

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
SAN ANTONIO DIVISION**

**MI FAMILIA VOTA, TEXAS STATE
CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL
ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED
PEOPLE, MICAELA RODRIGUEZ and
GUADALUPE TORRES**

Plaintiffs

vs.

**GREG ABBOTT, Governor of Texas;
RUTH HUGHS, Texas Secretary of State,**

Defendants.

No. 5:20-cv-00830

**DECLARATION OF ROBERT
M. STEIN**

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I. Summary of Opinions

The plaintiffs' attorneys have asked me several questions about Harris County, Texas voters' preferences, opinions and knowledge about in-person and mail-in voting in this November's Presidential Election. These questions include:

1. Are voters concerned about the health/safety of voting during the COVID pandemic?
2. Are there racial differences in the level of concerns expressed by voters?
3. Are these concerns about COVID affecting the likelihood that people will vote in Harris County?
4. Is COVID-mitigation at polling places important to voters?
5. Is social distancing at polls important to voters, or is there data suggesting that lack of social distancing would deter people from voting?

In August 2020 I collaborated with colleagues to conduct a survey of registered voters (N=5,862) in Harris County, Texas about voting in the November Presidential election during the COVID-19 pandemic.¹ Respondents were asked a series of questions about where and when they would prefer to vote under different threats from COVID-19, the importance of steps election officials have taken to protect voters from contracting and spreading the virus while voting in-person and why some voters did not vote in the July Democratic and Republican and primary run-off elections. The responses of registered voters to this survey serve as the basis of my answers to the plaintiffs' queries.

It is my considered opinion that Harris County voters, specifically those who have and will vote in-person are concerned about contracting and spreading the COVID-19 virus while voting. Harris County is the largest county in Texas and mirrors the demographic makeup of the state's electorate. I believe the findings reported below can to be generalized to the population of registered voters in Texas.

- More than a quarter of eligible voters in Harris County did not vote in the July 2020 Democratic and Republican primary runoff election because of concern with contracting COVID-19.
- A substantial portion of Harris County voters report that the actions election officials propose to take to protect voters and poll workers from COVID-19 while voting in-person will substantially affect their decision to vote in-person, on or before Election Day.
- For voters, the most impactful action elections officials propose to take to protect their safety during in person voting is assuring there is adequate social distancing at polling locations.
- There are substantial and significant racial differences in the level of concerns expressed by voters:

¹ This on-going research is funded in part by a grant from Rice University's COVID-19 Research Fund.

- Non-White voters are significantly more likely *not* to have voted in the July election because of COVID-19;
- Non-White voters are significantly more likely than White voters to identify the actions election officials propose to make voting safe as substantially affecting their decision to vote in-person.

II. Background and Qualifications

I am a fellow in urban politics at the Baker Institute and the Lena Gohlman Fox Professor of Political Science at Rice University. I am also the faculty director of Rice's Center for Civic Leadership. A copy of my curriculum vitae is attached. I am being compensated at \$250 per hour for my effort.

My current research focuses on alternative modes of elections and voting procedures in the United States; emergency preparedness, behavioral response to severe weather events, and risk assessment; and home weatherization programs in low- and moderate-income households. My work has been supported by the National Science Foundation, the City of Houston's Office of Public Safety and Homeland Security, The Arnold Foundation and Pew Charitable Trusts, among others.

Since 2010, I have been an expert witness in several cases involving election administration and voting. I have consulted for several jurisdictions in the design, implementation and evaluation of alternative voting systems including early voting, Election Day vote centers, mail-assisted voting and in-person polling locations. In these jurisdictions, I have worked closely with election administrators and elected officials to fulfill their obligation to conduct elections. These jurisdictions include: Collin, Harris and Lubbock, counties, Texas, 64 Colorado counties that make up the Colorado County Clerks Association and Albuquerque, New Mexico.

III. Survey of registered voters in Harris County, Texas

Online interviews were conducted with 5,962 registered Harris County voters between July 30 and August 23, 2020 using the *Qualtrics* survey software. Interviews were solicited via email addresses for 165,000 randomly selected registered voters in Harris, County, Texas. The margin of error for the survey is +/- 1.1%. The table below reports the proportion of survey sample and all registered voters in Harris County for selected voter traits.

