

# **EXHIBIT 13**

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

VOTE FORWARD, AARON CARREL,  
VOCES UNIDAS DE LAS MONTAÑAS,  
COLORADO ORGANIZATION FOR  
LATINA OPPORTUNITY AND  
REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS, and PADRES  
UNIDOS,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

LOUIS DEJOY, in his official  
capacity as the Postmaster General; and the  
UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE,

*Defendants.*

Civil Case No. 1:20-cv-02405

**DECLARATION OF EITAN D. HERSH**

**I. Statement of Inquiry**

1. In the summer of 2020, United States Postmaster General Louis DeJoy implemented measures that have caused delays in the delivery of mail.<sup>1</sup> The delays raise concern in time-sensitive domains, such as delivery of medicines and election ballots. The concern surrounding ballots is that mail ballots are often submitted by voters in the days just before an election, and USPS delays would mean that some of those ballots will not reach election offices on time and will therefore not be counted. I have been asked by Plaintiff’s counsel to investigate a narrow empirical question: how many voters are likely to send in mail ballots in the final days before the November 2020 election? These are the set of ballots at risk of not being counted due to USPS delays. In brief, I estimate that over 7 million ballots, nationwide, will be submitted by

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<sup>1</sup> Alex Hufford, “What’s Going on with the Postal Service?” *Lawfare*, Sept 1, 2020, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/whats-going-postal-service>.

mail in the days right before the election, and are therefore at risk of not being counted due to USPS delays.

## **II. Qualification**

2. I am an associate professor of political science at Tufts University in Medford, Massachusetts. I also hold the title of Associate Professor of Civic Studies at the Tisch College of Civic Life at Tufts University. I joined the faculty at Tufts in July 2017. Prior to that, I was an assistant professor and a resident fellow of the Institution for Social and Policy Studies at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. I joined the faculty at Yale in 2011. I received my PhD in government from Harvard University in 2011.

3. My scholarly research focuses on U.S. elections, specifically on voter behavior, election administration, political campaigns, and civic engagement. My research utilizes both survey methods as well as methods for analyzing large databases such as voter registration records. My peer-reviewed paper, “The Dynamic Election: Patterns of Early Voting Across Time, State, Party, and Age,” (*Election Law Journal*, 2016) is specifically about the timing of early voting and mail voting. Other peer-reviewed articles cover a range of topics related to voter registration, voter ID, and election participation. Examples include “ADGN: An Algorithm for Record Linkage Using Address, Date of Birth, Gender, and Name” (*Statistics and Public Policy*, 2017), “The Primacy of Race in the Geography of Income-Based Voting” (*American Journal of Political Science*, 2016), and “Movers, Stayers, and Registration: Why Age is Correlated with Registration in the US” (*Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2012). In addition, I have written about the quality of records in state voter systems (“Voter Registration: The Process and Quality of Lists,” in *The Measure of American Elections*, 2014) and the use of voter registration databases in campaign politics (*Hacking the Electorate*, 2015). Articles on survey methods include “Validation: What Big Data Reveal about Survey Misreporting and the Real Electorate”

(*Political Analysis*, 2012). One article, “Obstacles to Estimating Voter ID Laws’ Effect on Turnout” (*Journal of Politics*, 2018) is about survey methods in the context of studying the impact of voter identification laws.

4. I have served as an expert witness in four voting cases in which I was deposed: *Judicial Watch v. King*, *Fish v. Kobach*, *Stringer v. Pablos*, and *U.S. v. Eastpointe*. The first three of these cases were focused on compliance with the National Voter Registration Act in Indiana, Kansas, and Texas, respectively. In the Indiana case, I was hired by defendants; in the other two, by plaintiffs. The fourth case, *U.S. v. Eastpointe*, was focused on compliance with the Voting Rights Act. With regard to the Voting Rights Act, I also served as an expert consultant on *Texas v. Holder* and *Veasey v. Perry*, two cases involving a voter identification law in the State of Texas. The second of these cases was the basis for my peer-reviewed article on record linkage, “ADGN: An Algorithm for Record Linkage Using Address, Date of Birth, Gender, and Name.” In 2018-2019, I was hired as an expert witness by defendants in *Kelly v. Verizon Pennsylvania*, a class action case for which voter registration data was used to evaluate the domicile of class members. I have filed expert declarations in other cases as well. In 2018, I testified before the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary regarding the Facebook/Cambridge Analytica scandal.

