the citizens of Pennsylvania. Similarly, there is no evidence in the academic literature that would support a claim that

¹⁰ *Legislative Journal*, Pennsylvania Senate, 196th General Assembly, 2012 Regular Session, March 7, 2012, 198.

¹¹ *Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Docket No. 330 MD 2012, Respondents’ Supplemental Response to Interrogatory Number 24 of Petitioners’ Third Set of Interrogatories, May 21, 2013, 3.

there is a crisis of confidence in the electoral process, or specifically, in voting systems that do not require voters to present a photo ID to cast a ballot.¹²

10. For voter ID laws to boost public confidence in voting systems, they must address a problem – real or perceived – that depresses public confidence. In the case of voter ID laws, what is that problem if it is not actual voter fraud or the worry and concern that voter fraud might occur in some future election?

11. By this logic we might expect the perception of fraud to depress confidence in the integrity of the electoral process, leading to lower levels of turnout.¹³

12. And yet, in one of the few academic studies to directly test a version of the public confidence justification for photo ID laws, researchers found no relationship between beliefs about the frequency or level of vote fraud and the likelihood of voting. In “Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder,” Stephen Ansolabehere and Nathaniel Persily conclude, “Although a sizable share of the population believes that vote fraud commonly or occasionally occurs, there is little or no relationship between beliefs about the frequency of fraud and electoral participation (reported, validated, or intended);”¹⁴ and that, “[t]he

¹² For political scientists, the issue of “public confidence” in societal or governmental institutions is a thorny one, both theoretically and methodologically. Novices will benefit from the essays in Mark E. Warren’s edited volume, *Democracy and Trust* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), which provides an overview of some of the issues and debates on this far-ranging subject. For a recent study of how different aspects of the voting experience, support for the winning candidate, and various demographic factors influence voter confidence in the electoral process, see Lonna Rae Atkeson, “Voter Confidence in 2010: Voter Identification Perceptions of Fraud, Winning and Losing and the Voting Experience,” Paper Prepared for Delivery to The Aftermath of Bush v. Gore; Ten Years Later, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine, 2011; accessed June 27, 2013; <http://www.democracy.uci.edu/files/democracy/docs/conferences/2011/Voter%20Confidence%20-%20Lonna%20Atkeson.pdf>; forthcoming in R. Michael Alvarez and Bernard Grofman, eds., *Election Administration in the United States: The State of Reform Ten Years After Bush v. Gore*, New York: Cambridge University Press. It is important to point out that most academic studies of voter confidence assume the term means *confidence that one’s ballot was counted as cast*, not *confidence that no fraudulent ballot was cast*, which is more typical of how the concept is used by proponents of photo ID.

¹³ Or, as Ansolabehere and Persily put it, “These arguments point to a specific empirical prediction. Perceptions of higher rates of vote fraud ought to correlate negatively with participation in the electoral process.” See Ansolabehere and Persily, “Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder,” 1750.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1759.

lack of empirical support leads us to conclude that, at least in the context of current American election practices and procedures, public perceptions do not provide a firm justification for voter identification laws.”¹⁵

13. Ansolabehere and Persily analyzed nationally representative surveys of the electorate in 2006, 2007, and 2008 that included questions about voter fraud. They define three distinct forms of fraud: what they called “voter fraud,” the illegal casting of ballots by non-citizens or double voting; “voter impersonation,” voting in the name of another; and “vote theft,” or the stealing or tampering with votes after they are cast. They then asked respondents to rate how frequently they believed each of these forms of fraud occurred and report that nationwide in 2008, only 13 percent of respondents believed illegal voting by non-citizens and double voting is common, and only nine percent believed voter impersonation – the type of voter fraud that proponents claim this law would address – is very common.¹⁶

14. A study by Lonna Rae Atkeson reports similar findings. In a post-election survey of New Mexico voters, “a rather paltry 8% mentioned [that over the last ten years, they had witnessed] illegal voting by non-citizens and filling out absentee ballots at senior homes.”¹⁷

15. Ansolabehere and Persily found partisanship to be a strong predictor of the belief that fraud, defined as illegal voting or voter impersonation, occurred frequently: “more than twice as many Republicans as Democrats consider Voter Fraud [defined as illegal voting by non-citizens or double voting] to be very common...the partisan division on Voter Impersonation follows the same pattern as that on Voter Fraud. Three out of ten

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1760.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1758.

¹⁷ Atkeson, “Voter Confidence in 2010,” 17.

Democrats (31%) said that they thought Voter Impersonation occurs Somewhat Often or Very Often, whereas fully half of all Republicans (53%) said so. One in five Democrats (21%) thought Impersonation occurs Very Rarely, but just one in twenty Republicans (5%) said the same...Party remains a significant predictor of beliefs about both Fraud and Impersonation in a multivariate analysis that controls for ideology, education, age, race, income, and region.”¹⁸

16. Respondents concede that “in-person” voter fraud is not an actual problem in Pennsylvania.¹⁹ Respondents claim that the motivation of the General Assembly is that voter ID is a prophylactic measure, “... a much more effective protective tool for deterring and preventing such in-person voter fraud – whenever and wherever it *might* occur in a *future* election – than the system in place before the Photo ID Law was enacted (*italics in the original*).”²⁰

17. In fact, the *fear of fraud* occurring in the future was expressed only by supporters of HB 934, who claimed voter ID would “protect integrity” and “increase confidence” in the electoral system, whereas no opponents expressed support for this theory. There was no evidence I could find in the public record of legislative debates on HB 934 to support claims that the people of Pennsylvania had low confidence in the electoral system because photo identification was not required to vote, nor is there any evidence in the public record that the public believed the rules existing at the time were an inadequate protection against voter fraud.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1747.

¹⁹ *Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Docket No. 330 MD 12, Stipulation, July 12, 2012.

²⁰ *Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Docket No. 330 MD 2012, Respondents’ Supplemental Response to Interrogatory Number 24 of Petitioners’ Third Set of Interrogatories, May 21, 2013.

18. We are left with a sharply divided General Assembly where supporters and opponents spoke and behaved like supporters and opponents in other state legislatures debating the adoption of photo ID laws. When there is no evidence that voter fraud is an actual problem, proponents of voter ID laws shift to a fear of fraud as the justification.

19. One important state court ruling on the constitutionality of a photo ID law addressed a problem with asserting a compelling state interest in combating the *perception* of voter fraud (e.g., that it might be occurring now or that it might occur in the future) where no actual voter fraud could be found. In *Weinschenck v. State*, the Missouri Supreme Court stated:

Appellants also urge that the State has a compelling interest in combating perceptions of voter fraud. While the State does have an interest in combating those perceptions, where the fundamental rights of Missouri citizens are at stake, more than mere perception is required for their abridgement. Perceptions are malleable...²¹

20. It is my opinion that developments in the public debate over Pennsylvania's Photo ID Law -- beginning with justifications rooted in allegations about significant problems with voter fraud, and then, when no evidence could be mustered to document the fraud, moving to concerns about perceptions and fears of fraud, the need for greater prevention and public confidence, claims about a lack of enforcement and prosecution of fraudsters, and comparisons to boarding planes or checking out library books -- fit a pattern observed in debates over voter ID laws elsewhere. In my essay, "Voter Identification Laws: The Controversy Over Voter Fraud,"²² I discuss such a pattern of *ex post facto* shifting rationales:

²¹ 203 S.W.3d 201 (Mo. 2006), 218.

²² Lorraine C. Minnite, "Voter Identification Laws: The Controversy Over Voter Fraud," in Matthew J. Streb, ed., *Law and Election Politics: The Rules of the Game*, 2nd ed., New York: Routledge, 88-133.

...The most common argument for voter ID has two parts: first, it presupposes voter impersonation is a real and present danger to the integrity of elections, and second, that more stringent voter ID laws will help prevent or deter fraud.

A second approach accepts that evidence of voter impersonation is scant, but reasons that voter ID nevertheless is necessary as a prophylactic remedy because it is always possible to commit voter fraud. Both of these arguments adopt the view of many opponents of voter ID that voting is a fundamental right, but interpret the meaning of a right to vote in light of what they claim is a second and equally important right, the right to an “undiluted” vote, one not canceled out by fraud.²³ Each fraudulent vote, proponents argue, harms voting rights by negating an equal number of legitimate votes. Thus, so much of proponents’ rhetoric and imagery is infused with a purity myth. Voter ID has a role to play in ensuring the sanctity of the ballot and in preserving the sacredness of voting rights by protecting voters from the pollution of electoral corruption and vote dilution.

