Walter Richard Mebane, Jr. April 22, 2015

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Born November 30, 1958 in Long Branch, New Jersey.

# EDUCATION:

Ph.D.	Yale University, New Haven, CT, December 1985 (Political Science).
M.Phil.	Yale University, New Haven, CT, December 1981 (Political Science).
M.A.	Yale University, New Haven, CT, December 1980 (Political Science).
A.B.	Harvard College, Cambridge, MA, June 1979 (Government).

# HONORS AND AWARDS:

A.B. magna cum laude; Phi Beta Kappa; National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship (1979–1982); Danforth Graduate Fellowship (1979–1983); American Political Science Association Graduate Fellowship (1979); Midwest Political Science Association Brooks-Cole Award (1982); 1996 Harold Gosnell Award (with Jonathan Wand); Cornell University Robert A. and Donna B. Award for Excellence in Advising (2003-2004); Fellow, Society for Political Methodology (2009); Society for Political Methodology Software Award (2012).

### **RESEARCH INTERESTS**:

American National Institutions and Elections, Political Economy, Political Behavior; Methodology (Statistics, Computation, Research Design); Mathematical Modeling (Formal Theory, Dynamical Systems); Election Forensics.

# WORK EXPERIENCE:

*Professor*. Department of Political Science and Department of Statistics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (9/07–).

*Visiting Professor.* Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (7/07–8/07). *Visiting Scholar.* Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences, Harvard University (Spring 2004). *Professor.* Department of Government, Cornell University (7/03–6/07).

Visiting Associate Professor. Department of Social and Decision Sciences, Carnegie Mellon University (9/97–12/97).

Associate Professor. Department of Government, Cornell University (7/89–6/03; tenured 11/93). Assistant Professor. Department of Political Science, University of Michigan (9/85–6/89).

Instructor. Department of Political Science, University of Michigan (9/83–8/85).

Study Director. National Election Studies Development Project on Political Reasoning (1/84–8/84). Assistant Research Scientist. Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan (1/83–8/83).

Research Assistant. Sociotropic Politics, Donald R. Kinder, Yale University (1980–82).

*Teaching Fellow.* Introduction to American Government and Politics, F. Christopher Arterton, Yale University (Fall 1981).

*Research Assistant. World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators*, Charles L. Taylor and David A. Jodice, Harvard University and Science Center Berlin (Summer 1978–Summer 1979).

Research Assistant. Injury to Insult, Sidney Verba, Harvard University (Summer 1978).

# PUBLICATIONS:

"Can Votes Counts' Digits and Benford's Law Diagnose Elections?" 2014. In Steven J. Miller, ed., *The Theory and Applications of Benford's Law*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2014, pp. 206–216.

Office: Department of Political Science University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1045 phone: 607/592-0546 FAX: 734/764-3522 email: wmebane@umich.edu "Causal Inference without Ignorability: Identification with Nonrandom Assignment and Missing Treatment Data" (with Paul Poast). 2013. *Political Analysis*, 21 (2): 233-251.

"Comment on 'Benford's Law and the Detection of Election Fraud'." 2011. *Political Analysis*, 19 (3): 269–272.

"Genetic Optimization Using Derivatives: The Rgenoud Package for R" (with Jasjeet Sekhon). 2011. Journal of Statistical Software, 42 (11): 1–26.

"Fraud in the 2009 Presidential Election in Iran?" 2010. Chance 23 (1): 6-15.

"Electoral Falsification in Russia: Complex Diagnostics Selections 2003-2004, 2007-2008" (with Kirill Kalinin). 2009. Russian Electoral Review [REO] 2/09, 57–70 (in Russian).

"Machine Errors and Undervotes in Florida 2006 Revisited." 2008. William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal, 17 (December): 375–396.

"Voting Technology and the 2008 New Hampshire Primary" (with Michael C. Herron and Jonathan N. Wand). 2008. William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal, 17 (December): 351–374.

"Election Forensics: The Second-digit Benford's Law Test and Recent American Presidential Elections." In R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall and Susan D. Hyde, eds., *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation.* Washington, DC: Brookings Press, 2008, pp. 162–181.

"Inferences from the DNC Provisional Ballot Voter Survey." Section V of *Democracy at Risk: The 2004 Election in Ohio.* Democratic National Committee, Voting Rights Institute, June 22, 2005.

"Ohio 2004 Election: Turnout, Residual Votes and Votes in Precincts and Wards" (with Michael C. Herron) and "Ohio 2004 Election: New Registrants, Provisional Ballots, Voting Machines, Turnout and Polls Open Elapsed Times in Franklin County Precincts." Section VI of *Democracy at Risk: The 2004 Election in Ohio.* Democratic National Committee, Voting Rights Institute, June 22, 2005.

"Interim Report on Alleged Irregularities in the United States Presidential Election of 2 November 2004" (with Henry E. Brady, Guy-Uriel Charles, Benjamin Highton, Martha Kropf and Michael Traugott). National Research Commission on Elections and Voting, Social Science Research Council, December 22, 2004.