		Survey Sample Column %	All registered voters Column %
Party	Democrat	49%	50.1%
	Republican	44%	34.3%
	Unaffiliated	7%	15.6%
Race	White	66%	47.0%
	African-Amer.	10.1%	24.0%
	Hispanic	13.2%	23.0%
	Asian	3.6%	5.0%
	Other	7.0%	1.0%
Gender	Male	46%	45.7%
	Female	54%	53.3%
Over65	Under 65	63%	75.6%
	Over65	37%	24.3%

The sample is skewed toward older (i.e., 65 and older) White Republicans, with a significant under sample of African-American voters. Weighting of the sample, however, does not significantly change the findings reported below. There are sufficient a number of under sampled African-American and younger (i.e., below 65) voters to make reliable generalizations about these subpopulations.

July, 2020 Party Primary Runoff Election

The July Democratic and Republican primary runoff election was the first election conducted in Texas during the COVID-19 pandemic. Were voters deterred from voting because of the pandemic? Were there differences in the degree to which voters were deterred from voting in the July election by race and ethnicity? Survey respondents were asked if they voted in the July, 2020 Democratic or Republican runoff primary election. Those who did not vote in the either primary runoff election were asked why they did not vote.

Reasons for not voting in the July, 2020 Primary Runoff Election

		Count	Column %
Reason for not	COVID-19	940	27.6%
voting in the July	I did not know there was	482	14.2%
Democratic or	an election		
Republican primary	I felt my vote would not	178	5.2%
runoff election.	make a difference		
	I was not interested in the	734	21.6%
	candidates or campaign		
	issues		
	Inconvenient polling	121	3.6%
	place or hours		
	Long lines	28	0.8%
	Other	876	25.7%
	Registration problems	46	1.4%

The modal reason (27.6%) given for not voting in either primary runoff election was COVID-19 and the possibility of contracting the virus while voting in-person. Only ‘other’ reasons for not voting approached the share of eligible voters not voting because of COVID-19.

Contracting and/or spreading the COVID-19 virus was cited by only 23% of White voters as the reason for not voting in the July 2020 primary runoff election. Among non-Whites, the proportion of registered voters who cited COVID-19 as the reason for not voting in the July election ranged from 45% for Hispanics, 44% for Asian-American voters and 37% for African-Americans. On average, nearly 50% more non-Whites than White voters cited COVID-19 as the reason for not voting in the primary runoff election.

Among White voters, disinterest in the candidates and campaign issues was the modal reason cited (25%) for not voting in the primary runoff election.

Reasons for not voting in the July, 2020 Primary Runoff Election
By race/ethnicity
(% column)

		White	African-American	Hispanic	Asian	Other
Reason for not voting in the July Democratic or Republican primary runoff election.	COVID-19	23.0%	44.9%	37.4%	43.6%	21.3%
	I did not know there was an election	13.1%	12.5%	16.7%	18.6%	17.6%
	I felt my vote would not make a difference	6.1%	2.0%	3.8%	3.8%	4.1%
	I was not interested in the candidates or campaign issues	24.8%	9.0%	16.1%	16.0%	19.3%
	Inconvenient polling place or hours	2.6%	7.8%	5.2%	2.6%	5.3%
	Long lines	0.6%	2.7%	1.0%	0.0%	1.2%
	Other	28.9%	17.6%	17.7%	12.2%	30.3%
	Registration problems	0.9%	3.5%	2.0%	3.2%	0.8%

A disproportionate share of non-White voters chose not to vote in the July 2020 party primary runoff election because of COVID-19. No other reason, including ‘other’, was cited by more than a fifth of non-White voters for sitting out the July election. The proportion of non-White voters who did not vote in the July election because of COVID-19 approaches 45%.

We might expect that persons who are most vulnerable to COVID-19 (i.e., persons 65 and older, disabled or who know someone who contracted the virus) would be more likely to cite COVID-19 as a reason for not voting in July’s election. This was not the case. Among voters most vulnerable to COVID-19 (i.e., who reported knowing someone who had contracted COVID-19, who have a disability or are 65 or older), the proportion who cited the virus as a reason for not voting was only 33%, 36% and 23% respectively. These proportions are substantially below the share of non-White voters who reported not voting because of COVID-19.