5. I am being compensated for my work at a rate of \$300 per hour.

6. A copy of my CV is attached as Exhibit A to this report.

### **III. Analysis**

7. My goal in this declaration is to use the best available data, under a sharp deadline, to provide the court with an estimate of the number of ballots potentially affected by the USPS’s recent policy changes. I begin with a note of caution: it is hard to predict the future. Patterns of voting behavior from past elections certainly offer a window into what will happen in the 2020 election, but there is a great deal of uncertainty about how this election will differ from

previous ones. Most obviously, the trajectory of the Covid-19 pandemic will likely affect how many people participate in the November election, how many people will cast ballots by mail, and when, during the election cycle, they choose to cast those mail ballots.

8. This analysis will proceed with three estimates: a.) the number of total votes expected in the November 2020 election, b.) the percent of those votes expected to be cast by mail ballots, and c.) the percent of mail ballots that are cast in a timeframe in which a delay of even one day on the part of the USPS will jeopardize the ballots being counted.

#### **A. Estimate of Turnout**

9. The most relied-upon estimates of voter turnout in past elections come from Professor Michael McDonald, a political scientist at the University of Florida.<sup>2</sup> Professor McDonald calculates ballots cast divided by the voting eligible population (VEP). The eligible population is calculated by subtracting non-citizens and otherwise ineligible individuals (e.g. disenfranchised felons and ex-felons) from the voting-age population. Since 2000, the voting eligible population has grown steadily by about 4.4% each presidential election year. In the year 2000, the VEP was 194,331,436. In the year 2004, the VEP was 203,483,455. In 2008, it was 213,313,508. In 2012, it was 222,474,111. In 2016, it was 230,931,921. The average growth in these years is 4.4%. Assuming a 4.4% growth rate in the voting eligible population, **the 2020 eligible population will be 241,114,005.**

10. How many eligible citizens will vote? In the last five presidential elections, turnout among eligible has ranged from 55.3% (in 2000) to 62.2% (in 2008). In 2020, pollsters are estimating very high turnout. The *New York Times*' Nate Cohn recently wrote, "The 2020

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.electproject.org/home/voter-turnout/voter-turnout-data>

election is poised to have the highest turnout in a century.”<sup>3</sup> Suppose turnout will not be, in fact, higher than ever, but that it will match the recent high-water mark of 2008. In that case, 62.2% of the estimated 241,114,005 eligible citizens will cast ballots, which equals 149,972,911. In other words, **approximately 150 million ballots are expected to be cast in the November 2020 election.**

### **B. Estimate of Mail Ballots**

11. Of 150 million ballots, how many will be cast by mail? Here is where statistics from prior presidential elections do not offer us much insight; Covid-19 has resulted in new state laws that make mail balloting easier and in new preferences of citizens to avoid in-person interactions. In recent presidential years, a quarter to a third of U.S. voters were casting ballots before Election Day (either by mail or at early in-person locations).<sup>4</sup> In 2016, 21% of voters nationwide cast a mail ballot.<sup>5</sup> However, all indications point to much higher use of mail balloting in the upcoming election.

12. What are those indications? First, in nine states, plus Washington DC, all voters will be automatically sent mail ballots. This had been the practice in just a few states prior to Covid-19, but new states, including the nation’s most populous state, have shifted to sending every registrant a ballot for 2020. Another nine states are automatically sending every registrant an application through which they can request an absentee ballot. For instance, ahead of a recent (Sept 1, 2020) election – a highly contested statewide primary – Massachusetts sent all

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<sup>3</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/15/upshot/2020-election-turnout-analysis.html>

<sup>4</sup> Vivekinan Ashok, et al, “The Dynamic Election: Patterns of Early Voting Across Time, State, Party, and Age,” *Election Law Journal*, 15 (2), 2016.

<sup>5</sup> Hannah Hartig, Bradley Jones, and Vanney Gomez, “As states move to expand the practice, relatively few Americans have voted by mail,” *Pew Research Center*, June 24, 2020.

registrants a mail ballot application. Approximately three quarters of all votes cast in the election appear to have been cast by mail ballot.<sup>6</sup> The states that either plan on sending all registrants mail ballots for the November election or plan on sending all registrants mail ballot applications contain 39% of the United States population.