"The Wrong Man is President! Overvotes in the 2000 Presidential Election in Florida." 2004. *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (September): 525–535.

"Robust Estimation and Outlier Detection for Overdispersed Multinomial Models of Count Data" (with Jasjeet S. Sekhon). 2004 American Journal of Political Science 48 (April): 392–411.

"Law and Data: The Butterfly Ballot Episode" (with Henry E. Brady, Michael Herron, Jasjeet S. Sekhon, Kenneth Shotts and Jonathan Wand). 2002. In Arthur J. Jacobson and Michael Rosenfeld, eds., *The Longest Night: Polemics and Perspectives on Election 2000.* Berkeley: University of California Press. (slightly condensed version of the *PS* 2001 article)

"Coordination and Policy Moderation at Midterm" (with Jasjeet S. Sekhon). 2002. American Political Science Review 96 (March): 141–157.

"The Butterfly Did It: The Aberrant Vote for Buchanan in Palm Beach County, Florida" (with Jonathan N. Wand, Kenneth Shotts, Jasjeet S. Sekhon, Michael Herron and Henry E. Brady). 2001. American Political Science Review 95 (December): 793–810.

"Detection of Multinomial Voting Irregularities" (with Jasjeet S. Sekhon and Jonathan N. Wand). 2001. 2001 Proceedings of the American Statistical Association, Social Statistics Section [CD-ROM]. Alexandria, VA: American Statistical Association. "A Comparative Analysis of Multinomial Voting Irregularities: Canada 2000" (with Jonathan N. Wand and Jasjeet S. Sekhon). 2001. 2001 Proceedings of the American Statistical Association, Social Statistics Section [CD-ROM]. Alexandria, VA: American Statistical Association.

"The Effects of Rape Law Reform on Rape Case Processing" (with Stacy Futter). 2001. Berkeley Women's Law Journal 16: 72–139.

"Law and Data: The Butterfly Ballot Episode" (with Henry E. Brady, Michael Herron, Jasjeet S. Sekhon, Kenneth Shotts and Jonathan Wand). 2001. PS: Political Science and Politics 34: 59–69.

"Coordination, Moderation, and Institutional Balancing in American Presidential and House Elections." 2000. American Political Science Review 94 (March): 37–57.

"Congressional Campaign Contributions, District Service and Electoral Outcomes in the United States: Statistical Tests of a Formal Game Model with Nonlinear Dynamics." 2000. In Diana Richards, ed., *Political Complexity: Nonlinear Models of Politics*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

"Genetic Optimization Using Derivatives" (with Jasjeet Sekhon). 1999. Political Analysis 7: 187–210.

Political Analysis, volume 7. 1999. Editor.

"The Presidency and Interest Groups: Why Presidents Cannot Govern" (with Benjamin Ginsberg and Martin Shefter). 1994. In Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*. 4th ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press. (updated for 5th edition, 1997, and 6th edition, 2000)

"Fiscal Constraints and Electoral Manipulation in American Social Welfare." 1994. American Political Science Review 88 (March): 77–94.

"Analyzing the Effects of Local Government Fiscal Activity I: Sampling Model and Basic Econometrics." 1994. *Political Analysis* 4: 1–39.

"Problems of Time and Causality in Survey Cross-sections." 1990. Political Analysis 2: 101–121.

"Economics and Politics in Everyday Life" (with Donald Kinder). 1983. In Kristen Monroe, ed., *The Political Process and Economic Change*. New York: Agathon Press.

### **REVIEWS AND COMMENTS:**

"Can We Trust the Machines?" 2008. Review of *Electronic Elections: The Perils and Promises of Digital Democracy* (Alvarez and Hall), *Science* 322 (Oct. 5902): 677–678.

"Counting Frustrated Voter Intentions." 2008. Comment on "Florida 2006: Can Statistics Tell Us Who Won Congressional District-13?" (Ash and Lamperti), *Chance* 21 (3): 26–27.

#### SPONSORED RESEARCH:

"Development of an Election Forensics Toolkit: Using Subnational Data to Detect Anomalies," co-PIs: Allen Hicken and Walter Mebane. USAID Democracy Fellows and Grants Program Institute of International Education. (\$99,913.00 Sept 1, 2014-Sept 1, 2015).

"Strategic Coordination Among American Voters" (P.I. at Cornell University-Endowed, with subcontract to Jasjeet Sekhon at Harvard University). National Science Foundation Award Number SES-0214965 (\$99,171; June 1, 2002–April 30, 2005).

"What Difference Does Nader Make?" Approved for inclusion in Time-sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences, NSF Grant 0094964, Diana C. Mutz and Arthur Lupia, Principal Investigators.