Expectations for voting in the 2020 Presidential

In Harris County, there were safety mitigations to protect voters and poll workers during the July election that have been proposed for the November Presidential elections. These include:

- PPE for poll workers (masks, gloves and face shields)
- Hand sanitizer stations
- Finger coverings for voters
- Masks for voters
- Floor plan to maximize social distancing
- Plexiglas barrier at check-in desk

Survey respondents were asked how each of these precautions at in-person polling locations would affect their decision to vote in-person in the November 2020 election.²

Actions for Making Voting Safer for Voters and Poll Workers (% Column)

		Column %
PPE for poll workers	No impact	24.00%
	Minimal impact	17.70%
	Substantial impact	58.30%
Hand sanitizer	No impact	26.00%
	Minimal impact	22.90%
	Substantial impact	51.10%
Finger coverings	No impact	33.40%
	Minimal impact	26.80%
	Substantial impact	39.80%
Masks for voters	No impact	27.10%
	Minimal impact	17.80%
	Substantial impact	55.10%
Maximum social distancing floor plan	No impact	23.60%
	Minimal impact	17.60%
	Substantial impact	58.90%
Plexiglas barrier at check-in desk	No impact	29.50%
	Minimal impact	25.40%
	Substantial impact	45.1%

² This question was asked only of voters (N=4,456) who reported that they were not eligible and did not intend to vote by mail in November. Only persons over 65, disabled or out of the jurisdiction on Election Day can vote by mail in Texas. All survey respondents who reported they intended to vote by mail in the November election were over 65 and/or disabled.

The most impactful precautions proposed for the November Presidential election are maintaining maximum social distancing and providing personal protective equipment for poll workers. Fifty-nine percent of respondents who will be voting in-person in the November election reported that maximum social distancing would substantially impact their decision to vote in-person, on or before Election Day. Adequate personal protective equipment for poll workers was cited by 58% of respondents as substantially impacting their decision to vote in-person. Facemasks for voters were cited by 55% of registered voters as substantially impacting their decision to vote in-person. About half (51%) of respondents said hand sanitizer would substantially impact their decision to vote in-person on or before Election Day. Less than half (40%) of survey respondents thought providing finger covers for voters and Plexiglas barriers (45%) at check-in desks would have a substantial impact on their decision to vote in-person.

Actions for Making Voting Safer for Voters and Poll Workers by Race/Ethnicity
(% Column)

		White	African-American	Hispanic	Asian	Other
PPE for poll workers	No impact	25.10%	12.80%	23.70%	7.60%	38.00%
	Minimal impact	20.30%	10.70%	14.20%	8.70%	16.80%
	Substantial impact	<u>54.60%</u>	<u>76.50%</u>	<u>62.20%</u>	<u>83.70%</u>	<u>45.20%</u>
Hand sanitizer	No impact	28.10%	16.10%	21.40%	10.40%	38.60%
	Minimal impact	25.50%	14.00%	18.50%	18.50%	22.90%
	Substantial impact	<u>46.40%</u>	<u>69.90%</u>	<u>60.20%</u>	<u>71.10%</u>	<u>38.60%</u>
Finger coverings	No impact	36.60%	17.20%	29.10%	14.70%	45.20%
	Minimal impact	19.50%	12.00%	15.30%	17.00%	16.90%
	Substantial impact	<u>33.20%</u>	<u>66.80%</u>	<u>49.50%</u>	<u>58.20%</u>	<u>32.40%</u>

Actions for Making Voting Safer for Voters and Poll Workers by Race/Ethnicity
(% Column)