A third approach of proponents of voter ID deviates from this focus on the sanctity of individual voting rights. This argument explicitly rejects the notion that voter fraud, real or possible, is important to a rationale for voter ID. Voting itself is minimized because it is rare for one vote to ever determine the outcome of an election. Voting is equated to keeping the streets clean, or getting on an airplane, or buying a beer – an inconsequential everyday act of inconsequential everyday people. Since voting is as important as keeping the streets clean, corrupting it is like littering. For the individual neither voting nor its corruption matters that much, except for the threat to authority that could spread if voters gather too much distrust (presumably from seeing too much litter). What is most important is keeping up the appearance of a concern about littering because keeping up appearances is important to the maintenance of order, and social and political order matter a lot. Arguments for voter ID in this vein are like the ‘broken windows’ or order-maintenance theory of crime control; both emphasize the importance of the appearance of order to the legitimacy of authority.²⁴ An order-maintenance argument for voter ID is concerned most with minimizing the appearance of corruption in elections. Voter ID laws are valued less as deterrents to voter fraud – since in fact, as adherents of this view usually concede, there may not even be a problem with voter fraud – and more for the signal they send to voters that authorities care about clean elections. This is believed to have a cascading positive effect on democracy; first, voter ID laws signal to voters that voting actually does matter as much if not more than buying alcohol, or boarding a plane, which should boost voter confidence. Knowing that the authorities are checking ID’s in turn legitimizes electoral outcomes, and this legitimacy promotes trust in government. There are multiple problems with

²³ J. Kenneth Blackwell and Kenneth A. Klukowski, “The Other Voting Right: Protecting Every Citizen’s Vote by Safeguarding the Integrity of the Ballot Box,” *Yale Law and Policy Review* 29 (2009), 107-123.

²⁴ Bradley Smith, “Broken Windows and Voting Rights,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 156 (2007), 241-246.

this reasoning, the most important of which is the utter lack of empirical evidence supporting it.²⁵

21. Ansolabehere and Persily found that survey respondents who reported being asked to show voter ID "...believe, if anything, that [voter impersonation] fraud is *more* prevalent...(emphasis added)," not that the electoral system is more secure.²⁶

Interpreting this finding, they hypothesized that voter ID requirements "...might be a symptom of voters' fears of fraud, rather than a remedy....," likening a restrictive ID regime to the way a large police presence might heighten residents' fears of crime. By this analogy, stringent voter ID laws might cause voters to worry that a problem with voter fraud has made the laws necessary.²⁷ In other words, it is possible that restrictive ID laws could have the opposite effect on public confidence in the electoral process than what proponents of these laws allege.

22. Statements by elected and other government officials that voter fraud is a big problem, therefore, can encourage a belief that there is a big problem with voter fraud even when, as in the case of Pennsylvania, there is no problem. Atkeson's 2011 study of voters in New Mexico, for example, finds "...that perceptions of fraud are mainly driven by media exposure to the 2000 and 2004 presidential election."²⁸ Most citizens do not work in election administration or law enforcement, nor do they study the incidence of

²⁵ In an unpublished working paper, Alvarez, Atkeson, Hall and Sinclair found that the partisanship of survey respondents strongly influenced attitudes toward voter ID requirements and voter confidence. See, R. Michael Alvarez, Lonna Rae Atkeson, Thad E. Hall, and J. Andrew Sinclair, "The Balance Between Preventing Fraud and Ensuring Participation: Attitudes Towards Voter Identification in New Mexico," VTP Working Paper 106, Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, July 2011. See also, Ansolabehere and Persily, "Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder;" Stephen D. Ansolabehere, "Effects of Identification Requirements on Voting: Evidence from the Experiences of Voters on Election Day," *PS* 42 (2009), 127-130; and Atkeson, "Voter Confidence in 2010," 2011. Quoted passage from Minnite, "Voter Identification Laws," 105-106.

²⁶ Ansolabehere and Persily, "Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder," 1756.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1755 (note 43).

²⁸ Atkeson, "Voter Confidence in 2010," 24.

voter fraud. They are not equipped with the experience, knowledge or information they need to be able to judge the accuracy of claims about voter fraud made by politicians or other appropriately placed government officials to whom they may defer for authority on the subject.

23. Statements by leading officials in Pennsylvania, including Governor Corbett, Secretary of the Commonwealth Aichele, and leading proponents of Act 18, bill sponsor Rep. Metcalfe, and Rep. Turzai, before, during, and after the legislative debate over HB 934, repeatedly described the legislation as a remedy for voter fraud, thereby shaping public opinion about the incidence of voter fraud, a subject about which the public knows little.

24. For example, Rep. Metcalfe issued a press release on May 9, 2011, when HB 934 advanced from the State Government Committee to the full House for consideration, stating, "Passage of House Bill 934 is essential to preserving the sacred freedom of voting from the ever-present forces of corruption seeking to override the will of the people...Guaranteeing the integrity of our state's election process in which all registered voters can be fully confident that only eligible voters have the privilege of casting a vote, that every vote counts equally and, most importantly, not be canceled out by fraudulent votes (*sic*) deserves no less than equal protection under the law."²⁹ Seven weeks later when the full House approved the bill, Rep. Metcalfe stated,

Pennsylvania has a long and ongoing history of documented voter fraud – pre-dating even the frequently-forged signature of Mickey Mouse during the 1918 election to the deeply rooted and widespread influence of ACORN during the past several election cycles...House Bill 934 is a commonsense safeguard that will only disenfranchise integrity-deficient individuals seeking to perpetuate

²⁹ "Metcalfe Legislation to Combat Voter Fraud with Valid Photo ID Green-Lighted for House Consideration, State Representative Daryl Metcalfe, May 9, 2011; accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.repmetcalfe.com/NewsItem.aspx?NewsID=11314>.

fraud and corruption at the polls...Any election official who opposes requiring valid photo ID at the polls needs to be asked if allowing for cheating at the ballot box is necessary for them to win.³⁰

25. Rep. Metcalfe frequently cites anecdotes of unsubstantiated allegations of fraud to create the impression of a problem. For example, in a March 13, 2012 House floor debate on HB 934, when asked by Rep. Wheatley for analysis “done on the rate of voter fraud that has occurred in the Commonwealth...”, Rep. Metcalfe stated that he was not aware of any.³¹ Instead, he offered an anecdote about a discrepancy in Philadelphia’s voter registration records as evidence fraud and suggested systematically collected data was unavailable or even unknowable because D.A.’s in Pennsylvania “...do not prosecute those cases.”³² In a letter dated March 20, 2012, to U.S. Congressman Robert Brady of Philadelphia, Rep. Metcalfe stated: “Voter fraud has been a documented problem throughout the history of Pennsylvania. The previous lack of proper checks and balances in our election system made it difficult to fully grasp the magnitude of the problem.” Rep. Metcalfe then cited a disputed 1918 Congressional election in the 10th District, and an incident of voter registration fraud involving forged applications submitted to Chester election officials by a voter registration drive contractor in 2008.³³ I found no record of any evidence offered by Rep. Metcalfe to substantiate his assertion that “voter fraud has been a documented problem throughout the history of Pennsylvania.”

³⁰ “Metcalfe Photo ID Legislation to Disenfranchise Voter Fraud and Corruption Wins House Approval,” State Representative Daryl Metcalfe, June 23, 2011; accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.repmetcalfe.com/NewsItem.aspx?NewsID=11758>.

³¹ *Legislative Journal*, Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 196th General Assembly, 2012 Regular Session, March 13, 2012, 347.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ “Metcalfe Tells Congressman Brady to Stop Endorsing Voter Fraud and Corruption,” State Representative Daryl Metcalfe, March 27, 2012; accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.repmetcalfe.com/NewsItem.aspx?NewsID=13991>.

26. Other elected officials in Pennsylvania also made public statements during this time to suggest the integrity of Pennsylvania's election system was at risk. In a press release accompanying the signing of Act 18 into law, Governor Corbett said, "I am signing this bill because it protects a sacred principle, one shared by every citizen of this nation. That principle is: one person, one vote."³⁴ In the press conference, Governor Corbett added that the bill "prevents people from cheating in our elections." Moreover, the Governor opined, "Some have argued that there is no evidence of voter fraud. I don't necessarily agree with that...I believe that we need to ensure that our elections are fair..." and Act 18 "...sets a simple and clear standard to protect the integrity of our elections."³⁵

27. Following this court's October 2, 2012 ruling granting in part Petitioners' Application for Preliminary Injunction of Act 18, Governor Corbett stated, "This law is designed to preserve the integrity of every vote by doing what we can to make sure each voter is who they claim to be at the polls, and we are confident this law will be fully implemented in future elections."³⁶

28. Likewise, on numerous occasions, Secretary of the Commonwealth Aichele linked Act 18 and photo identification to the presumption of a problem with voter fraud. For example, an August 23, 2011 press release states, "'My duty, and yours, is to protect the integrity of every vote,' said Aichele. Pennsylvania's chief election official, explaining the Corbett Administration's support for the photo ID concept. 'We must insure every citizen entitled to vote can do so, but also prevent anyone not entitled to this

³⁴ Press Release, Pennsylvania Office of the Governor, March 14, 2012.