#### COMPUTER SOFTWARE:

"Multinomial Robust Regression (MultinomRob)" (with Jasjeet Sekhon). 2004. Package for R. Source

code along with LINUX and Windows binaries are available from the Comprehensive R Archive Network (CRAN, http://cran.r-project.org/) and at http://sekhon.berkeley.edu/robust/.

"Genetic Optimization Using Derivatives for R (RGENOUD)" (with Jasjeet Sekhon). 2002. Package for **R**. Source code along with LINUX, Windows, and MacOS binaries are available from the Comprehensive R Archive Network (CRAN, http://cran.r-project.org/) and at http://sekhon.berkeley.edu/rgenoud/.

"Genetic Optimization Using Derivatives (GENOUD)" (with Jasjeet Sekhon). 1998. Source code in C. Posted at http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/genoud.generic.zip.

"Genetic Optimization and Bootstrapping of Linear Structures (GENBLIS)" (with Jasjeet Sekhon). 1998. Available (with documentation) from http://sekhon.berkeley.edu/genblis/.

# OP-ED:

"Timing and Turnout in Ohio." 2005. TomPaine.com. July 21, 2005.

"Ideological Differences. Re "Who's Nader Now?," by Paul Krugman (column, Jan. 2)." Letter to the *New York Times*, January 7, 2004.

### CONFERENCE PAPERS:

"Election Forensics: Strategies versus Election Frauds in Germany" (with Joseph Klaver), Prepared for presentation at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 16–19, 2015.

"Geography in Election Forensics" (with Kirill Kalinin), Prepared for presentation at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28–31, 2014.

"Positive Empirical Models of Election Fraud (that May Also Measure Voters' Strategic Behavior)" (with Naoki Egami, Joseph Klaver and Jonathan Wall), 2014 Summer Meeting of the Political Methodology Society, University of Georgia, July 24–26, 2014.

"Preference Heterogeneities in Models of Electoral Behavior" (with John E. Jackson and Jonathan Wall), Prepared for presentation at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3–6, 2014.

"Using Randomization and Vote Counts' Digits to Diagnose Election Frauds: Russia," Prepared for presentation at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, Chicago, August 29-September 1, 2013.

"Election Forensics: The Meanings of Precinct Vote Counts' Second Digits," 2013 Summer Meeting of the Political Methodology Society, University of Virginia, July 18–20, 2013.

"Using Digits to Diagnose Strategies and Frauds," 2013 Annual Workshop on Concepts and Indices of Electoral Integrity, The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, June 3–4, 2013.

"Second Digit Implications of Voters' Strategies and Mobilizations in the United States during the 2000s" (with Thomas Bradley Kent), Prepared for presentation at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 11–14, 2013.

"Second-digit Tests for Voters' Election Strategies and Election Fraud" Prepared for presentation at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 12–15, 2012.

"Measurement Error, Missing Values and Latent Structure in Governance Indicators" (with Vincent Arel-Bundock), Prepared for presentation at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 1–4, 2011.

"Measurement Error, Missing Values and Latent Structure in Governance Indicators" (with Vincent

Arel-Bundock), Prepared for presentation at the 2011 Summer Meeting of the Political Methodology Society, Princeton, July 28–30, 2011.

"Causal Inference without Ignorability: Identification of Treatment Effects with Missing Treatment Data and Nonrandom Assignment" (with Peter Aronow and Paul Poast), Poster prepared for presentation at the 2011 Summer Meeting of the Political Methodology Society, Princeton, July 28–30, 2011.

"Causal Inference with Missing Treatment Data" (with Paul Poast and Peter Aronow), Prepared for presentation at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, March 31–April 2, 2011.

"Understanding Electoral Frauds through Evolution of Russian Federalism: from 'Bargaining Loyalty' to 'Signaling Loyalty'" (with Kirill Kalinin), Prepared for presentation at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, March 31–April 2, 2011.

"Election Fraud or Strategic Voting? Can Second-digit Tests Tell the Difference?" Prepared for presentation at the 2010 Summer Meeting of the Political Methodology Society, University of Iowa, July 22–24, 2010.

"Election Fraud or Strategic Voting?" Prepared for presentation at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 2–5, 2010.

"Electoral Fraud in Russia: Vote Counts Analysis using Second-digit Mean Tests" (with Kirill Kalinin), Prepared for presentation at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 22–25, 2010.

"Election Fraud or Strategic Voting?" Prepared for presentation at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 22–25, 2010.

"Comparative Election Fraud Detection" (with Kirill Kalinin), Prepared for presentation at the 2009 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada, Sept 3–6, 2009.

"Note on the presidential election in Iran, June 2009," June 15, 2009 (updated June 29, 2009).

"Comparative Election Fraud Detection" (with Kirill Kalinin). Prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2–5, 2009. "Election Forensics: Outlier and Digit Tests in America and Russia," Presented at The American Electoral Process conference, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University, May 1–3, 2008.

"Machine Errors and Undervotes in Florida 2006 Revisited," Presented at the William & Mary School of Law: How We Vote Symposium. March 14, 2008.