		White	African-American	Hispanic	Asian	Other
Masks for voters	No impact	28.60%	15.60%	25.30%	9.90%	41.00%
	Minimal impact	19.50%	12.00%	15.30%	17.00%	16.90%
	Substantial impact	<u>51.90%</u>	<u>72.40%</u>	<u>59.40%</u>	<u>73.10%</u>	<u>42.20%</u>
Maximum social distancing floor plan	No impact	24.80%	12.60%	22.60%	8.70%	36.50%
	Minimal impact	19.20%	12.60%	14.20%	12.20%	18.80%
	Substantial impact	<u>56.00%</u>	<u>74.80%</u>	<u>63.20%</u>	<u>79.10%</u>	<u>44.60%</u>
Plexiglas barrier at check-in desk	No impact	31.50%	14.90%	27.10%	10.50%	45.00%
	Minimal impact	28.10%	20.20%	19.10%	26.70%	21.30%
	Substantial impact	<u>40.40%</u>	<u>64.90%</u>	<u>53.80%</u>	<u>62.80%</u>	<u>33.60%</u>

Non-White voters rate the importance of each of the COVID-19 mitigations to make in-person voting safer significantly higher than White voters do. Moreover, only 56% of White voters reported that proper social distancing substantially impacted their decision to vote in-person compared to 75% of African-American voters, 63% of Hispanic voters and 79% of Asian-American voters.

Where and when voters anticipate voting in November

Early voting is the overwhelming preference for voting in the November President election for all racial groups.

Likelihood to Voting in the November Election by
Race for all COVID-19 Threat Levels

		White Column %	African- American Column %	Hispanic Column %	Asian Column %	Other Column %
How likely are you to vote in the Nov. election?	Early Voting	80.4%	91.4%	79.1%	82.1%	74.8%
	Election Day	17.3%	7.0%	17.8%	13.3%	22.6%
	Not vote	2.2%	1.6%	3.2%	4.6%	2.6%

The modal reason for voting in-person early was the expectation that there would be shorter lines at early voting locations.

Reasons for voting in-person early in the November Election
(%)

Shorter lines	76.1%
More days to vote	56.7%
Locations more convenient	38.6%
Larger locations	13.3%
Other	10.9%

IV. Conclusion

There is substantial evidence that in-person voters in Harris County are concerned about COVID-19 and voting safety. The actions taken by election officials to provide adequate social distancing and other mitigations at in-person polling locations is significantly consequential to decisions voters make about whether, when, and where to vote. All findings reported above are significantly greater for non-White voters, including African-Americans, Hispanics and Asian-Americans.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Executed on the 26th day of August 2020.



Robert M. Stein

EXHIBIT A

CURRICULUM VITAE

July, 2020

ROBERT M. STEIN

Lena Gohlman Fox Professor of Political Science

Rice University

Houston, Texas 77251

713-348-2795

Email: Stein@rice.edu

Place of birth:

New York, N.Y.

Married, two children

Education

B.A., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, 1972.

M.A., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milw., Wisc., 1974

Ph.D., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milw., Wisc., 1977

Fields of Specialization

Elections and election administration, Federalism and intergovernmental relations, state and local government, urban politics and public policy.

Teaching Positions

Lena Gohlman Fox Professor of Political Science, 1996

Fellow, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, 2006

Professor, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1989-1996.

Visiting Associate Professor and research scientist, Workshop in Political Theory-Public Policy and Department of Political Science, Indiana University, 1987-1988.

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1983-1989.

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1979-1983.

Assistant Professor, University of Georgia, 1977-1978.

Robert M. Stein
Department of Political Science

Page 2

Administrative positions

Faculty Director, Center for Civic Engagement, Rice University 2007- present

Dean, School of Social Sciences, Rice University, 1996 - 2006

Interim Dean, School of Social Sciences, Rice University, 1995 - 1996

Chair, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1994 - 1995

Director, Policy Studies Program (undergraduate major), Rice University, 1987- 1995

Director, Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1987- 1991.

Chair, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1984-86

Director, Rice Institute of Policy Analysis Public Opinion Poll, 1983-present.

Political analyst, KHOU-TV, Houston, Tx. 1983- present

Fellowships, awards, and offices

Outstanding reviewer award, Political Research Quarterly 2010.

Best paper award on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations for “Inter-Local Cooperation and the Distribution of Federal Grants,” by The section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, American Political Science Association, 2004 (with Kenneth Bickers)

President, Urban Politics Subsection, American Political Science Association, 1999-2000.

Recipient, George R. Brown Award for Superior Teaching, Rice University, 1998.

President, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1998.

