

CURRICULUM VITAE

CHARLES HAINES STEWART III

DEPARTMENT: Political Science
DATE OF BIRTH: March 31, 1958
CITIZENSHIP: United States

DATE: October 27, 2021

EDUCATION

INSTITUTION	Degree	Date
Stanford University	Ph.D.	1985
Stanford University	A.M.	1982
Emory University	B.A.	1979

TITLE OF DOCTORAL THESIS: The Politics of Structural Reform: Reforming the Budgetary Process in the House, 1865-1921 (Dissertation committee: John E. Chubb [chair], Terry M. Moe, and John A. Ferejohn)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

MIT

1985–1989	Assistant Professor of Political Science
1989–1999	Associate Professor of Political Science
1990–1993	Cecil and Ida Green Career Development Associate Professor of Political Science (3-yr. term)
1999–present	Professor of Political Science
2007–present	Kenan Sahin Distinguished Professor of Political Science
2016–present	Affiliate Faculty, Institute for Data, Systems, and Society

MIT: Administrative

2002–2005	Associate Dean of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences
2002–present	Co-director, Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project
2005–2010	Head of the Department of Political Science
2015–present	Director, MIT Election Data and Science Lab

Non-MIT

1989–1990	National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University
1998 (summer)	Visiting Associate Professor of Political Science, Stanford University
2010–2011	Visiting Scholar, Moritz College of Law, The Ohio State University

FIELDS OF INTEREST

American politics
 Legislative politics
 Campaigns and elections
 Election reform
 American political development
 Research methods

AWARDS

1989	The Everett Moore Baker Memorial Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, M.I.T.
1993–2003	Margaret MacVicar Faculty Fellow, M.I.T. (10-year term)
1994	Mary Parker Follett Award, for Best Published Essay or Article, 1993-1994, Politics and History Section, American Political Science Association (with Barry Weingast).
1999	Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award, for Best Paper Presented at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. (“Architect or Tactician? Henry Clay and the Institutional Development of the U.S. House of Representatives”)
2000–2003	Class of 1960 Fellow, M.I.T. (3-year term)
2002	Jewell-Loehenberg Award, for best article to have appeared in the <i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i> , Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association (with Steven Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder, Jr.)
2002	Jack Walker Award, honoring an article or published paper of unusual significance and importance to the field, Political Organizations and Parties Section, American Political Science Association (with Steven Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder, Jr.)
2002	Best Reference Source 2002 by <i>Library Journal</i> for <i>Committees in the United States Congress, 1789–1946</i> .
2011	Elected Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences

- 2011 Phi Beta Kappa (honorary member), Xi Chapter of Massachusetts
- 2013 Patrick J. Fett Award, honoring the best paper on the scientific study of Congress and the Presidency at the previous meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (“The Value of Committee Assignments in Congress since 1994”)

GRANTS

- 1989–90, 2000–01 Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center
- 1991, 2010 Marion and Jasper Whiting Foundation
- 1991–93 National Science Foundation, “The Development of the Committee System in the House, 1870-1946,” SES-91-12345
- 2002 Boston Foundation, “Voting in Massachusetts”
- 2003–06 John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, “Internet and Electronic Voting”
- 2005–07 National Science Foundation, “Collaborative Research: U.S. Senate Elections Data Base, 1871–1913” (with Wendy Schiller).
- 2007–10 Pew Charitable Trusts and JEHT Foundation, “The 2008 Survey of the Performance of American Elections”
- 2008–10 Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, “Congressional and Executive Staff Seminar”
- 2012–13 Pew Charitable Trusts, “Measuring Elections”
- 2012–14 National Science Foundation, “Workshop on the Science of Voting Technology: Research and Teaching” SES-1153387
- 2013–15 Pew Charitable Trusts, “Measuring Elections”
- 2013–14 Democracy Fund, “Voting in America: Matching Problems to Solutions”
- 2013–14 William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, “Voting in America: Matching Problems to Solutions”
- 2014–17 Democracy Fund, “Polling Place of the Future”
- 2016–17 Pew Charitable Trusts, “The 2016 Survey of the Performance of American Elections
- 2017–24 William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, “The MIT Election Data and Science Lab”
- 2017–18 Carnegie Foundation of New York, Andrew Carnegie Fellow