"Voting Technology and the 2008 New Hampshire Primary" (with Michael C. Herron and Jonathan N. Wand). Presented at the William & Mary School of Law: How We Vote Symposium. March 14, 2008.

"Election Forensics: Statistical Interventions in Election Controversies," Presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Aug 30–Sept 2.

"Statistics for Digits." Presented at the 2007 Summer Meeting of the Political Methodology Society, Pennsylvania State University, July 18–21.

"Election Forensics: Statistics, Recounts and Fraud," Presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 12–16.

"Evaluating Voting Systems To Improve and Verify Accuracy," Presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, San Francisco, CA, February 16, 2007, and at the Bay Area Methods Meeting, Berkeley, March 2, 2007.

"Election Forensics: The Second-digit Benford's Law Test and Recent American Presidential Elections,"

Presented at the Election Fraud Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 29–30, 2006.

"Election Forensics: Vote Counts and Benford's Law," Presented at at the 2006 Summer Meeting of the Political Methodology Society, UC-Davis, July 20–22.

"Detecting Attempted Election Theft: Vote Counts, Voting Machines and Benford's Law," Presented at at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Associate, Chicago, IL, April 20–23.

"Does it Help or Hurt Kerry if Nader is on the Ballot?" (with Israel Waismel-Manor). Presented at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 7–10.

"Cuing and Coordination in American Elections." Presented at the 2004 Political Methodology Summer Meeting, Stanford, California, July 29–31.

"Situational Coordination in American Elections." Prepared for delivery at the 2004 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 15–18.

"Imitative and Evolutionary Processes that Produce Coordination Among American Voters." Presented at the 2003 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 27–31, Philadelphia, PA, .

"Imitative and Evolutionary Processes that Produce Coordination Among American Voters." Presented at the 2003 Political Methodology Summer Meeting, Minneapolis, Minnesota, July 17–19.

"Adaptive, Imitative and Evolutionary Processes that Produce Coordination Among American Voters." Prepared for delivery at the 2003 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 3–6.

"Robust Estimation and Outlier Detection for Overdispersed Multinomial Models of Count Data, with an Application to the Elián Effect in Florida" (with Jasjeet S. Sekhon). 2002. Presented at the 2002 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 28–September 2, San Francisco, CA.

"Robust Estimation and Outlier Detection for Overdispersed Multinomial Models of Count Data, with an Application to the Elián Effect in Florida" (with Jasjeet S. Sekhon). 2002. Presented at the 2002 Political Methodology Summer Meeting, Seattle, Washington, July 18–20.

"The Elián Effect: Detecting Multinomial Voting Irregularities in Florida" (with Jasjeet S. Sekhon). 2002. Presented at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 25–28.

"The Butterfly Did It: The Aberrant Vote for Buchanan in Palm Beach County, Florida" (with Jonathan N. Wand, Kenneth Shotts, Jasjeet S. Sekhon, Michael Herron and Henry E. Brady). Presented at the 2001 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 30–September 2, San Francisco, CA.

"The Butterfly Did It: The Aberrant Vote for Buchanan in Palm Beach County, Florida" (with Jonathan N. Wand, Kenneth Shotts, Jasjeet S. Sekhon, Michael Herron and Henry E. Brady). Presented at the 2001 Joint Statistical Meetings, American Statistical Association, Social Statistics Section, August 5–9, Atlanta, Georgia.

"Detection of Multinomial Voting Irregularities" (with Jasjeet S. Sekhon and Jonathan N. Wand). 2001. Presented at the 2001 Joint Statistical Meetings, American Statistical Association, Social Statistics Section, August 5–9, Atlanta, Georgia.

"A Comparative Analysis of Multinomial Vote Outliers: 2000 Canadian Federal Election" (with Jonathan N. Wand and Jasjeet S. Sekhon). 2001. Presented at the 2001 Joint Statistical Meetings, American Statistical Association, Social Statistics Section, August 5–9, Atlanta, Georgia.

"Detection of Multinomial Voting Irregularities" (with Jasjeet S. Sekhon and Jonathan N. Wand). 2001. Presented at the 2001 Political Methodology Summer Meeting, July 19–21, Atlanta, Georgia. "Legislative Context, Legislator Quality and Campaign Contributions" (with Marc T. Ratkovic and Michael W. Tofias). Presented at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 19–22, Palmer House, Chicago.

"Coordination among American Voters with Heterogeneous Expectations". 2001. Presented at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, March 9–11, San Antonio, Texas.

"Evidence of Excessive Buchanan Vote Share in Palm Beach County, Florida" (with Jonathan Wand, Kenneth Shotts, Jasjeet S. Sekhon, Michael Herron and Henry E. Brady. 2001. Presented at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, March 9–11, San Antonio, Texas.