13. Another 38% of Americans live in other jurisdictions in which a registrant no longer needs any excuse to request a mail ballot and/or in which Covid-19 is considered as an excused reason. Again, these are not jurisdictions that affirmatively send registrants mail ballots or applications but rather that simply permit anyone who would like to vote by mail to do so. In primary elections held during the pandemic, we have seen cases, in this category of state, in which the majority of voters have cast ballots by mail. For instance, an August 18, 2020 primary in the state of Florida showed 60% of ballots cast by mail.<sup>7</sup> An August, 11, 2020 primary in the state of Minnesota also showed 60% of ballots cast by mail.<sup>8</sup>

14. Thus, some 77% of Americans live in jurisdictions in which anyone can request a mail ballot (without an excuse) or are mailed applications to vote by mail or are mailed actual ballots to cast votes by mail. In these jurisdictions, elections that have taken place since the Covid-19 pandemic indicate that overwhelming majorities of citizens are casting mail ballots. Even accounting for the fact that a handful of states require excuses (beyond Covid-19) to vote by mail, it is very likely that a majority of all ballots cast will be cast by mail in November 2020. Consistent with this view, the *New York Times* recently estimated that about 80 million ballots

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<sup>6</sup> <https://www.masslive.com/politics/2020/08/record-high-turnout-expected-during-massachusetts-sept-1-primary-due-to-mail-in-voting.htm>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.miamiherald.com/news/politics-government/article245268070.html>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.startribune.com/6-of-10-minnesota-primary-voters-cast-ballots-absentee-or-by-mail-tripling-turnout/568966771/>

will be cast in 2020 by mail. This would amount to 53% of 150 million ballots expected to be cast.<sup>9</sup> The exact number is difficult to predict. But given that recent months have shown elections with 60-75% of voters casting ballots by mail, **an estimate of 53% of all voters casting mail ballots, or 80 million nationwide, is an appropriate, if not conservative, estimate.**<sup>10</sup>

### C. Estimate of Timing

15. In many states, voters can request and receive absentee ballots long before Election Day. However, past elections reveal a clear behavioral pattern in the casting of mail ballots: many voters wait until the last minute. Consider evidence from the 2012 election. During that election, I, as well as three graduate students at Yale University, received daily updates from states as early in-person and mail ballots trickled into election offices. We gathered this data via Catalist, a data vendor that is typically hired by political campaigns. Campaigns have an interest in learning which citizens have already cast ballots so they can more efficiently target their mobilization campaigns. My colleagues and I were able to use this data vendor to learn about the timing of balloting for scholarly research. Our results were published in the peer-reviewed *Election Law Journal* in 2016.