³⁵ Recorded Remarks, Governor Thomas Corbett, Press Conference, March 14, 2012; accessed June 29, 2013; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rvwtkm_aHYk.

³⁶ Press Release, Pennsylvania Office of the Governor, October 2, 2012.

right from diluting legal voters' ballots, by casting illegal votes.'"³⁷ In an Op-Ed titled, "Need More Protections Against Voter Fraud," appearing in the October 10, 2011 edition of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Secretary Aichele opined,

We must safeguard this right for those who are legally entitled to vote, and uphold the longstanding principle of one person, one vote. This is why the Corbett administration supports requiring voters to show photo identification before casting a ballot: to deter fraud and make sure every person's vote has the weight it deserves in deciding elections...Some argue this is a solution without a problem, but...[s]adly, voter fraud has occurred in Pennsylvania. We should not wait for it to happen again. Voter ID will assuredly help detect and deter this fraud, safeguarding our state's election process.³⁸

Upon Governor Corbett's signing of Act 18 into law, Secretary Aichele stated, "This law will help us preserve the integrity of every vote in Pennsylvania...No one entitled to vote will be denied that right by this bill, but by preventing those not legally allowed to vote from casting ballots, we will make sure every vote carries the weight it should in deciding elections."³⁹ An April 24, 2012 press release from the Pennsylvania Department of State quotes the Secretary, who states, "Voter ID is a common-sense way to preserve the integrity of every vote, by providing a reliable way to verify the identity of each voter...This law will help prevent legal votes from being canceled or diluted by illegally cast ballots."⁴⁰ A press release from the Governor's Office dated August 15, 2012 quotes Secretary Aichele's view that the Photo ID Law will increase public confidence in the electoral process. She states: "This law will reinforce the principle of one person, one vote...By giving us a

³⁷ Press Release, Pennsylvania Department of State, August 23, 2011.

³⁸ Carole Aichele, "Need More Protections Against Voter Fraud," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 10, 2011, A22.

³⁹ Press Release, Pennsylvania Office of the Governor, March 14, 2012.

⁴⁰ Press Release, Pennsylvania Department of State, April 24, 2012.

reliable way to verify the identity of each voter, the voter ID law will enhance confidence in our elections.”⁴¹

29. Finally, Rep. Turzai, a strong supporter of photo ID, spoke frequently about an alleged “history of voter fraud in Pennsylvania,” and the need for photo ID to ensure the integrity of elections. Upon this court’s August 15, 2012 ruling denying Petitioners’ request for a preliminary injunction, Rep. Turzai released a statement in which he claimed, without evidence or authority, that “It is unfortunate, but there has been a history of voter fraud in Pennsylvania.”⁴² Again, following a decision by this court, on October 2, 2012, Rep. Turzai said,

Voter identification is about ensuring the integrity of our elections and preserving the principle of the ‘One person, One vote’ doctrine. When votes are diluted through fraud, the system starts to break down. Voter identification has always been about creating a level playing field where every Pennsylvanian’s vote represents an equal opportunity to have a voice in government. The fact is, the election integrity provisions that have passed the House have been to preserve the right of every citizen who is entitled to vote to be able to vote, and every citizen who votes should be sure that his or her vote has not been diluted by somebody else’s fraud.⁴³

When speaking to a partisan audience, however, Rep. Turzai suggested that a concern about electoral integrity was not the main or at least the only reason why Republicans in the state pushed the Photo ID Law. Appearing before a Republican State Committee meeting in Hershey on June 23, 2012, he listed voter ID as among the accomplishments of Republicans in the state legislature, adding that the new law “is gonna’ allow Governor Romney to win the state of Pennsylvania...”⁴⁴

⁴¹ Press Release, Pennsylvania Office of the Governor, August 15, 2012.

⁴² “Turzai Comments on Commonwealth Court Voter ID Ruling,” Majority Leader Mike Turzai, August 15, 2012; accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.repturzai.com/NewsItem.aspx?NewsID=15013>.

⁴³ “Voter Identification Law Withstands Lawsuit, Decision Ultimately Ensures Integrity in Pennsylvania Elections,” Rep. Mike Turzai, October 2, 2012; accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.repturzai.com/Newsitem.aspx?NewsID=15380>.

⁴⁴ See, Kelly Cernetich, “Turzai: Voter ID Law Means Romney Can Win PA,” PoliticsPA, June 25, 2012,

30. Respondents' Pretrial Memorandum reconstructs an inaccurate history as context for the present controversy over the state's Photo ID Law.

31. As I argue in *The Myth of Voter Fraud*, the "concerns about voting fraud" that Respondents claim "persisted, not only in Pennsylvania but nationwide" after 2002 were manufactured by a concerted, multi-pronged political campaign on the part of partisans to roll back election rules that make it easier for citizens to vote. As the evidence in that book documents, unfounded fears about criminal voters were trumped up by partisan actors, including politicians and elected officials, party and campaign officials, lawyers, and media outlets who took advantage of Americans' low level of awareness of election law and election facts to scare the public into thinking there was an epidemic of voter fraud. Public opinion followed elite opinion trumpeted in the news or through other official authorities, such as national election reform commissions.⁴⁵

32. Respondents claim that two federal election administration reform statutes, the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (NVRA), and the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA), by making it "easier to add registered voters to the rolls and harder to remove them," undermined the integrity of the ballot, raising concerns that led the General Assembly "to amend section 1210 of the Pennsylvania Election Code, 25 P.S. § 3050, to provide that when an elector appeared to vote in an election district for the first time, he or she had to present to an election officer...photographic identification."⁴⁶

33. This is an abuse of history. As the public record of debates on Act 150 of 2002 shows, Pennsylvania amended its election code in this fashion because HAVA mandated

<http://www.politicspa.com/turzai-voter-id-law-means-romney-can-win-pa/37153/>, accessed June 29, 2013.

⁴⁵ Lorraine C. Minnite, *The Myth of Voter Fraud*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2010.

⁴⁶ *Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Docket No. 330 MD 2012, Respondents' Pretrial Memorandum, 2-3.

that voters who register by mail and do not provide a drivers license number or the last four digits of their Social Security numbers on the registration application, or do not provide a copy of a valid photo ID, or a copy of a current utility bill, bank statement, government check, paycheck, or other government document that show the name and address of the voter when submitting the registration application, must present documentary proof of their identity the first time they vote in a jurisdiction.⁴⁷ As a condition of receiving grants to upgrade voting equipment from the nearly \$4 billion appropriated by Congress, states were required to amend their election codes to bring them into conformity with HAVA requirements. Pennsylvania's ID requirement was somewhat more restrictive than mandated by HAVA, as it applied to all voters voting in a jurisdiction for the first time, not just those registering by mail without providing certain ID. HAVA was signed by President Bush on October 29, 2002; Act 150 was signed by Governor Rendell on December 9, 2002.⁴⁸

34. As reflected in the public record, the Pennsylvania ID requirements originated with a motion in June 2002, four months before HAVA was signed into law, by Rep. Metcalfe to amend a bill introduced by Senator Lemmond in April 2001 (SB 824), to increase compensation to certain county and district election officers. Rep. Metcalfe's amendment replaced the Lemmond bill with an expansive set of proposals to amend Pennsylvania's election code. In its original form, Rep. Metcalfe's proposal for a photo identification requirement applied to all voters in all primary and general election, and

⁴⁷ The ID requirements are contained in Section 303(b) of the Help America Vote Act of 2002.

⁴⁸ "The State legislature [of Pennsylvania] passed another election reform bill in December of 2002 that amended the State's election code to comply with HAVA...Pennsylvania's voter ID requirements exceed those imposed by Federal law. Although HAVA requires ID only for first-time voters who register by mail, Pennsylvania requires all voters who are voting for the first time in a district to present ID – regardless of their method of registration." See, U.S. Election Assistance Commission, "Case Studies on the Impact of the Help America Vote Act's Identification Requirements for First-Time Voters," May 2008, 38; accessed June 29, 2013, http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/workflow_staging/Page/63.PDF.

included the limited forms of photo ID that re-emerged in Act 18, but also permitted "...a voter's identification card issued by the county registration commission..." and "a valid identification card issued by an agency of another state..." Rep. Metcalfe's timing in introducing a photo ID requirement tracked the debates in Congress over HAVA. The amended version of Rep. Metcalfe's proposals that passed the Pennsylvania Senate at the end of November 2002, stripped out the voter registration card and the valid identification card issued by an agency of another state as acceptable forms of photo ID, but limited the ID requirement to only those voters appearing in a jurisdiction for the first-time.