"Legislator Quality and Campaign Contributions" (with Marc T. Ratkovic and Michael W. Tofias). Presented at the 2000 Summer Methods Conference, July 20–22, UCLA.

"Do American Midterm House Electors Coordinate?" (with Jasjeet Sekhon). Presented at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 27–30, Palmer House, Chicago.

"Coordination, Moderation and Institutional Balancing in American House Elections at Midterm" (with Jasjeet Sekhon). Presented at the 1999 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2–5, Atlanta, GA.

"The Dynamics of Campaign Contributions in U.S. Congressional Elections" (with Jonathan Wand). Presented at the 1999 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2–5, Atlanta, GA.

"Poisson-Normal Dynamic Generalized Linear Mixed Models of U.S. House Campaign Contributions" (with Jonathan Wand). Presented at the 1999 Summer Political Methodology Meetings, July 15–18, Texas A&M University.

"A Policy Moderating Model of Individual Contributions to House Candidates" (with Jonathan Wand). Presented at the 1999 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 15–17, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL.

"Rational Expectations Coordinating Voting in American Presidential and House Elections." Presented at the 1998 Summer Methods Conference, July 22–26, University of California, San Diego.

"Rational Expectations Coordinating Voting in American Presidential and House Elections." Presented at the 1998 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 23–25, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL.

"The Coalition-oriented Evolution of Vote Intentions across Regions and Levels of Political Awareness during the 1993 Canadian Election Campaign: Quotidian Markov Chain Models using Rolling Cross-section Data" (with Jonathan Wand). Presented at the 1997 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 28–31, Washington, DC.

"Coordinating Voting in American Presidential and House Elections." Presented at the 1997 Summer Methods Conference, Ohio State University, Columbus, July 24–27.

"Markov Chain Models for Rolling Cross-section Data: How Campaign Events and Political Awareness Affect Vote Intentions and Partisanship in the United States and Canada" (with Jonathan Wand). Presented at the 1997 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 10–12, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL.

"Generic Tests for a Nonlinear Model of Congressional Campaign Dynamics." Presented at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 29–September 1, San Francisco Hilton and Towers Hotel, San Francisco, CA.

"Bootstrap Methods for Non-nested Hypothesis Tests" (with Jasjeet Sekhon). Presented at the 1996

Summer Methods Conference, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, July 17–21.

"Developments in Rape Law Reform in the U.S. and Impacts of Reform on Rape Reports and Arrests, 1970–1992" (with Stacy Futter). Presented at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL.

"Sunspots and other Political Storms: Macroeconomics and Protest Events in the United States 1984-1988" (with Jasjeet Sekhon). Presented at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31–September 3, Chicago Hilton and Towers, Chicago, IL.

"The Robustness of Normal-theory LISREL Models: Tests Using a New Optimizer, the Bootstrap, and Sampling Experiments, with Applications" (with Jasjeet Sekhon and Martin Wells). Presented at the 12th Annual Political Methodology Summer Conference, Bloomington, IN, July 27–30, 1995.

"The Robustness of Normal-theory LISREL Models: Tests Using a New Optimizer, the Bootstrap, and Sampling Experiments, with Applications" (with Jasjeet Sekhon and Martin Wells). Presented at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, April 6–8.

"The Politics of Impoundment: A Switching Tobit Analysis of Impoundment Control Mechanisms in the Reagan Era" (with Gregory Wawro). Presented at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, April 6–8.

"Developments in Rape Law Reform in the U.S. and Impacts of Reform on Rape Case Processing, 1970–1992" (with Stacy Futter). Presented at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, April 6–8.

"Genetic Monte Carlo Cross-validation" (with Gregory Wawro). Presented at the 1994 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York Hilton, New York, NY, September 1–4.

"Genetic Monte Carlo Cross-validation" (with Gregory Wawro). Presented at the Eleventh Annual Conference on Political Methodology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, July 21–24, 1994.

"Pork, Money and Votes in U.S. House Elections: A Strongly Nonlinear Econometric Model Implied by a Dynamic Formal Model." Presented at the 1994 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, April 14–16.

"The Changing Relationship between Conflict and Mobilization in American Politics" (with Benjamin Ginsberg and Martin Shefter). Presented at the 1993 Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Radisson Plaza Lord Baltimore, Baltimore, MD, November 4–7.

"The Disjunction between Political Conflict and Electoral Mobilization in Contemporary America" (with Benjamin Ginsberg and Martin Shefter). Presented at the 1993 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington Hilton, Washington, DC, September 2–5, 1993.

"Pork Barrel Politics in Presidential Elections" (with Gregory Wawro). Presented at the 1993 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, April 15–17, 1993.

"A Dynamical System Model of Special Interest Benefits and Campaign Contributions in a Congressional Election." Presented at the 1993 meetings of the Public Choice Society, The Monteleone, New Orleans, LA, March 19–21, 1993.

"Censoring in U.S. House Elections." Presented at the 1992 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, September 3–6, 1992.