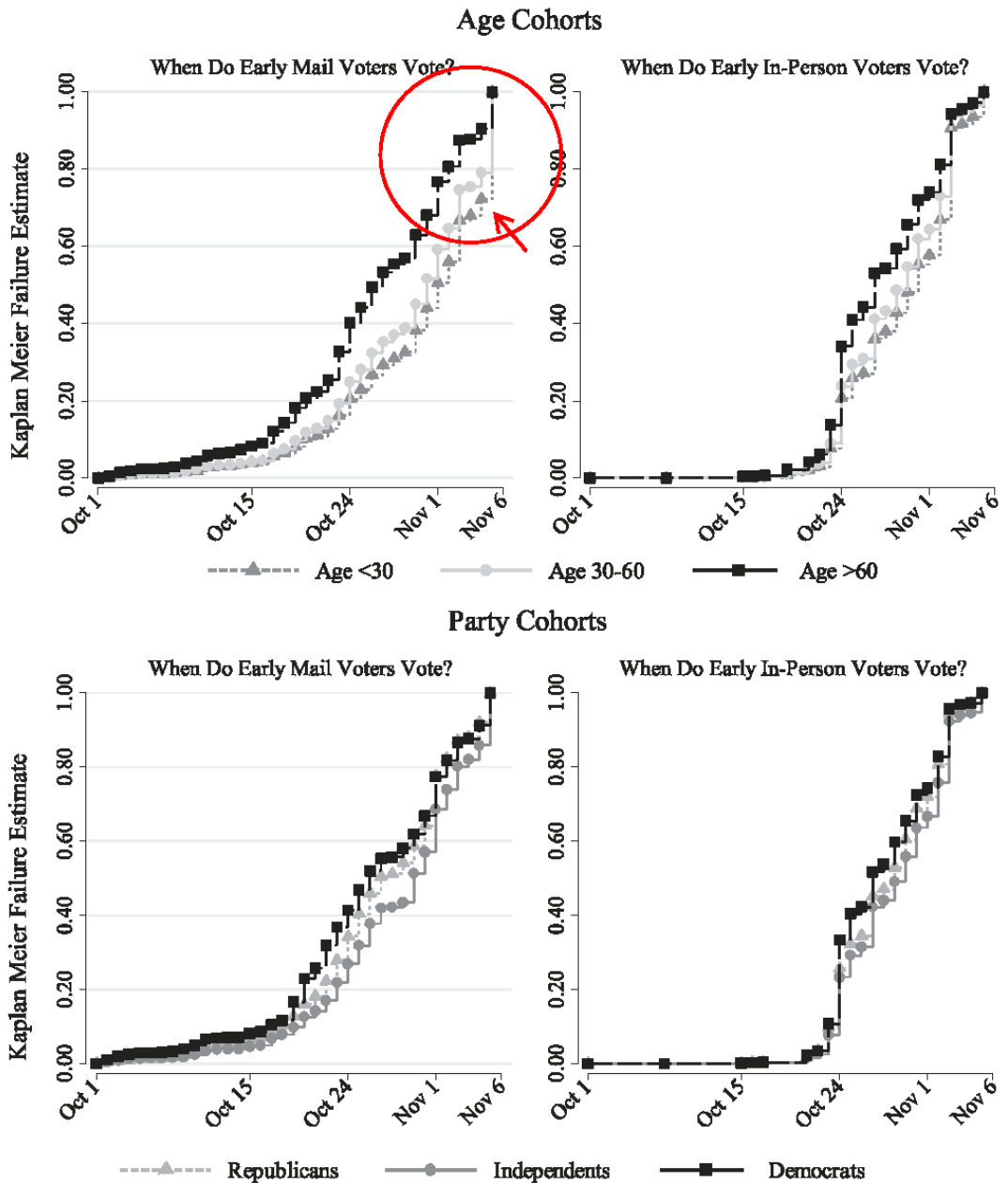
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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/08/11/us/politics/vote-by-mail-us-states.html>

<sup>10</sup> Why conservative? Consider a simple, back of the envelope calculation. If 39% of the public lives in a jurisdiction such as California (where ballots will be sent to all registrants) or Massachusetts (where ballot applications will be sent to all registrants), mail balloting may be used by something like 85% of voters in that category of state. Another 38% of the public lives in a jurisdiction such as Florida or Minnesota where mail balloting doesn't require an excuse. Mail ballots have been used by 60% of the public in Florida and Minnesota, so suppose that 60% of voters in this category of state uses mail ballots in November. As for the remaining 23% of the public that lives in jurisdictions where mail balloting requires an excuse, one still expects much higher than average use of mail ballots due to Covid. Mail ballots could be used by 15% of voters. In that case, we calculate  $(.39 \times .85) + (.38 \times .60) + (.23 \times .15) = 59.4\%$  of ballots will be cast by mail.  $59.4\% \times 150$  million votes = 89.1 million mail ballots. Again, these percentages are difficult to predict and will be influenced by the trajectory of Covid-19. Nevertheless, reasonable assumptions suggest that the 80 million estimate used above is an appropriate and conservative estimate. The list of jurisdiction in each category of mail practice is taken from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/08/11/us/politics/vote-by-mail-us-states.html>.



**FIGURE 1: The Timing of 2012 Ballots, by Age and Party Affiliation (Copy of Figure A1 from Ashok, et al (2016)).**



16. In Figure 1, I reproduce a figure contained in that scholarly article. The left-side panels shows when mail ballots were counted by the election office and transmitted daily to Catalist. (The right-side panels show early in-person votes). The top panels divide the population by three age cohorts. The bottom panels divide the population by three political party cohorts.

17. For the sake of interpretation, focus on the top left panel. Each point on the graph is interpreted as the percentage of all mail voters who cast their mail ballot by the date indicated. See, for example, the darkest line, which represents voters older than 60. By October 24, 2012, approximately 40% of all 60-plus year-olds who cast mail ballots in the 2012 election had already cast them. The remaining 60% cast mail ballots after October 24<sup>th</sup>. The lines representing younger age cohorts are noticeably lower on the graph. For instance, 40% of voters under 30 years old who cast mail ballots did not end up casting them until closer to November 1. In other words, younger mail voters cast their ballots later in the calendar than older voters.