35. In introducing his amendments to Senator Lemmond's bill, Rep. Metcalfe repeatedly stated that the reason for the photo ID requirement was because responsibilities accompany rights, and citizens have a responsibility "...to ensure that the voter voting is actually the person they say they are."⁴⁹ He also said that what he was trying to do was "...ensure that they [citizens of Pennsylvania] are actually the person (sic) they say they are, which is what most citizens of this Commonwealth and nation have been asking for since the multitudes of fraud have been alleged since especially the election of 2000."⁵⁰

36. Once Pennsylvania House members focused on the photo ID requirements added to a bill that originally had nothing to do with voter qualifications, the debate became heated. Rep. Casorio was the first to question Rep. Metcalfe about the photo ID requirement. Following Rep. Metcalfe's remarks concerning "multitudes of fraud," Rep. Casorio responded:

⁴⁹ *Legislative Journal*, Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 195th General Assembly, 2011 Regular Session, June 25, 2002, 1443.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

Mr. Speaker, this is an egregious attempt to discourage voters from participating in the electoral process. When we are barely able to get 20 percent of our legislative district's registered voters, not including the 25,000 or so out of the 60,000 that are not even registered to vote, to the polls, now we are going to implement some gestapo-like tactic of having them provide some form of ID that the gentleman has arbitrarily provided for in this amendment...

This is an abomination. This amendment is one of the worst amendments for discouraging voters that I have seen in the 6 years that I have been here, and, Mr. Speaker, if any member of this House would vote for this, I would challenge them how they would rationalize that vote to their constituents and their seniors and their union members throughout their legislative district... This is a rotten amendment, Mr. Speaker, and it deserves a 'no' vote..."⁵¹

37. Thus, the debate in 2002 addressed the same political concerns about fraud and disfranchising effects of ID requirements that later characterized the controversy over Pennsylvania's Photo ID Law. However, as noted above, Respondents in their Pretrial Memorandum claim that the problem was federal legislation, the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, which by making it "easier to add registered voters to the rolls and harder to remove them," created conditions that led the General Assembly to be concerned about the integrity of the electoral process, and to adopt an ID requirement for voters appearing in an election district for the first time, not "multitudes of fraud alleged since...the election of 2000." The public record of the legislative debate on the introduction of Rep. Metcalfe's ID proposal in 2002 does not mention the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 or support Respondents' claim.⁵²

38. During the hearings and debates on HB 934, supporters cited the "Carter-Baker Commission report," as an authoritative call for photo ID. For example, in a March 21, 2011 House State Government Committee Hearing, a witness, Hans von Spakovsky,

⁵¹ *Legislative Journal*, Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 195th General Assembly, 2011 Regular Session, June 25, 2002, 1443-1444.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1437-1444, 1445.

offered a familiar quote, stating, “Now, the Commission on Federal Election Reform headed by President Jimmy Carter, in 2005, said this: ‘The electoral system cannot inspire public confidence if no safeguards exist to deter or detect fraud or to confirm the identity of voters. Photo IDs currently are needed to board a plane, enter federal buildings, and cash a check. Voting is equally important.’”⁵³ A few months later, during floor debate over the Second Consideration of HB 934, Rep. Metcalfe echoed von Spakovsky: “Mr. Speaker, I think the report of the Commission on Federal Election Reform, the Jimmy Carter-James Baker Commission, had said it best when they said, ‘The electoral system cannot inspire public confidence if no safeguards exist to deter or detect fraud or to confirm the identity of voters. Photo IDs currently are needed to board a plane, enter federal buildings, and cash a check. Voting is equally important.’”⁵⁴ During the floor debate a few days later, Rep. Barrar, citing from the *Crawford v. Marion County Election Board* decision, echoed Rep. Metcalfe when he said, “Justice Stevens cited the Carter-Baker Report in his majority opinion stating that the electoral system cannot inspire public confidence if no safeguards exist to deter or detect fraud or to confirm the identity of voters.”⁵⁵ Later, Senator Pileggi pointed to the Carter-Baker report finding that some form of voter ID card is used in nearly 100 democracies around the world (this claim was later challenged by critics of the Report).⁵⁶

39. Respondents’ Pretrial Memorandum elaborates, selectively citing the Carter-Baker Report: “The Commission concluded that public confidence in the election system

⁵³ *Hearing on House Bill 934 (Metcalfe) and House Bill 647 (Cruz)*, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, House of Representatives, State Government Committee, March 21, 2011.

⁵⁴ *Legislative Journal*, Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 195th General Assembly, 2011 Regular Session, June 20, 2011.

⁵⁵ *Legislative Journal*, Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 195th General Assembly, 2011 Regular Session, June 23, 2011.

⁵⁶ *Legislative Journal*, Pennsylvania Senate, 196th General Assembly, 2012 Regular Session, March 7, 2012.

would be enhanced by requiring voters to produce photographic identification at the polls. To guard against any disenfranchisement of legitimate voters, the Commission also proposed that free cards be made available for those who do not drive and that provisional ballots be available for those who failed to bring their identification to the polls.”

40. Respondents’ citing of the Report ignores the political context in which the privately funded Commission operated. The Commission’s recommendation was quite specific, endorsing the use of a national identification card called REAL ID in elections. The REAL ID Act of 2005⁵⁷ was a reaction on the part of Congress to the revelations that some of the 9/11 terrorists had fraudulently obtained drivers licenses. The REAL ID was to be the next generation drivers’ license, with onerous, multi-point documentation requirements, mandates for sharing of data domestically and internationally, high tech coding of extensive identity information and the storage of personal information on government servers. The law as originally adopted proscribed specific information be included on ID cards to be accepted by the federal government for “official purposes,” such as boarding a commercial airline flight or entering a federal building.⁵⁸ At the time of the Commission’s report, to meet the requirements, a state drivers’ license had to include a person’s full legal name, date of birth, signature (captured as a digital image), a photograph, and the person’s Social Security number. A report by the Brennan Center observes that this recommendation was more onerous than the photo ID proposal rejected

⁵⁷ P.L. 109-13, 119 Stat. 302.

⁵⁸ Following passage, there was a firestorm of criticism of the REAL ID Act from across the political spectrum. The law required implementation within three years, but by 2008, all states had applied for extensions of the original May 2008 compliance deadline; a year-and-a-half later, half of the states had passed resolutions or in some cases, binding legislation to not participate in the program. The Department of Homeland Security, which oversees implementation, has moved the deadline ahead several times, lawsuits have been filed and numerous bills have been introduced in Congress to repeal the Act.

the year before by the Commission's predecessor, the Ford-Carter Commission.⁵⁹ But more than that, the Carter-Baker Commission's proposal linked the recommendation for a national ID card to a set of conditions to make these cards "available without expense to any citizen" and that "all voters are provided convenient opportunities to obtain a REAL ID or EAC-template ID card [for non-drivers]." The Commission embedded these recommendations within a framework of an "affirmative role" for state governments in "reaching out with mobile offices to individuals who do not have a driver's license or other government-issued photo ID *to help them register to vote and obtain an ID card.* (emphasis added)."⁶⁰ The ID recommendation was highly controversial and became politicized when the majority prohibited one commissioner who objected to the ID requirement from publishing his 537-word dissent, citing a 250-word limit.⁶¹

41. Respondents also fail to appreciate the degree to which the Carter-Baker Commission *did not* endorse photo ID laws like Georgia's which ignored the Report's expansive recommendations for universal voter registration and other measures to shift the burden of registration from individuals to government. President Jimmy Carter condemned the 2005 Georgia law, which at the time was the most-restrictive photo ID law in the nation, as a discriminatory poll tax that should be 'overthrown by the

⁵⁹ The Ford-Carter Commission is also known as the National Commission on Federal Election Reform, and like the Carter-Baker Commission, was a private initiative associated with a university and funded by private foundation grants. The citation for Brennan Center report is: Wendy Weiser, Justin Levitt, Catherine Weiss, and Spencer Overton, "Response to the Report of the 2005 Commission on Federal Election Reform," The Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, September 19, 2005, 2; accessed June 28, 2013, <http://www.brennancenter.org/publication/response-report-2005-commission-federal-election-reform>.