Recipient, Outstanding Mentor of Women in Political Science Award, Women’s Caucus for Political Science, American Political Science Association, 1996.

Special book award from the Urban Politics and Policy Section of the American Political Science Association for, Urban Alternatives: Private and Public Markets in the Provision of Local Services, 1991.

Research fellowship, Indiana University, Workshop in Political Theory and Public Policy, 1987-1988.

Recipient, George R. Brown Award for Superior Teaching, Rice University, 1987.

Fellowship, U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1978-1979.

Research Grants and Contracts

Optimizing vote-by-mail implementations on consumer grade equipment, Funded by NSF 2033923, 7/1/2020-6/30/2021, co-PI, \$200,000.

Robert M. Stein
Department of Political Science

Page 3

Making voting safe for voters and poll workers: Meeting the challenge of the COVID-19 Virus, Funded Rice University, COVID-19 Initiative, 5/1/2020-12/31/2020, PI, \$45,300.

Election Day Vote Centers in Harris County, Texas. Funded by the Arnold Foundation, May 2019 – December 2020, \$100,000.

Hurricane Harvey: Longitudinal Survey, Funded by the National Science Foundation, January 2018 – December 2021, SBER1760292, \$200,000. Co-PI

Urban Flooding: Identifying where it floods and evaluating remedies. May 2018-September 2019. Kinder Institute, Ken Kennedy Institute and Office of Research, Rice University, \$74,450 Co-PI

2016 City of Houston Citizen Survey, September 2016-January 2017, City of Houston, \$23,500

Vote by mail, September 2014-September 2015, Pew Charitable Trusts, \$48,000.

Saturday Run-off Election Exit Poll Survey, City of Houston, October-November, 2013. \$4,000.

Prioritizing and selecting bridge management actions for heightened truck loads and natural hazards in light of funding allocation patterns, National Science Foundation, September 2012 - August, 2015. co-PI (\$1.2 million)

Phase 2 Development and enhancement of online storm risk calculator tool for public usage, City of Houston, Office of Public Safety and Homeland Security, November, 2012 - June 2013. co-PI (\$189,000)

NetSE: Large Urban-Scale Polymorphic Wireless Networks: Community-Driven Assessment, Design and Access, National Science Foundation, September 2010-2013, co-PI (\$1.9 million)

Development and enhancement of online storm risk calculator tool for public usage, City of Houston, Office of Public Safety and Homeland Security, January, 2011 - June 2011. co-PI (\$309,000)

Increasing turnout among the less engaged: A study of Election Day vote centers, Pew Charitable Trusts, September, 2007 – May, 2009, PI (\$260,000)

Independent Response of Complex Urban Infrastructures Subjected to Multiple Hazards, National Science Foundation, October 2007 – October 2010, co-PI (\$20,000)

Program evaluation, City of Houston, SAFEclear, traffic incident management program, July 2006-January 2008. PI (\$20,000)

Program evaluation, City of Houston, SAFEclear, traffic incident management program, February 2005-December 2005. PI (\$20,000)

Program Utilization Among Households Eligible for Head Start Enrollment, funded by the Harris County Department of Education, June, 2001. PI (\$15,000)R

The Changing Structure of Federal Aid and the Politics of the Electoral Connection. Funded by the National Science Foundation 2001-2002. SES0095997 Co-PI, January 2001-January 2003. PI (\$230,000)

Greater Harris County 9-1-1 Emergency Network Data Archive and Analysis January, 2000- January 2001. PI (\$15,000)

Evaluation of Greater Harris County Emergency Network: Round II, funded by the Greater Harris. PI County Emergency Network, September, 1993 - January, 1994. (\$5,000)

Robert M. Stein
Department of Political Science

Page 4

Evaluation of Greater Harris County 9-1-1 Emergency Network, funded by the Greater Harris County Emergency Network, January, 1992-July, 1993. PI (\$5,000)

Selective Universalization of Domestic Public Policy. Funded by the National Science Foundation (SES8921109) 1990-1992. PI (\$185,000)

Contracting for Municipal Services. Funded by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. January, 1986-1990.PI

The Fiscal Austerity and Urban Innovation. Funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. September, 1983-1985. PI