18. In Figure 1, a red circle highlights the key feature of this graph for the purposes of the current declaration: there is a big jump in the graph at the end of the time series. For a very large percentage of voters who ended up casting a mail ballot in 2012, particularly young voters, their ballots were counted on the very last day of the pre-election period. For instance, the right-most triangle on the upper-left graph represents voters under 30 whose mail ballots were counted as of November 5, 2012, the day before the election. Only 75% of them had ballots counted by that date. In other words, for about a quarter of all young people who cast mail ballots, their ballots were counted the final day of the election.

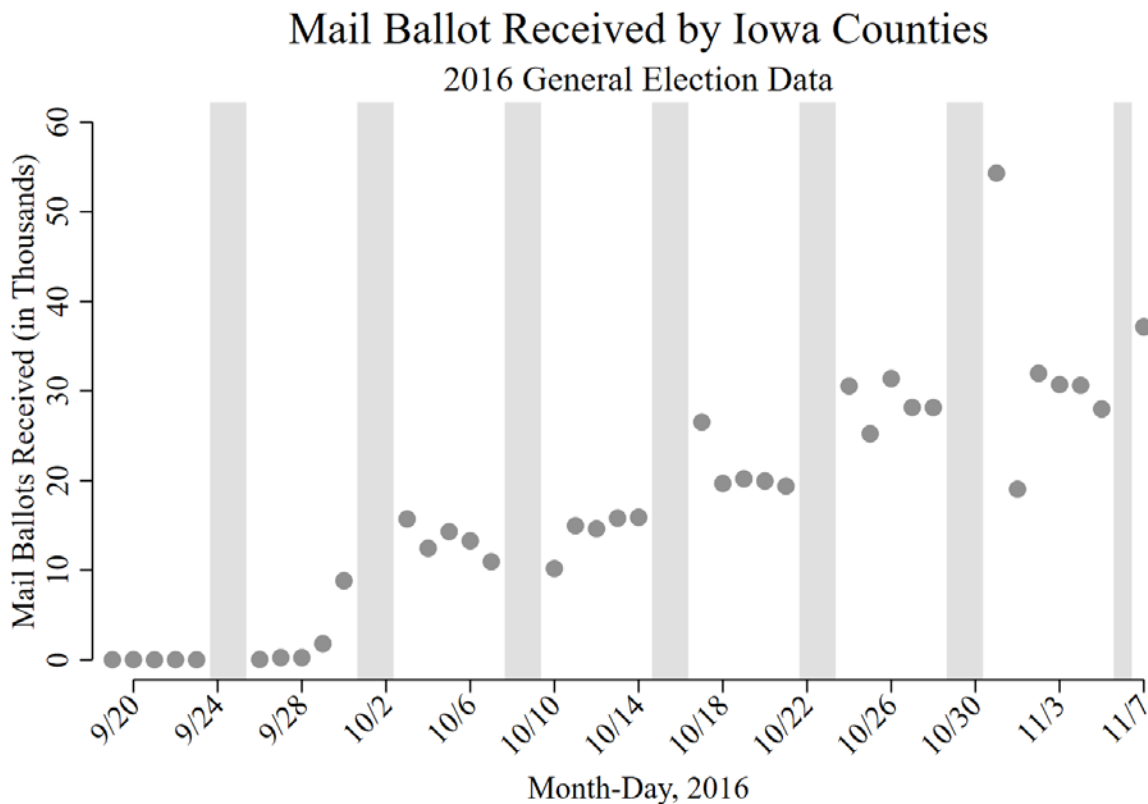
19. For a more recent and more specific analysis, consider the state of Iowa. In 2016, the Iowa Secretary of State reported daily updates about when absentee ballots were requested by registrants, sent to registrants from county election offices, and received back completed from voters.<sup>11</sup> In Figure 2, I plot the number of absentee ballots received by Iowa's election offices by date, during the 2016 election season. Except for the last Saturday of the election season, the

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<sup>11</sup> Data available here:  
<https://sos.iowa.gov/elections/pdf/2016/general/AbsenteeCongressional2016.pdf>

state did not report new ballots received on weekends. Weekend days on which no new data were reported are indicated in gray.