⁶⁰ *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections: Report of the Commission on Federal Election Reform*, September 2005, 20; accessed June 27, 2013, http://www1.american.edu/ia/cfer/report/full_report.pdf.

⁶¹ Richard L. Hasen, "Carter-Baker Election Reforms Imperiled by Its Partisan Voter ID Mandate," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 22, 2005, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0922/p09s01-coop.html>. Commissioner Spencer Overton created a website to publicize his dissent; see <http://www.carterbakerdissent.com/dissent.php>; accessed June 28, 2013.

courts.”⁶² “Georgia passed an absolutely obnoxious law,” said Carter. “It was specifically designed to prevent old people, poor people and African-Americans from voting.”⁶³

42. Follow up reports by American University’s Center for Democracy and Election Management (CDEM), the agency that staffed the Carter-Baker Commission, registered growing concerns that the Commission’s voter ID recommendations were not being implemented within the context of the Commission’s proposed overhaul of state-based voter registration systems. The proposal to convert and use for purposes of voter identification a national voter identification card mandated by the REAL ID Act of 2005, aligned with HAVA and the Commission’s overall proposals to centralize, computerize and modernize voter registries to universal national standards. In a 2009 evaluation of the status of the 87 recommendations of the Carter-Baker Commission, the former Director of the Commission and Co-Director of the CDEM, Professor Robert Pastor wrote, “One controversial recommendation – on voter IDs and an affirmative state role to provide them free – was mentioned often to promote a one-sided version, but it was never fully implemented in the spirit in which it was written. Republican state legislatures pressed for stringent IDs without the affirmative aid to broaden registration and provide free IDs, and Democrats opposed the ID measures without trying to incorporate the affirmative elements. The result was unfortunate.”⁶⁴

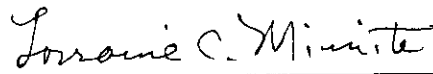
⁶² Spencer Overton, “The Carter-Baker ID Card Proposal: Worse Than Georgia,” *Roll Call*, September 28, 2005; accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.carterbakerdissent.com/rollcall.php>.

⁶³ “Critics File Suit Against Georgia Voter ID Law,” *Fox News.com*, October 1, 2005; accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,170958,00.html>.

⁶⁴ “The State of Elections in the Fifty States: Evaluating the Process Where It Counts,” Center for Democracy and Election Management, American University School of Public Affairs, July 15, 2009, 2; accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www1.american.edu/ia/cdem/pdfs/CDEM%20Final%20Rpt%20of%20the%20States%20-%20July%2015%2009.pdf>.

43. Given this review of the public record of debates and hearings from the legislative history leading to the enactment of Pennsylvania's Photo ID Law, I conclude that certain factual assertions made by Respondents in their Supplemental Response to Interrogatory Number 24 of Petitioners' Third Set of Interrogatories and Pretrial Memorandum regarding the General Assembly's concerns about public confidence in the integrity of the election system are not well supported by the evidence.

44. I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed on July 1, 2013, in Millerton, New York.



Lorraine C. Minnite

LORRAINE CAROL MINNITE

Rutgers, State University of New Jersey-Camden
Dept. of Public Policy & Administration
401 Cooper Street, Rm. 102
Camden, New Jersey 08102
lcm130@camden.rutgers.edu
Tel. (856) 225-2526

EDUCATION

The Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York

Ph.D. in Political Science, 2000

Dissertation: "Identity, Voting Rights and the Remapping of Political Representation in New York City"

Honors: Distinction

M.Phil. in Political Science, 1994

Major field: American Politics

Minor field: Public Policy

M.A. in Political Science, 1992

Master's Thesis: "The Ecology of the Underclass: William Julius Wilson and the Chicago School"

Boston University, College of Liberal Arts

B.A. in History, 1983

Area of Concentration: American Civilization

Honors: Cum Laude

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

Associate Professor

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey – Camden Campus, 2011 to present.

Teach graduate courses in public policy and community development and undergraduate courses in urban studies.

Assistant Professor

Barnard College, Columbia University, January 2000 to 2011.

Taught undergraduate courses in American politics and urban studies.

Associate Director

The Center for Urban Research and Policy, Columbia University, December 1993 to 2000.

Responsible for the day-to-day management of the Center; wrote grant proposals and helped secure funding from government and private sources for all activities totaling nearly \$2,000,000.

Instructor and Research Associate

Metropolitan Studies Department, New York University, Spring 1991.

Designed and taught a core course for undergraduates on the political and economic development of post-war American cities.

Assistant Program Director

Borough of Manhattan Community College, City University of New York, 1987 to 1990.

Assisted the Director in all administrative aspects of the BMCC Summer Immersion Program, a non-traditional, intensive, remedial education program.

Research Assistant and Data Analyst

CUNY Data Service, The Graduate School, City University of New York, 1987 to 1991.

Programmed and analyzed large data sets from the 1980 STF and PUMS (microdata) Census files, and the New York City Housing and Vacancy Surveys.

Research Assistant

Department of Political Science, The Graduate School, City University of New York, 1985 to 1987.

Worked on various research projects for Prof. Marilyn Gittell.

OTHER EMPLOYMENT**Research Director**

Project Vote, 2010 to 2011.

Conduct research and develop a research program for a non-profit organization that runs voter registration drives, litigates violations of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, and advocates for the voting rights of minorities, youth and the poor.

Issues Director

The Committee for David N. Dinkins, II, New York City, 1991 to 1993.

Conducted research for Mayor David N. Dinkins' campaign committee on a wide range of public policy issues and problems facing New York City.

Campaign Manager

McCabe for City Council, Brooklyn, New York, 1991.

Organized and administered the successful campaign for the Democratic Party nomination and the New York City Council seat in the 38th Council District.

Union Organizer

District 65/UAW, (AFL-CIO), Northeast Regional Office, Boston, Massachusetts, 1984 to 1985, Summer 1986.

Participated in the planning and implementation of a union organizing campaign; served as editor of union local's newsletter; assisted negotiating committee in contract negotiations.

ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL HONORS

Jay Sigler Award for Teaching Excellence, Rutgers-Camden Public Administration Student Association, 2013

Affiliated Faculty, Center for Community Leadership, Rutgers-Camden, 2013 to present

Affiliated Faculty, Center for Urban Research and Education, Rutgers-Camden, 2012 to present

Civic Engagement Faculty Fellow, Rutgers-Camden, 2012

Selected a "Top Wonk" in Democracy and Elections, The Agenda Project, 2012

2011 *Choice* Magazine "Outstanding Academic Title" for *The Myth of Voter Fraud*

Carnegie Corporation of New York Special Opportunities Fund Award (\$50,000), 2007

Senior Fellow, Democracy Program, Dēmos – A Network for Ideas and Action, 2006 to present

Member, Working Group on Immigration Challenges, The Century Foundation Homeland Security Project, 2004

Faculty Fellow, Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, Columbia University, 2002 to 2011

Member, Working Group on New York's Recovery from 9-11, Russell Sage Foundation, 2002 to 2005

Curriculum Development Award (\$1,500), Barnard Project on Diaspora and Migration, 2000

CUNY Graduate School Dissertation Year Fellowship (\$10,000), 1996-1997

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Political Science Association

American Sociological Association

European Sociological Association
Social Science History Association
Urban Affairs Association

COURSES

Rutgers-Camden

Alternative Strategies for Distressed Cities
Civic Engagement, Nonprofits and Community Development
Foundations of Policy Analysis
Politics of Community Development
Poverty and the Urban Environment
Research Workshop

Barnard College

American Urban Politics
Contemporary Urban Problems
Dynamics of American Politics
Participation and Democracy
Senior Research Seminar in American Politics
Urban Myths and the American City

New York University

The Crisis of the Modern American City

Graduate Committees (Examiner)

Columbia University Ph.D. Program in Political Science, Dissertation Committee, 12/00, 5/03, 5/09.
Columbia University School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Dissertation Proposal Committee, 2/08.
Columbia University School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Dissertation Committee, 4/10.
CUNY Graduate Center Ph.D. Program in Political Science, Dissertation Committee, 4/05, 5/06, 8/06.
CUNY Graduate Center Ph.D. Program in Political Science, Oral Doctoral Exam, 12/00.

PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

Books

The Myth of Voter Fraud, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2010.

Keeping Down the Black Vote: Race and the Demobilization of American Voters, New York: The New Press, 2009; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven and Margaret Groarke.