"A Dynamical System Model of Federal Expenditures and Congressional Campaign Finance." Presentation at the Ninth Annual Conference on Political Methodology, Harvard University, Cambridge, July 16–19, 1992.

"Congressional Campaign Finance and the Pork Barrel." Presented at the 1992 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, April 9–11, 1992.

"Rational Self-restraint in Americans' Voting Decisions: Institutions, Individuals' Strategies and State Legitimacy" (with Sam Kaufman). Presented at the "Workshop on New Institutional Theory," Comparative Analysis Program, Department of Sociology, Cornell University, November 8–10, 1991.

"Parties, Elections and Social Welfare Policy in the United States, 1948–87." Presented at the 1991 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 29–September 1, 1991.

"Analyzing the Effects of Local Government Fiscal Activity I: Sampling Model and Basic Econometrics." Presented at the Eighth Annual Conference on Political Methodology, Duke University, Durham, July 17–21, 1991.

"Local Government Fiscal Activity and Economic Growth: Evidence from Local Areas in the U.S. through the 1970s and 1980s" (with Paul Gregory). Presented at the 1990 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 30–September 2, 1990.

"Spatially Aggregated Analysis using the Censuses and Annual Surveys of Governments." Presented at the Seventh Annual Conference on Political Methodology, Washington University, St. Louis, July 19–21, 1990.

"Voting and Non-voting in American National Elections: A Theory of Rational Expression" (with Sam Kaufman). Presented at the 1990 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 5–7, 1990.

"Quasi-likelihood Time Series Regression Models: Analytical Techniques." Presentation at the Sixth Annual Conference on Political Methodology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, July 13–15, 1989.

"Balancing Forces in Spheres of Influence: A Large-scale Dynamic Model." Presented at the 1989 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 13–15, 1989.

"Local Economic Conditions and Votes in the U.S." (with Richard Forshee). Presented at the 1988 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1–4, 1988.

"Popular Evaluations of Economic Conditions and Policy in the United States, 1978–1985." Presented at the Fifth Conference on Political Methodology, Los Angeles, CA, July 14–16, 1988.

"The Dubious Exogeneity of Demographics in Survey Cross-sections." Presented at the 1988 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 14–16, 1988.

"The Political Basis of Survey Analysis." Presented at the 1987 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 3–6, 1987.

"Evaluations of Government Economic Policy in the United States, 1978–1985." Presented at the Fourth Conference on Political Methodology, Durham, NC, August 6–9, 1987.

"Varieties of Economic Evaluation over Time." Presented at the 1987 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 9–11, 1987.

"*E Pluribus Unum*? Three General Problems with Trying to Make Valid Causal Inferences about Attitudes by Means of Survey Analysis." Presented at the 1986 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 27–31, 1986.

"An Aggregate Multivariate Time Series Model of the Relationship between Economic Fluctuations and Economic Policy Evaluations." Presented at the Third Annual Conference on Political Methodology, Cambridge, MA, August 7–10, 1986.

"Project on Political Reasoning" (with Donald Kinder). Memo to the National Election Studies Board of Overseers, June 1984.

"Pilot Project on Political Reasoning" (with Donald Kinder). Memo to the National Election Studies Planning Committee and Board of Overseers, April 1983.

"Measuring Covariance and Noncentrality for Few-category Variables in Maximum Likelihood Estimation of Linear Structures." Presented at the 1982 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Denver, CO.

"The Warp of Sociotropic Thinking." Presented at the 1982 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Milwaukee, WI.

"Everyday Accounts for Economic Predicaments" (with Donald Kinder). Presented at the conference, "The Political Process and Economic Change," New York University, October 29–November 1, 1981.

#### SUBSTANTIAL MEDIA INTERACTIONS:

Methodology work for newspaper article, "Russia's Dubious Vote: Analysis of Parliamentary Results Points to Widespread Fraud," *Wall Street Journal*, December 28, 2011.

Television Interview, "The Election in Iran," Voice of America (TV), Persian News Network, July 3, 2009.

Radio Interviews, "The Election in Iran": *Material World*, BBC Radio 4, June 25, 2009; the Michael Smerconish Program, June 19, 2009.

Magazine and newspaper interviews, "The Election in Iran": The Washington Post, June 15, 2009; Newsweek, June 16, 2009; Agence-France-Presse, June 17, 2009; Maclean's, June 17, 2009; New Scientist, June 18, 2009; GOOD Magazine, June 18, 2009; Ingeniøren, June 21, 2009; Wall Street Journal, June 26, 2009; Kodoom.com, June 27, 2009; Foreign Policy Journal, July 7, 2009.

#### INVITED TALKS:

Seminar, "Using Vote Counts' Digits to Diagnose Elections (Strategies, Vote Buying and Frauds)," talk to Interdisciplinary Seminar in Quantitative Methods (ISQM), University of Michigan, October 9, 2013.