**FIGURE 2: Timing of Receipt of Mail Ballots, Iowa 2016.**



NOTE: Weekends are shaded in gray. No reporting of data on weekends.

20. Figure 2 shows a clear pattern of more voters submitting ballots over time.

Almost no voters submitted a completed ballot in September. In October, the state received first about ten thousand ballots a day, increasing to about thirty thousand a day.

21. The last two dots in Figure 2 represent those ballots received on Monday November 7 or Tuesday November 8. In Iowa, in 2016, these two dots represent 61,051 ballots together, which amounted to 9.3% of all mail ballots cast. Assuming the 2016 Iowa ballots were sent via First Class Mail, as is typical of Election Mail, the USPS has represented that the ballots

should be delivered in either 1–3 days<sup>12</sup> or 2–5 days.<sup>13</sup> Adopting the faster timeline, those 9.3% of all ballots received on Monday, November 7 or Tuesday, November 8 were likely sent on Saturday, November 5. If we just focus on mail ballots received by Iowa on Election Day itself in 2016 (the last dot in the series in Figure 2), this represents 3.7% of all mail ballots cast and received by Iowa counties. If we just focus on those ballots, a delay in mail by one day at the very least would prevent 3.7% of mail votes from being counted.

22. However, a one-day delay would likely impact many more ballots than 3.7% of mail voters. In 2016, it was within the normal delivery expectations for ballots mailed on Saturday ahead of the election to be received on November 8, Election Day, even though some of those ballots – maybe most – were received in 2016 on the Monday before the election. However, under the Post Office’s new procedures, ballots mailed on Saturday may not arrive even by Tuesday, Election Day.

23. If we extrapolate from Iowa, what is the implication for 2020? Out of 150 million likely votes cast in 2020, at least 80 million will probably be cast by mail. If 3.7% of mail ballots are delayed by one day, this amounts to 3 million ballots. If 9.3% of mail ballots delayed by one day, this amounts to 7.4 million ballots. These are ballots for which delays at the U.S. Post Office might make the difference between a vote counted and a vote disqualified.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> USPS, Mail and Shipping Services, <https://www.usps.com/ship/mail-shipping-services.htm> (stating First Class Mail is delivered in 1–3 days).

<sup>13</sup> USPS OIG, *Processing Readiness of Election and Political Mail During the 2020 General Elections* (Aug. 31, 2020), <https://www.uspsoidg.gov/sites/default/files/document-library-files/2020/20-225-R20.pdf> (stating First Class Mail is delivered in 2–5 days).

<sup>14</sup> Note that, in reaching this conclusion, I have adopted the 1–3 day delivery timeline for First-Class Mail. Under the longer 2–5 day delivery timeline, all ballots sent between *Thursday, October 29* and Election Day could be disqualified based on even a one-day delay—resulting in an even higher number of ballots at risk of disqualification.

#### IV. Conclusion

24. Turnout in the 2020 election is expected to be high. Use of mail balloting in the 2020 general election is expected to be unprecedentedly high. On account of Covid-19, more states are encouraging mail ballots and voters are using mail ballots like never before. Upwards of 80 million votes – the majority of all votes in the presidential election – are expected to be submitted by mail. Past behavior indicates that voters, especially younger voters, tend to wait until the last possible moment to cast their ballot. Data from both 2012 and 2016 indicate high rates of ballots received by election offices in the final day or days of the election season. Extrapolating from past elections, in states where ballots must be received by Election Day, perhaps 9% of Americans who will cast mail ballots in 2020 may submit those ballots on the Saturday right before the election. Prior to recent changes in practice at the U.S. Post Office, these ballots would be received by election offices on time. Following the recent changes, delays – even of just one day – in mail delivery puts a significant number of ballots at risk of not being counted.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed this 7th of September, 2020:



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Eitan D. Hersh  
Associate Professor  
Department of Political Science  
Tufts University

# **EXHIBIT A**

# CURRICULUM VITAE

EITAN D. HERSH

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## CONTACT

Department of Political Science, Tufts University  
108 Packard Hall  
Medford, Massachusetts 02155

Tel: 617.627.2043  
Email: eitan.hersh@tufts.edu  
Web: www.eitanhersh.com

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## EMPLOYMENT

Associate Professor, Political Science  
Tufts University, 2017-Present

Assistant Professor, Political Science  
Yale University, 2011-2017

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## EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Political Science, Harvard University (2011)  
M.A. in Political Science, Harvard University (2010)  
B.A. in Philosophy, Tufts University, *summa cum laude* (2005)

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## BOOKS

Eitan Hersh. 2020. *Politics is for Power: How to Move Beyond Political Hobbyism, Take Action, and Make Real Change*. New York: Scribner.