Journal Articles

"New Challenges in the Study of Right-wing Propaganda: Priming the Populist Backlash to 'Hope and Change,'" *New Political Science* 34:4 (2013).

"Modeling Problems in the Voter ID-Voter Turnout Debate," *Election Law Journal* 8:2 (2009), 85-102; co-authored with Robert S. Erikson.

"Model Assumptions, and Model Checking in Ecological Regressions," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 164, Part 1 (2001), 101-118; co-authored with Andrew Gelman, David K. Park, Stephen Ansolabehere, and Phillip N. Price.

Chapters in Edited Volumes

"Poverty and Social Movements," in *The Oxford Handbook of Poverty and Society*, edited by David Brady and

Linda M. Burton, Oxford University Press, *forthcoming*; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

"Voter Identification Laws: The Controversy Over Voter Fraud," in Matthew J. Streb, ed., *Law and Election Politics*, New York: Routledge, 2012.

"Lost in Translation? A Critical Reappraisal of the Concept of Immigrant Political Incorporation," in Jennifer Hochschild and John H. Mollenkopf, eds., *Bringing Outsiders In: Transatlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2009.

"Environmental Risk and Childhood Disease in an Urban Working Class Caribbean Neighborhood," in Sherrie L. Baver and Barbara Lynch Deutsch, ed., *Beyond Sun and Sand: Caribbean Environmentalisms*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006; co-authored with Immanuel Ness.

"Outside the Circle: The Impact of Post-9/11 Responses on the Immigrant Communities of New York City," in John H. Mollenkopf, ed., *Contentious City: The Politics of Recovery in New York City*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005.

"Between Anglo and Black: Asian and Latina/o Political Participation in New York City," in William E. Nelson, Jr. and Jessica Perez-Monforti, eds., *Black and Latino/a Politics: Issues in Political Development in the United States*, Miami: Barnhardt and Ash, 2005; co-authored with John Mollenkopf.

"The Changing Arab New York Community," in Kathleen Benson and Philip M. Kayal, eds., *A Community of Many Worlds: Arab Americans in New York City*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002; co-authored with Louis Abdellatif Cristillo.

"Social Capital, Political Participation and the Urban Community," in Susan Saegert, J. Phillip Thompson, and Mark Warren, eds., *Social Capital and Poor Communities*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001; co-authored with Ester R. Fuchs and Robert Y. Shapiro.

"Patterns of Neighborhood Change," in John H. Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells, eds., *Dual City: Restructuring New York*, New York: Russell Sage, 1991; co-authored with Frank F. DeGiovanni.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Chapter in Conference Proceedings

"The Political Incorporation of Immigrants in New York," in *In Defense of the Alien: Proceedings of the 23rd Annual National Legal Conference on Immigration and Refugee Policy*, New York: Center for Migration Studies, 2001; co-authored with Jennifer Holdaway and Ronald Hayduk.

Encyclopedia Entries

"The Underclass," in *The International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Elsevier, *forthcoming*; co-authored with Paul J. Jargowsky.

"Welfare," in *The International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Elsevier, *forthcoming*; co-authored with Joan Maya Mazelis.

"Voter Participation," in *The Encyclopedia of Social Work*, 20th ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, online version 2013; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

"The Working Families Party," in Immanuel Ness, ed. *The Encyclopedia of American Third Parties*, Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2000.

Book Reviews

Waiting for the Cemetery Vote, by Tom Glaze, *American Review of Politics*, (Spring/Summer 2012).

Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation edited by R. Michael Alvarez, Thad Hall and Susan D. Hyde, *Election Law Journal* 8:3 (2009).

Governing From Below: Urban Regions and the Global Economy by Jefferey M. Sellers, Cambridge University Press, 2002, in *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 118, No. 4 (Winter 2003-2004).

Social Class, Politics, and Urban Markets: The Makings of Bias in Policy Outcomes by Herman L. Boschken, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002, in *The International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (December 2003).

The Miami Fiscal Crisis: Can A Poor City Regain Prosperity? by Milan J. Dluhy and Howard A. Frank, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2002, in *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 117, No. 4 (Winter 2002-2003).

Research Reports

Latino New Yorkers in the 2008 Presidential Election: The New Americans Exit Poll, New York Latino Research Network (NYLARNet) at The University of Albany, Fall 2011.

Research Memo: First-time Voters in the 2008 Election, Project Vote, Washington, D.C., April 2011.

An Analysis of Who Voted (And Who Didn't Vote) in the 2010 Election, Project Vote, Washington, D.C., November 2010.

Research Memo: Debunking the Tea Party's Election Night Message, Project Vote, Washington, D.C., October 26, 2010.

What Happened to Hope and Change? A Poll of 2008 Voters, Project Vote, Washington, D.C., September 2010.

Election Day Registration: A Study of Voter Fraud Allegations and Findings on Voter Roll Security, Dēmos – A Network for Ideas and Action, New York, November 2007.

The Politics of Voter Fraud, Project Vote, Washington, D.C., March 2007.

Securing the Vote: An Analysis of Election Fraud, Dēmos – A Network for Ideas and Action, 2003, New York; updated 2007; co-authored with David Callahan.

Journalism

My expertise on elections and voter fraud was sought and widely cited and quoted in print and broadcast media during the 2008, 2010 and 2012 election seasons, including, for example, *The New Yorker Magazine*, *The New Republic*, *Mother Jones*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *In These Times*, *American Prospect*, *Washington Monthly*, *Monthly Review*, *New Left Review*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, Associated Press, McClatchy, Al Jazeera English (*Fault Lines*, Washington, D.C.), WZBC (*News*, Boston), WBAI (*Democracy Now!*, New York), WNYC (*The Brian Lehrer Show*, New York), WHYI (*Radio Times*, Philadelphia), NPR (*Morning Edition*, Washington, D.C.), CBS News, ABC News Radio, Salon.com, Talking Points Memo, Alternet, The Huffington Post, Slate Magazine, and CQ Researcher, among others.

“Movements Need Politicians – And Vice Versa,” *The Nation*, October 22, 2012; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

“The Other Campaign: Who Gets To Vote,” *New Labor Forum*, May 2012; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

“Why We Need ACORN,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 2010; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

“Re-Drawing the Map of U.S. Politics,” *Red Pepper Magazine*, April-May, 2008; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

"N.C. Rejects Politics of Fear," *The Charlotte Observer*, Charlotte, North Carolina, July 18, 2007.

"Politicians, Beware!" *New York Daily News*, New York, July 24, 2005.

"Albany's Making Bad Elections Worse," *New York Daily News*, New York, August 22, 2004.

UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, PRESENTATIONS AND REPORTS

Works in Progress

"The Political Exclusion of the Urban Poor"

"Food Movements and Food Policy"

"The National Voter Registration Act of 1993, and Agency-Based Voter Registration: A Case Study of the Politics of Policy Implementation Failure"

"Can We Use Election Forensic Techniques to Detect Illegal Purging of Registered Voters?"

"Is Political Polarization Good or Bad for Democracy?"

"Latino Voting Patterns in New York State"

"Policy Consequences of Class Bias in the Electorate"

Conference Participation, Papers and Invited Presentations

"Poverty and Social Movements," paper presented at the 11th Annual Meeting of the European Sociological Association, Torino, Italy, August 28-31, 2013; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

Invited Panelist, "Anatomy of A Public Interest Lawsuit: Voter ID Legislation – A Public Interest Legal Challenge," sponsored by Penn Law Clinical Programs, Lawyering in the Public Interest, Toll Public Interest Center, American Constitution Society and the Civil Rights Law Project, University of Pennsylvania Law School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 5, 2012.

Invited Panelist, "The Voting Rights Act: Where Do We Go From Here?" Rutgers University Law Review Symposium, Trenton, New Jersey, April 13, 2012.

Invited Panelist, "Voting Rights," Civil Rights Law Society, Columbia University Law School, New York City, March 20, 2012.

Invited Panelist, "Race and Public Policy," conference at George Mason University School of Public Policy, Arlington, VA, October 10, 2011.

Invited Panelist, "Organizing the Poor for Rights: The Work of Frances Fox Piven," 107th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, September 1-4, 2011.

"Is Political Polarization Good or Bad for Democracy?," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, March 30-April 2, 2011.

Invited Roundtable Participant, "Voter Disenfranchisement in American Politics," Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 6-8, 2011.

Invited Panelist, "Voter Participation," New York City Charter Revision Commission, New York City, June 2, 2010.

Discussant, "Immigrant Voters: Asian Americans and the 2008 Election," Immigration Seminar Series, Graduate

School and University Center of the City University of New York, May 4, 2009.