Seminar, "Second-digit Tests for Voters' Election Strategies and Election Fraud" Cutler Methods Seminar Series, University of Rochester, Rochester, NY, April 27, 2012.

Seminar, "Second-digit Tests for Voters' Election Strategies and Election Fraud" Department of Political Science, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaigne, Illinois, April 5, 2012.

Roundtable, The Law and Science of Trustworthy Elections: Facing the Challenges of Internet Voting & Other E-Voting Technologies. Association of American Law Schools, January 5, 2012.

Roundtable, Sarasota Panel, EVT/WOTE '11: 2011 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections, USENIX, August 8–9, San Francisco, 2011.

Seminar, NSF Workshop on Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models, University of California, Berkeley, June 22, 2010.

Seminar, "Election Fraud or Strategic Voting?" American Politics Program Speakers' Series, Department of Political Science, Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas, January 29, 2010.

Seminar, "Empirical Analysis of Complexity & Network Models," Political Methodology Summer Meeting 2008, Workshop, University of Michigan, July 9, 2008.

Seminar, Voting Analysis in Mathematics and Politics: Interdisciplinary Research and Education, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, April 25, 2008.

Seminar, Applied Statistics Seminar, Dartmouth College, January 25, 2008.

Seminar, Democracy International, Washington, DC, March 26, 2007.

Keynote Address, EVT '06: 2011 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop, USENIX, Vancouver, Canada, August 1, 2006.

Seminar, Department of Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis, February 24, 2006.

Seminar, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, May 19, 2005.

Seminar, NSF Workshop on Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models, Duke University, June 30, 2004.

Seminar, Department of Political Science, New York University, November 14, 2003.

Seminar, NSF Workshop on Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models, Washington University, St. Louis, June 25, 2003.

Seminar, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University, April 28, 2003.

Seminar, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, April 23, 2003.

Seminar, Department of Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis, October 11, 2002.

Seminar, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester, April 12, 2002.

Lecture, Applied Ethics, Fairness and Electoral Reform Series, Rochester Institute of Technology, November 14, 2001.

Lecture, Quantitative Methods and Political Science Departments, Applied Statistics Program and Local Chapter of the American Statistical Association, Syracuse University, October 26, 2001.

Seminar, Department of Politics, Princeton University, March 29, 1995.

Seminar, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, March 25, 1994.

PUBLICATIONS (NON-POLITICAL SCIENCE):

"Use of Bayes Theorem to Estimate the Impact of the Proposed CD4-Based Expansion of the AIDS Case Definition" (with Mitchell H. Katz, Nancy A. Hessol, Susan P. Buchbinder, Paul O'Malley, George F. Lemp and Scott D. Holmberg). 1993, *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes* 6:295–297.

### WORK IN PREPARATION:

*Election Forensics*, book MS.

"Understanding Electoral Frauds through Evolution of Russian Federalism: the Emergence of 'Signaling Loyalty'" (with Kirill Kalinin), March 1, 2012.

"Governance Indicators" (with Vincent Arel-Bundock and Dominic Nardi), Prepared for the APSA Task Force on Democracy Audits and Governmental Indicators, January 25, 2012.

"Measurement Error, Missing Values and Latent Structure in Governance Indicators" (with Vincent Arel-Bundock), Prepared for the APSA Task Force on Democracy Audits and Governmental Indicators, January 25, 2012.

"Causal Inference without Ignorability: Identification with Nonrandom Assignment and Missing Treatment Data" (with Paul Poast), January 10, 2012. Under review.

"Factors Associated with the Excessive CD-13 Undervote in the 2006 General Election in Sarasota County, Florida" (with David L. Dill), January 23, 2007. Working paper.

"Voting Machine Allocation in Franklin County, Ohio, 2004: Response to U.S. Department of Justice Letter of June 29, 2005," July 7, 2005. Working paper.

### **PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES:**

American Political Science Association: Political Methodology Section, Treasurer: 1992–1994; 1994 Annual Meeting Program Committee, Political Methodology Section Chair; Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, Member, 1994–1997; Section on Political Economy, Best Book Prize Committee Chair, 1995; ad hoc Committee on Minority Fellowship Programs, Member, 1997–1998; PROceedings focus group, 1998; ad hoc advisory committee on reappointment of the APSR Editor, 2004; Comparative Politics Section, Data Set Award Committee Chair, 2006; Nominating Committee, 2010–2011; Task Force on Democracy Audits and Governmental Indicators, 2010–2012; Executive Director Search Committee, 2012–2013; workshop on "Data Access and Research Transparency (DA-RT) in Political Science," University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, Ann Arbor, Michigan, September 18-19, 2014.

Midwest Political Science Association: Brooks-Cole Prize Committee, 1986; Annual Meeting Program Committee, Methodology Section Chair, 1999; Council, 2003–2006; Durr Prize Committee, 2008.