Eitan Hersh. 2015. *Hacking the Electorate: How Campaigns Perceive Voters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

— **Winner**, Best Book in Information, Technology, and Politics, APSA 2016

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## SCHOLARLY ARTICLES

Aaron Kaufman and Eitan Hersh. 2020. "The Political Consequences of Opioid Overdoses." *PLOS ONE* 15 (8): 1-10.

Laura Zatz, Eitan Hersh, Kimberly Gudzone, Anne Thorndike, Matthew Goldenberg, and Sara Bleich. 2020. "Physicians' Political Party Affiliation and Clinical Management of Obesity," *Clinical Obesity*: 1-9.

Justin Grimmer, Eitan Hersh, Marc Meredith, and Clayton Nall. 2018. "Obstacles to Estimating Voter ID Laws' Effect on Turnout." *Journal of Politics* 80 (3): 1045-1051.

Bernard Fraga and Eitan Hersh. 2018. "Are Americans Stuck in Uncompetitive Enclaves? An Appraisal of U.S. Electoral Competition" *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 13 (3): 291-311.

Eitan Hersh and Yair Ghitza. 2018. "Mixed-Partisan Households and Electoral Participation in the United States" *PLOS ONE* 13(10): 1-18.

Stephen Ansolabehere and Eitan Hersh. 2017. "ADGN: An Algorithm for Record Linkage Using Address, Date of Birth, Gender, and Name" *Statistics and Public Policy*. 4(1): 1-10.

Eitan Hersh and Brian Schaffner. 2017. "Post-Materialist Particularism: What Petitions Can Tell Us about Biases in the American Policy Agenda," *American Politics Research* doi.org/10.1177/1532673X17722989.

Ryan Enos and Eitan Hersh. 2017 "Campaign Perceptions of Electoral Closeness: Uncertainty, Fear, and Over-Confidence." *British Journal of Political Science*. 47(3): 501-519.

Eitan Hersh and Matthew Goldenberg. 2016. "Democratic and Republican Physicians Provide Different Care on Politicized Health Issues," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 113 (42): 11811-11816.

Vivekinan Ashok, Daniel Feder, Mary McGrath, and Eitan Hersh. 2016 "The Dynamic Election: Patterns of Early Voting Across Time, Space, Age, and Party," *Election Law Journal*. 15(2): 115-128.

Eitan Hersh and Clayton Nall. 2016. "The Primacy of Race in the Geography of Income-Based Voting: New Evidence from Public Voting Records." *American Journal of Political Science*. 60 (2): 289-303.

— **Winner**, Pi Sigma Alpha award for best paper presented at MPSA (2013)

— **Winner**, MPSA Emerging Scholar award (2013)

Ryan Enos and Eitan Hersh. 2015. "Party Activists as Campaign Advertisers: The Ground Campaign as a Principal-Agent Problem." *American Political Science Review*. 109 (2): 252-278.

Stephen Ansolabehere and Eitan Hersh. 2013. "Gender, Race, Age and Voting: A Research Note." *Politics and Governance*. 1 (2): 132-137.



Eitan Hersh. 2013. "The Long-Term Effect of September 11 on the Political Behavior of Victims' Families and Neighbors." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 110 (52): 20959-20963.

Eitan Hersh and Brian F. Schaffner. 2013. "Targeted Campaign Appeals and the Value of Ambiguity." *Journal of Politics*. 75 (2): 520-534.

Stephen Ansolabehere and Eitan Hersh. 2012. "Validation: What Big Data Reveal About Survey Misreporting and the Real Electorate." *Political Analysis* 20(4): 437-459.

Stephen Ansolabehere, Eitan Hersh, and Kenneth Shepsle. 2012. "Movers, Stayers, and Registration: Why Age is Correlated with Registration in the U.S." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7(4): 333-363.