"Purging Voters Under the NVRA," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2-5, 2009; co-authored with Margaret Groarke.

Invited Panelist, "Democracy in America: The African-American Experience – Then, Now and Future," U.S. Mission to the United Nations, New York, March 17, 2009.

Invited Speaker, "Voter Suppression in the 2008 Presidential Election," Funders Committee for Civic Participation, Washington, D.C., December 9, 2008.

Invited Panelist, "Stealing the Vote in 2008," A Panel Discussion at New York University, October 16, 2008.

Invited Panelist, "Keeping Down the Vote: Vote Suppression and the 2008 Election," Sarah Lawrence College, September 23, 2008.

"Modeling Problems in the Voter ID-Voter Turnout Debate," paper presented at the State Politics and Policy Conference, Temple University, Philadelphia, May 30-31, 2008; co-authored with Robert S. Erikson.

Panelist, "Keeping Down the Black Voter: Race and the Demobilization of American Voters," *Left Forum*, New York, March 16, 2008.

Panel Discussant, "Group Mobilization, Partisanship, Ideas, and Leadership: The Los Angeles and New York Mayoral Elections of 2005," 102nd Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 31—September 3, 2006.

"Re-thinking Immigrant Political Incorporation," paper presented at the 36th Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association, Montreal, Canada, April 19-22, 2006.

"Immigrant Politics in an Age of Terror," paper presented at the 101st Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1 – September 4, 2005.

Panel Discussant, "Immigrants As Local Political Actors," 100th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 1–4, 2004.

Invited Lecturer, "Literature of Immigration," New Jersey Council for the Humanities Teacher Institute, Monmouth University, Long Branch, New Jersey, August 5, 2004.

"The Impact of 9/11 on Immigrant Politics in New York, With a Focus on Arab, Muslim, and South Asian Immigrant Communities," Columbia University Seminar on the City, New York City, March 23, 2004.

Invited Participant, "The Impact of Post-9/11 Immigration and Law Enforcement Policies," The Century Foundation, New York City, February 4, 2004.

Workshop Participant, Multi-race Study Group, *Harvard CAPS Workshop on Methodologies to Study Immigrant Political Incorporation*, Harvard University, Cambridge, October 30-31, 2003.

Invited Lecturer, "Literature of Immigration," New Jersey Council for the Humanities Teacher Institute, Monmouth University, Long Branch, New Jersey, July 10, 2003.

Panelist, "Rebuilding Post-War Iraq: Domestic and International Implications;" Community Forum, Barnard College, New York City, April 21, 2003.

"Political Participation and the Neglected Role of Spatial Form;" paper presented at the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association, Cleveland, Ohio, March 27-30, 2003.

Invited Speaker, "Teach-In on Iraq;" Barnard College, New York City, November 8, 2002.

Panelist, "Colloquium on Responding to Violence," in honor of Virginia C. Gildersleeve Lecturer, Jody

Williams, Barnard Center for Research on Women, Barnard College, New York City, October 25, 2002.

Panel Moderator, "Who is Brooklyn?" at *The Future of Brooklyn* Conference, Brooklyn College, June 7, 2002.

"Asian and Latino Participation in New York City: The 2000 Presidential Election," co-authored with John H. Mollenkopf; paper presented at the 97th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 29 – September 2, 2001.

Organizer and Panelist, *The Changing Face of New York's Electorate: The Immigrant Vote in 2000 and Beyond*, A Panel Discussion and Media Briefing sponsored by the New York Immigration Coalition and Barnard College, New York City, May 2, 2001.

Organizer and Panelist, *The Muslim Communities in New York City Project; A One-Day Conference*, sponsored by the Center for Urban Research and Policy and the Middle East Institute at the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, New York City, April 30, 2001.

Panelist, *Democratizing New York City; Re-imagining City Government*, sponsored by the Center for Humanities, CUNY Graduate Center, New York City, March 27, 2001.

Organizer and Panel Moderator, *Independent Politics in a Global World*, sponsored by the Independent Politics Group, CUNY Graduate Center, New York City, October 6-7, 2000.

"Political Capital and Political Participation," co-authored with Ester R. Fuchs and Robert Y. Shapiro; paper presented at the 96th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 31 – September 3, 2000.

"The Political Participation of Immigrants in New York," at *Immigrant Political Participation in New York City; A One-Day Working Conference*, sponsored by the Center for Urban Research/CUNY and the International Center for Migration, Ethnicity, and Citizenship, New York City, June 16, 2000

"The Muslim Community in New York City Project," with Louis Abdellatif Cristillo; *Muslims in New York: An Educational Program for Religious Leaders in New York City*, seminar on faith traditions in New York; sponsored by the Interfaith Center of New York and the Imans Council of New York, New York City, June 14, 2000.

"The Political Participation of Immigrants in New York," Session VI on "Integration of Immigrants and Their Descendants," Center for Migration Studies 23rd Annual National Legal Conference on Immigration and Refugee Policy, Washington, D.C., March 30-31, 2000.

"The Changing Arab New York Community," with Louis Abdellatif Cristillo; *A Community of Many Worlds: Arab Americans in New York City*, symposium sponsored by the Museum of the City of New York, New York City, February 5-6, 2000.

"Model Assumptions, and Model Checking in Ecological Regressions," co-authored with Andrew Gelman, Stephen Ansolabehere, Phillip N. Price and David K. Park; paper presented at the Royal Statistical Society conference on the Analysis and Interpretation of Disease Clusters and Ecological Studies, London, December 16-17, 1999.

"The Political Incorporation of Immigrants in New York," co-authored with Jennifer Holdaway and Ronald Hayduk; paper presented at the 95th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 1-4, 1999.

"Political Capital and Political Participation," co-authored with Ester R. Fuchs and Robert Y. Shapiro; paper presented at the 58th Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 15-17, 1999.

"Racial and Ethnic and Urban/Suburban Differences in Public Opinion and Policy Priorities," co-authored with Ester R. Fuchs, Robert Y. Shapiro, and Gustavo Cano; paper presented at the 58th Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 15-17, 1999.

“The Importance of Full Disclosure of Non-response Due to Refusals and the Nature of Potential Bias in Phone Surveys,” with Robert Y. Shapiro, evening workshop presentation to the New York City chapter of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, New York City, March 9, 1999.

“White, Black and Latino Voter Turnout in the 1993 New York City Mayoral Election: A Comparison of Ecological Regression Techniques and Exit Poll Data,” co-authored with David K. Park and Daniel M. Slotwiner; paper presented at the 94th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 4, 1998.

Panel Discussant, “Race, Rights, and American Politics;” panel at the 27th Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association and International Studies Association-Northeast, Newark, New Jersey, November 9-11, 1995.

“Assessing the Quality of Political Reform: Redistricting and the Case of New York City,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the New York State Political Science Association, Albany, New York, April 22, 1994.

Research Reports

How to Think About Voter Participation, White Paper, New York City Charter Revision Commission, July 2010.

The Myth of Voter Fraud, White Paper, Dēmos – A Network for Ideas and Action, May 2002.

Evaluation of the New York Immigration Coalition's '200,000 in 2000: New Americans Pledging to Strengthen Democracy and New York' Initiative, Final Report to the New York Foundation, with John H. Mollenkopf, August 2001.

A Study of Attitudes Among Low-Income Parents Toward Environmental Health Risks and Childhood Disease: The Brooklyn College COPC Survey, with Immanuel Ness, June 2001.

Political Participation and Political Representation in New York City; With a Special Focus on Latino New Yorkers, Report of the Columbia University/Hispanic Education and Legal Fund Opinion Research Project, co-authored with Robert Y. Shapiro and Ester R. Fuchs, December 1997.

Congressional Testimony, Amicus Filings and Expert Witness Participation in Court Cases

Expert Witness, *Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania, 2012.

Expert Witness, *Jones et al. v. Deininger*, U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, 2012.

Expert Certification, *Rutgers University Student Assembly et al. v. Middlesex County Board of Elections*, Superior Court of New Jersey/Middlesex County, 2011-present.

League of Women Voters v. Rokita; Supreme Court of Indiana, Brief of *Amici Curiae* Lonna Rae Atkeson, Matt A. Barreto, Lorraine C. Minnite, Jonathan Nagler, Stephen A. Nuño and Gabriel Ramon Sanchez in Opposition to Defendant’s Petition to Transfer, November 2009.

Expert Witness, *Democratic National Committee, et al. v. Republican National Committee, et al.*, U.S. District Court in the District of New Jersey, 2008-2009.

U.S. Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, *Hearing on In-Person Voter Fraud: Myth and Trigger for Voter Disenfranchisement?*, March 12, 2008 (written testimony).