Research Associate, Field Network Evaluation Study of the Reagan Domestic Program. Princeton Urban and Regional Center, Princeton University. Funded by the Ford Foundation. 1982-1984. PI

Research Associate, Field Network Evaluation Study of the Community Development Block Grant: Round 8. Funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Summer, 1982. PI

The Structural Character of Federal Grants-in-Aid. Funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1982-83. PI

The Allocation of Federal Grants-in-Aid. Funded by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. 1979-1981. PI

The Allocation of State-Local Aid: An Examination of Within State Variation. Funded by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. 1979-1981. PI

Editorial Positions

editorial board member, *Journal of Election Technology and Systems*, 2013-2016

editorial board member, *American Political Science Review*, 2001- 2007

Executive Committee, American Politics, *American Political Science Review*, 2004-2007

editorial board member, *American Journal of Political Science*, 1994-1998

editorial board member, *Journal of Politics*, 1994-1998

editorial board member, *Social Science Quarterly*. 1993-present

editorial board member, *State and Local Government Review*. 1987-1992.

editorial board member, *Urban Affairs Review* (formerly, *Urban Affairs Quarterly*) 1996- 2000.

referee, *American Political Science Review*, *American Politics Quarterly*, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, *Publius*, National Science Foundation.

Books

Perpetuating the Pork Barrel: Policy Subsystems and American Democracy, Cambridge University Press, 1995, with Kenneth N. Bickers.

Robert M. Stein
Department of Political Science

Page 5

Federal Domestic Outlays, 1983-1990. M.E. Sharp, 1991, with Kenneth N. Bickers

Urban Alternatives: Public and Private Markets in the Provision of Local Services, Pittsburgh Press, 1990.

Articles

"How Human Factors Can Help Preserve Democracy in the Age of Pandemics". Human Factors, forthcoming, With Philip Kortum, Claudia Zeigler Aceyman, Elizabeth Vann and Dan Wallach.

"How to Measure and Assess the Turnout Effects of Election Reforms," forthcoming, Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy. With Andrew Menger.

"Choosing the less convenient way to vote: An anomaly in vote by mail elections," forthcoming, Political Research Quarterly. With Andrew Menger. Online first
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/10659129198900009>

"Waiting to vote in the 2016 Presidential Election: Evidence from a multi-jurisdiction Study," forthcoming, Political Research Quarterly. With Charles Stewart, Christopher Mann and others. Online first
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1065912919832374>

"This Way Out," Scientific American, October 2018. Pp. 76-79. With Leonardo Duenas-Osorio and Devika Subramanian.

"Pedagogical Value of Polling-Place Observation by Students." PS: Political Science & Politics, 51:831-837 (October 2018). With Mann, Christopher B., Gayle A. Alberda, Nathaniel A. Birkhead, Yu Ouyang, Chloe Singer, Charles Stewart, Michael C. Herron, et al. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096518000550>.

"Reducing the undervote with vote by mail," American Politics Research. 46(6):1039-1064 (September 2018). With Andrew Menger and Greg Vonnahme.

"Enlisting the public in facilitating election administration: A field experiment," Public Administration Review, 78(6):892-903 (December 2018), with Andrew Menger.

"Survey Experiments with Google Consumer Surveys: Promise and Pitfalls for Academic Research in Social Science." Political Analysis 24(3):256-373 (September 2016), with Philip Santaso and Randolph Stevenson.

"Election Administration During National Disasters and Emergencies: Hurricane Sandy and the 2012 Election." Election Law Journal 14:1-8 (January 2016).

"The social and private benefits of preparing for natural disasters," International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters. 32:459-483 (August 2014), with Birnur Buzcu-Guven, Leonardo Dueñas-Osorio, Devika Subramanian.

"Building and validating geographically refined hurricane wind risk models for residential structures," Natural Hazards Review, 15(3):1-10 (November 2014), with Devika Subramanian, Leonardo Dueñas-Osorio, Josue Salazar

"How risk perceptions influence evacuations from hurricanes and compliance with government directives," Policy Studies Journal, 41(2):319-341 (April 2013), with Birnur Buzcu-Guven, Leonardo Dueñas-Osorio, Devika Subramanian, and David Kahle

Robert M. Stein
Department of Political Science

Page 6

"Early voting and campaign news coverage," Political Communication, 30:278-396 (April 2013), with Johanna Dunaway

"The effect of election day vote centers on voter participation," Election Law Journal, 11(4):291-301 (September 2012) with Greg Vonnahme.