Eitan Hersh. 2012. "Primary Voters Versus Caucus Goers and the Peripheral Motivations of Political Participation." *Political Behavior*. 34(4): 689-718.

Bernard Fraga and Eitan Hersh. 2011. "Voting Costs and Voter Turnout in Competitive Elections." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5(4): 339-356.

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## OTHER WRITING

Eitan Hersh, "How Democrats Can Repair Their Generational Divide," *Politico*, March 12, 2020.

Eitan Hersh, "We All Really Need To Do Hard Things" *The Progressive*, January 31, 2020.

Eitan Hersh, "Listen Up, Liberals: You Aren't Doing Politics Right," *New York Times*, January 27, 2020.

Eitan Hersh, "College-Educated Voters are Ruining American Politics," *The Atlantic*, January 20, 2020.

Eitan Hersh, "What Rich Centrists Could Learn from Howard Schultz about Political Power," *Niskanen Center*, January 16, 2020.

Eitan Hersh, "Politics is for Power, Not Consumption," *Boston Review*, November 4, 2019.

Eitan Hersh, "The Political Beliefs and Civic Engagement of Physicians in an Era of Polarization," Introduction to special issue, guest editor of special issue, *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* 44, 2019.

Eitan Hersh, "In a Deep Blue or Red State? You Can Still Influence Politics," *New York Times*, October 29, 2018.

Eitan Hersh, "Political Hobbyists are Ruining the Country," *New York Times*, July 2, 2017.

Eitan Hersh, "The Most Dangerous Hobby," *Boston Globe*, May 3, 2016.

Occasional essays in media outlets such as the Washington Post's Monkey

Cage and *FiveThirtyEight*, see <https://fivethirtyeight.com/contributors/eitan-hersh/>.

Justin Grimmer, Brian Feinstein, Eitan Hersh, and Daniel Carpenter, “Are Close Elections Random?” Working Paper.

Stephen Ansolabehere and Eitan Hersh. 2014. “Voter Registration: The Process and Quality of Lists.” In *The Measure of American Elections*, eds. Barry C. Burden and Charles Stewart III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stephen Ansolabehere and Eitan Hersh. 2011. “Who *Really* Votes?” In *Facing the Challenge of Democracy*, eds. Paul M. Sniderman and Benjamin Highton. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stephen Ansolabehere, et al., “Voter Registration List Quality Pilot Studies,” Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project Report, June 8, 2010.

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## TEACHING

“Information, Technology, and Political Power”

“U.S. Elections: Rules, Strategies, Outcomes”

“Advanced Seminar on U.S. National Elections”

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## REFEREE SERVICE

*American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Politics Research*, *American Sociological Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Economics and Politics*, *Election Law Journal*, *Electoral Studies*, *Journal of Elections*, *Public Opinion and Parties*, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Political Analysis*, *Political Behavior*, *Political Psychology*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Politics and Governance*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Research and Politics*, *Review of Economics and Statistics*, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*.

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## INVITED TALKS

I have given presentations at annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, and Society for Political Methodology.

I have given invited talks at Boston University, Columbia, Chicago, Dartmouth, Harvard, Harvard Kennedy School, Harvard Medical School, McGill, MIT, NYU, UCLA, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, Michigan, UNC, UPenn Annenberg School, Princeton, Stanford, Stanford Law School, Washington University-St. Louis, and Yale Law School.

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## CONSULTING & SERVICE

Editorial Board, *Election Law Journal*, 2020-

Member, Brookline, MA, Select Board's Taskforce to Reimagine Policing, 2020-2021

Academic Advisor, 100 Million: Nonvoter Study, Knight Foundation, 2019-2020.

Witness, United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, May 16 2018 (Facebook/Cambridge Analytica scandal)

Statistical Consultant, *Texas v. Holder* (Voter ID case)

Statistical Consultant, *Veasey v. Perry* (Voter ID case)

Expert, *Judicial Watch, et al v. King, et al*, Indiana Voter Registration Case

Expert, *Fish v. Kobach*, Kansas Voter Registration Case

Expert, *Stringer, et al v. Pablos*, Texas Voter Registration Case

Expert, *United States v. Eastpointe, MI*, Voting Rights Act case

Expert, *Collins v. Adams*, Kentucky Voter ID case

Commissioner, Commission on Youth Voting and Civic Knowledge, CIRCLE, 2012-14