Witness, U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, *Oversight Hearing on Voter Suppression*, February 26th, 2008 (oral and written testimony).

William Crawford, et al. v. Marion County Election Board, et al.; Indiana Democratic Party, et al. v. Todd Rokita et al.; Brief of *Amici Curiae* of The Brennan Center for Justice, Demos: A Network for Ideas and Action, Lorraine C. Minnite, Project Vote, and People for the American Way Foundation, November 2007.

Fact Witness, *ACORN et al. v. Bysiewicz*, U.S. District Court in the District of Connecticut, 2004-2005.

RESEARCH GRANTS

Principle Investigator, "The Political Exclusion of the Urban Poor," Rutgers Research Council Award, 2013-2014 (\$3,000).

Recipient, RU FAIR ADVANCE (NSF) Camden Travel Award, March/April 2013 (\$1,590).
Funded by the Rutgers University Office for the Promotion of Women in Science, Engineering, and Mathematics (SciWomen) Institutional Transformation grant from the ADVANCE program of the National Science Foundation.

Principal Investigator, "University Collaborative Exit Poll," November 2008 to October 2009 (\$30,000).
Funded by Columbia University Institute of Social and Economic Research and Policy, Center for Urban Research at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, and the New York Latino Research and Resources Network at the University of Albany, State University of New York.

Co-Principal Investigator, "2006 New Americans Exit Poll," November 2006 to October 2007 (\$10,000).
Funded by the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University.

Recipient, Special Assistant Professor Leave Travel Grant, September 2003 to September 2005 (\$7,700).
Funded by the Provost's Office, Winston Fund, Barnard College.

Recipient, Conference Grant, September 2003 to September 2005 (\$3,000). Funded by the Provost's Office, Forman Fund, Barnard College.

Member, Working Group on New York's Recovery from September 11th, June 2002 to June 2005 (\$30,000).
Funded by the Russell Sage Foundation.

Principal Investigator, "2002 New Americans Exit Poll," December 2002 to March 2003 (\$1,800). Funded by the Faculty Research Fund of Barnard College.

Principal Investigator, "Evaluation of the New York Immigration Coalition's '200,000 in 2000' Campaign," July 2000 to July 2001 (\$40,000). Barnard College, Columbia University. Funded by the New York Foundation.

Co-Principal Investigator, "Muslim Communities in New York City," July 1998 to July 2001 (\$350,000). The Center for Urban Research and Policy, Columbia University. Funded by the Ford Foundation.

SERVICE

College and University

Marshal, Rutgers-Camden Commencement, 2013.

Director, Undergraduate Urban Studies Program, Rutgers-Camden, 2011-to present.

Member, Ford Faculty Seminar on Inequality in New York, Barnard College, 2009-2010.

Panelist, "Obama and the Immigrant Vote," Barnard Forum on Migration, October 30, 2008.

Panel Moderator, "Is Democracy Democratic?" at the Thirty-Third Annual *The Scholar and the Feminist Conference*, Barnard College, March 11, 2008.

Participant, Mellon 23 Assembly, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, February 15-17, 2008.

Panelist, "Election Reflections: The Bush Legacy and the Coming Presidential Elections," Barnard College, Oct. 8, 2007.

Member, *The Scholar and the Feminist Conference* Planning Committee, Barnard Center for Research on Women, 2006.

Member, Faculty Programs and Governance Committee, 2005-2007 (on leave Spring 2007).

Member, Faculty Committee, Barnard Leadership Initiative, 2005-2007 (on leave Spring 2007).

Member, Medalist Committee, Barnard College, 2004-2006, 2007-2009 (on leave Spring 2007).

Member, Columbia University Seminar in Political and Social Thought, 2004 to 2011.
 Faculty Mentor, Francene Rodgers Scholarship Program, Barnard College, Summer 2004.
 Panel Moderator, "Governance by the Media: Feminists and the Coming Election," at the Twenty-Ninth Annual *The Scholar and the Feminist Conference*, Barnard College, April 3, 2004.
 Member, Ph.D. Subcommittee in Urban Planning, Columbia University School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, 2003 to 2011.
 Member, Columbia University Seminar on Globalization, Labor, and Popular Struggles, 2001 to 2011.
 Member, Columbia University Seminar on the City, 2001 to 2011.
 Faculty Mentor, Columbia University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Summer Research Program, 2001.
 Advisory Board Member, Barnard Center for Research on Women, 2000 to 2011.
 First Year Adviser, Barnard College, 2000 to 2004, 2009 to 2011.
 One-Year Replacement Member, Committee on Programs and Academic Standing, Barnard College, 2000-2001.

Professional

I have reviewed numerous journal articles for the *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Review of Politics*, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Law and Society Review*, *New Political Science*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Urban Affairs Review*, and *Working U.S.A.: The Journal of Labor and Society*; and book proposals and manuscripts for Blackwell Publishers, Lexington Books, Routledge, M.E. Sharpe, Inc., and The New Press.

Seminar Speaker, Carnegie-Knight News21 Initiative Reporting Seminar on Voting Rights, The Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication, Arizona State University, February 2, 2012.
 Member, Best Book Committee, Urban Section, American Political Science Association, 2010-2011, 2012-2013.
 Executive Council Member, Urban Section, American Political Science Association, 2008-2010.
 Member, Charles A. McCoy Career Achievement Award, New Politics Section, APSA, 2008-2009.
 Member, Best Dissertation Committee, Urban Section, American Political Science Association, 2008-2009.
 Co-chair, Local Host Committee, American Sociological Association Annual Conference, 2006-2007.
 Nominating Committee, Urban Section, American Political Science Association, 2006-2007.
 Chair, Piven and Cloward Award Committee, New Political Science Section, American Political Science Association, 2005-6.
 Executive Council Member, Urban Section, American Political Science Association, 2005-2007.
 Member, Best Paper Committee, Urban Section, American Political Science Association, 2005-2006.
 Editorial Board Member, *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society*, 2004 to present.
 Grant Reviewer, Research Award Program, The City University of New York, 2003.
 Member, New York Colloquium on American Political Development, 2001 to 2011.

Community

Invited Speaker, Registrar's of Voters Association of Connecticut, Annual Meeting, Cromwell, CT, April 12, 2012.
 Keynote Speaker, Federal Aviation Administration William J. Hughes Technical Center 2012 Black History Month Celebration, Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 15, 2012.
 Organizer, "National Teach-in on Debt, Austerity and How People Are Fighting Back," Judson Memorial Church, New York City, April 11, 2011.
 Host Committee, New York State Immigrant Action Fund, 2010.
 Board Member, The Left Forum, 2009 to 2013.
 Member, New York City Comptroller-Elect John Liu Transition Committee Working Group on External Affairs, 2009.
 Board Member, Project Vote, 2008-2009.
 Speaker, "The Immigrant Voter in New York City," New York Voter Assistance Commission, New York City, May 19, 2005; Citizens Union, New York City, May 18, 2005; New York Immigration Coalition, New York City, February 17, 2005; New York City Central Labor Council, New York City, April 28, 2004.
 Speaker, "The Post-9/11 Crackdown on Immigrants," Coney Island Avenue Project, Brooklyn, New York, March 25, 2004.
 Volunteer, *New York Immigration Coalition*, Voter Registration at INS Naturalization Ceremonies, 1998 to 2002.

PAID CONSULTANTSHIPS

Arnold & Porter LLP, 2012.

Wrote expert report for plaintiffs and testified as an expert witness in *Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania, 2012.

New York City Charter Revision Commission, 2010.

Analyzed the problem of voter participation in New York City and possible solutions for consideration by Commissioners as they prepared ballot referenda to be placed before the voters in 2010.

New York Latino Research and Resources Network at the University of Albany, State University of New York, 2008.

Analyzed survey and other data and wrote report on Latino political participation in New York City and New York State in the 2008 presidential election.

New York Immigration Coalition, New York, New York, 2006.

Provided technical assistance to a three-city exit poll survey project for the 2006 national midterm elections.

Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law, 2004-2005.

Provided expert report on voter fraud and testified as a fact witness in *ACORN, et al. v. Bysiewicz* (Civil Action No. 3:04-CV-1624 (MRK)).

Howard Samuels State Management and Policy Center, Graduate School and University Center of CUNY, 2002.

Consulted on survey design for a project on the efficacy of community-based organizations.

Dēmos, New York, New York, 2001 to 2002.

Researched and wrote a study of voter fraud in contemporary American politics.

1199 Child Care Fund, New York, New York, 2000 to 2002.

Prepared demographic data for Fund-eligible union members and their children.