"Where, when and how we vote: Does it matter?" Social Science Quarterly, 93(3):693-712.. (September 2012) with Greg Vonnahme.

"Prospectus for the Future Administration of Elections," Baker Center Journal of Applied Public Policy 4(1):45-57. (Spring, 2012)

"Engineering-based hurricane risk estimates and comparison to perceived risks in storm-prone areas," Natural Hazards Review, 13(1):1-12 (Spring 2012). with Leonardo Duenas-Osorio, Devika Subramanian and Birnur Girmur.

"Voting at non-precinct polling places: A review and research agenda," Election Law Journal, 10:307-11 (October 2011) with Greg Vonnahme.

"Interface network models for complex urban infrastructure systems." Journal of Infrastructure Systems, 17(4): 138-150 (2011), with Winkler, J., L. Dueñas-Osorio, R. Stein, and D. Subramanian.

"Performance assessment of topological diverse power systems subjected to hurricane events," Reliability Engineering and System Safety, 95:323-336. (April 2010). with James Winkler, Leonardo Duenas-Osorio and Devika Subramanian.

"Who evacuates when hurricanes approach? The role of risk, information and location," Social Science Quarterly, 91:816-834.(September 2010). With Leonardo Duenas-Osorio and Devika Subramanian

"Crunching collisions," Roads and Bridges 13:2 (April 2009), with Robert Dahnke, Ben Stevenson, and Tim Lomax.

"Voting technology, election administration and voter performance," Election Law Journal, 7:123-135 (April 2008) with Greg Vonnahme, Michael Byrne and Daniel Wallach.

"Engaging the unengaged voter: Voter centers and voter turnout," Journal of Politics, 70:487-497 (April 2008) with Greg Vonnahme.

"Assessing the Micro-Foundations of the Tiebout Model," Urban Affairs Review, 42:57-80 (September 2006), with Kenneth Bickers and Lapo Salucci.

"Who is Held Responsible When Disaster Strikes? The Attribution of Responsibility for a Natural Disaster in an Urban Election," Journal of Urban Affairs, 28:43-54 (2006) with Kevin Arceneaux.

"Voting for Minority Candidates in Multi-Racial/Ethnic Communities," Urban Affairs Review, 41:157-181 (November 2005) with Stacy Ulbig and Stephanie Post.

"Inter-Local Cooperation and the Distribution of Federal Grant Awards," Journal of Politics, 66:800-22 (August 2004) with Kenneth Bickers.

"Language Choice, Residential Stability, and Voting among Latino-Americans," Social Science Quarterly, 84:412-24, (June 2003), with Martin Johnson and Robert Wrinkle.

Robert M. Stein
Department of Political Science

Page 7

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Recent papers, completed manuscripts, conference papers and invited presentations

"Choosing the less convenient way to vote: An anomaly in vote by mail elections," Election Science Meeting, June 2019, University of Pennsylvania, Phila., PA

"Compositional effects of vote by mail elections," presented at VBMcon: A Conference to discuss vote by mail election reform, June 20, 2019, Washington, D.C.

"Vote fraud and errant voting," Invited presentation at Department of Political Science, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE. April 25, 2013.

"Polling place practices," Prepared for presentation at the Measure of Elections Conference, June 18-19, 2012, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, MA

"Where, when and how we vote: Does it matter?" presented at the Scottish National Election Commission, Strathclyde University, Glasgow, Scotland. November 12-15, 2010.

"The future of elections," presented at the *Future of Governance Conference*, Howard Baker Institute of Government, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tx. October 14-15, 2010.

"Cost of elections," Presented at the 2010 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Ill. April 3-5, 2000 with Greg Vonnahme.

"Early voting and campaign news coverage," 2010 Meeting of the American Political Science Association,

Robert M. Stein
Department of Political Science

Page 11

Washington, D.C., Sept 1-3.