Political Methodology Society: Conference Planning Committee, 1991; Poster Prize Committee, 2002, 2004, 2010, 2011; Gosnell Prize Committee Chair, 2003; Diversity Committee, 2013–2014.

Co-Editor: Journal of Election Technology and Systems (JETS), 2013-present.

Editorial Board: American Journal of Political Science, 2010-; American Political Science Review (1995–2001); American Politics Quarterly (1993–1995); Journal of Politics (2004–2006); Perspectives on Politics (2005–2008); Political Analysis (1989–1996, 2003–).

Memberships: American Political Science Association; Midwest Political Science Association; American Statistical Association; Association for Computing Machinery.

National Science Foundation: Information Technology Research large pre-proposals panel (January 2002); SBE/CISE Workshop (March 15–16, 2005); Human and Social Dynamics panel (May 16–17, 2005); Political Science panel (2004–2006); Political Science Committee of Visitors (March 10, 2007).

National Research Council: Ford Foundation Postdoctoral and Dissertation Fellowships for Minorities Program applications evaluation panel, March 1995, March 1996.

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting Panel Chair, Discussant or Roundtable Participant: 1986, 1987, 1988, 1992, 1993, 1994, 2000, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2013.

Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting Panel Chair, Discussant or Roundtable Participant: 1986, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2010, 2013, 2014.

Annual Conference on Political Methodology, Participant: 1986–2014.

EVT/WOTE, participant: 2013, 2014.

Consultant: Democratic National Committee study of the 2004 Election in Ohio (January-June, 2005).

National Academies: Planning Meeting: Developing a Sound Analytical Basis for Improving Public Participation and Confidence in 21st Century Elections. Washington, DC (December 5–6, 2005).

Cornell-In-Washington: Conference, "The New Electoral Map: From the Gingrich Revolution to 2008," Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC, March 31, 2006.

American National Election Study: Board of Overseers, Member (2006–2009).

ACCURATE (A Center for Correct, Usable, Reliable, Auditable, and Transparent Elections): Advisory Board member (2007–2008).

National Annenberg Election Study: Power Workshop, Philadelphia, PA (January 12, 2007).

National Annenberg Election Study: Advisory Board, Member (2007–2009).

Benford's Law Conference (Santa Fe, NM, December 17–18, 2007).

William & Mary School of Law: How We Vote Symposium (March 14, 2008).

Expert witness for the Advancement Project in: VIRGINIA STATE CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE BRANCHES, as an organization and representative of its members; KING SALIM KHALFANI, WALTER T. KENNEY, and RACHEL ACHEE, v. TIMOTHY M. KAINE, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia; JEAN CUNNINGHAM, Chairman, Virginia State Board of Elections; HAROLD PYON, Vice Chairman, Virginia State Board of Elections; NANCY RODRIGUES, Secretary, Virginia State Board of Elections; GEORGE WILLIAM THOMAS, Chairman, City of Richmond Electoral Board; CECILIA DABNEY, Vice Chairman, City of Richmond Electoral Board; DOROTHY DOCKERY, Secretary, City of Richmond Electoral Board; J. KIRK SHOWALTER, City of Richmond General Registrar; JAMES H. HINSHAW, Chairman, City of Norfolk Electoral Board; TED MAROULIS, Vice Chairman, City of Norfolk Electoral Board; W. DONALD BROWN, Secretary, City of Norfolk Electoral Board; ELISA LONG, City of Norfolk General Registrar: J.A.G. PARRISH, Chairman, City of Virginia Beach Electoral Board; TIM BARROW, Vice Chairman, City of Virginia Beach Electoral Board; SHIRLEY MULDERRIG, Secretary, City of Virginia Beach Electoral Board; and EDITH HARRINGTON, City of Virginia Beach General Registrar, in their official capacities. U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia (Case 2:08-cv-00508). October 22, 2008-November 3, 2008.

Audit Working Meeting, American Statistical Association, Alexandria, Virginia, October 23–24, 2009. Contributed to statements presented to the National Institute of Standards and Technology (October 29, 2009) and approved by the American Statistical Association Board ("American Statistical Association Recommends Risk-Limiting Audits of Federal and Statewide Elections," April 26, 2010).

Democracy Audits and Governmental Indicators Conference, American Political Science Association, University of California, Berkeley, October 29–30, 2009.

Small Batch Audit Meeting, Washington, DC, March 28–29, 2010.

APSA Task Force on Democracy Audits and Governmental Indicators, American Political Science Association, Hotel Regency San Francisco, CA, April 2-3, 2010.

Election Verification Network (EVN) Conference. Chicago, IL, March 24–26, 2011; Santa Fe, NM, March 29–30, 2012.

Verifiable Voting Schemes Workshop, from Theory to Practice. Luxembourg 21-22 March 2013. SnT Auditorium, 4 rue Alphonse Weicker, Luxembourg.

Citizens, Parties and Electoral Contexts: Pre-IPSA Workshop. Palais de Congrès de Montréal. July 18, 2014.