“The cost of elections.” Report prepared for the Pew Charitable Trusts, 2009. With Greg Vonnahme.

“The effects of early voting on congressional campaign expenditures.” Presented at the 2009 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Ill. April 13-15, 2000 With Marvin McNeese

“The effects of Election Day vote centers on voter experiences.” Presented at the 2008 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Ill. April 3-5, 2008. With Greg Vonnahme

Whither the Challenger: Congressional Elections in Metropolitan America, Presented at the 2005 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-3, with Kenneth Bickers.

Assessing the Micro-Foundations of the Tiebout Model Presented at the 2005 Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Meetings, Chicago, Ill. April 2-5, with Kenneth Bickers and Lapo Salucci.

Electoral Reform, Party Mobilization and Voter Turnout Presented at the 2004 Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Meetings, Chicago, Ill. April 21-23, with Jan Leighley, Chris Owens.

The Role of Candidates and Parties in Linking Electoral Reforms with Voter Participation. Presented at the 2003 Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Meetings, Chicago, Ill. April 21-23, with Jan Leighley, Chris Owens.

Voting for Minority Candidates in Multi-Racial/Ethnic Communities. Presented at the 2003 Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Meetings, Chicago, Ill. April 21-23, with Stacy Ulbig and Stephan Post.

The within congressional district electoral connection. Presented at the 2002 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA August 28-September 2, with Kenneth Bickers.

Who Will Vote? The Accessibility of Intention to Vote and Validated Behavior at the Ballot Box, Presented at the 2001 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA., August 28-September 2, with Martin Johnson

Contextual Explanations of Presidential Vote Choice, Presented at the 2001 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 13-15, with W.Philps Shivley and Martin Johnson.

The Changing Structure of Federal Aid and the Politics of the Electoral Connection Coalitions. Presented at the 2000 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4. With Kenneth Bickers.

Accessibility and Contextual Explanations of White Racial Attitudes. Presented at the 2000 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4. With W.Philps Shivley and Martin Johnson

Information, Persuasion and Orphaned Voters. Presented at the 1999 Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA., September 1-4. With Martin Johnson

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Robert M. Stein
Department of Political Science

Page 12

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The Ties that Bind: Urban and Suburban Dependency. Presented at the 1998 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 10-12. With Stephanie Shirley Post

Professional Associations

President, Urban Subsection, American Political Science Association, 1999-2000

President, Southwest Political Science Association, 1997-1998

Chair, Nominations committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1995

Nomination committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1993-94

Executive Council, Southwest Political Science Association, 1992-1994

Chair, nominations committee, 1993-94, Southwest Political Science Association.

Section Head, State and Local Government, 1993, Southern Political Science Association Meetings.

Section Head, State and Intergovernmental Relations, 1992 Midwest Political Science Association .

Executive Board, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 1990-1992

Executive Board, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1985-1991, 1993-1994

Program Chair, Southwestern Political Science Association Annual Meetings, 1983

Section Head, Intergovernmental Relations, Southern Political Science Association Meetings. 1983

Ph. D. Thesis advisees

Albert Ellis, Ph.D. 1989, Associate Professor (deceased), University of Texas, Corpus Christi

Stephanie Post, Ph.D. 1998, Director, Center for Civic Engagement, Rice University

Martin Johnson, Ph.D. 2002. Professor and Chair, University of California-Riverside

Gavin Dillingham, Ph.D. 2004. Research Scientist, Houston Advanced Research Center

Johanna Dunaway, Ph.D. 2006. Associate Professor, Louisiana State University

Gregory Vonnahme, Ph.D. 2009. Assistant Professor, University of Missouri-Kansas City

Marvin McNeese, Ph.D. 2015

Andrew Menger, Ph.D. expected 2017

Teaching

Urban Politics (undergraduate)

Public Policy (graduate and undergraduate)

Bureaucracy and Public Policy

Policy Implementation

Federalism

Political Behavior

Recent expert testimony

Expert Report in the case of Mark Wandering Medicine et al. v. Linda McCulloch et al. [voting rights case in the state of Montana] February-June, 2014.

Expert Report in the Thomas Poor Bear, et al vs. The County of Jackson, South Dakota [voting rights case in the state of South Dakota]. June-November, 2015

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