2017–19	Joyce Foundation, “State Election Landscapes”
2017–19	National Science Foundation, “Multidisciplinary Conference on Election Auditing”
2017–22	Democracy Fund, “The MIT Election Data and Science Lab”
2020–2021	U.S. Election Assistance Commission, “Lessons Learned from the 2020 Election”
2021	National Science Foundation, “Election Science: Convergence Accelerator Workshop”

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

American Political Science Association (Sections: Legislative studies, political methodology, politics and history) (Member, E.E. Schattschneider Award Committee, 1988–89)
 (Member, Investment Committee, 2014–2017) (Member, Audit Committee, 2016)
 (Member, Rules and Elections Committee, 2018–present)

Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Science Association (Member, Richard Fenno Award Committee, 1993–94; Chair, CQ Award Committee, 2002–03, 2008–09; Chair, Jewell-Loehenberg Award, 2004–05; Council member, 2005–2007)

Politics and History Section of the American Political Science Association (Council member, 1995–97; Chair, Mary Parker Follett Award Committee, 2001)

Journal of Election Technology and Systems, Editorial Board, 2013–16

Legislative Studies Quarterly, Editorial Board, 2003–2007

Studies in American Political Development, Editorial Board, 2003–present

Congress and the Presidency, Editorial Board, 1994–present

American Politics Quarterly, Editorial Board, 1992–1997

Journal of Election Administration Research and Practice, 2021–present

Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Elements in Campaigns and Elections Series, co-editor (with R. Michael Alvarez and Emily Beaulieu Bacchus), 2020–present

Congress and History Summer Conference Planning Committee, 2002–present

Planning committee, Senate Election Study (1990 election)

Midwestern Political Science Association (Chair, Patrick Fett Award Committee, 2013–14)

Southern Political Science Association

American Association for the Advancement of Science

American Association of Wine Economists

M.I.T. ACTIVITIES AND COMMITTEES

Head of House, McCormick Hall (1992–2015)
 Chair, Housemasters Council (1999–2001)
 Bexley Hall Housemaster Search Committee (chair, 1999–2000)
 Senior House Housemaster Search Committee (chair, 2009, 2010)
 East Campus Housemaster Search Committee (chair, 2014)
 Baker House Housemaster Search Committee (chair, 2015)

Director, MIT Washington Summer Internship Program (1994–present)

Institute Committees

HASS-D Review Committee (1993–94)
 Committee on Undergraduate Program (1993–98; chair, 1995–97)
 Committee on Curricula (*ex officio*, 1995–97)
 Committee on Academic Performance (2011–16; chair, 2012–16)
 Committee on Discipline (2020–present)
 Task Force on Student Life and Learning (1996–98)
Ad hoc Advisory Group on Orientation 1998 (1997)
Ad hoc Advisory Committee on the Principles and Goals of MIT's Residential System (1998)
 Special CUP Subcommittee on Pass/No Record Credit and Advanced Placement (chair, 1999–2000)
 Faculty Policy Committee (2001–03)
 Committee on Faculty Quality of Life (co-chair, 2003–05)
 Task Force on the Educational Commons (associate chair, 2003–06)
 Experimental Study Group Advisory Committee (2007–10)
 Terrascope Advisory Committee (2007–09)
 Subcommittee on the Educational Commons (co-chair, 2007–09)
 Institute-Wide Planning Task Force, Student Life working Group (2009)
 Housing Strategy Group (2010–16)
 Review Committee on Orientation (2010–11)
 Task Force on Dormitory Security (co-chair, 2011–12)

Political science search committees

Formal theory and research methodology (1986–89, 1990–92)
 American politics (1988–89; 1990–93; 1997–98; chair, 1992–93; 1997–98; 2004–05; chair, 2011; chair, 2015)
 Open-field search (2021–22)

Department committees

Independent Activities period coordinator (1985–87)
 Graduate admissions (1985–89, 1990–93, 2002–04, 2007–13)
 Financial aid (1986–89, 1990–93, 1994–95; chair, 1990–93)
 Undergraduate program (1987–89, 1993–2005, 2013–21; chair, 1993–2005, 2013–21)
 Computer representative (1994–95)
 HASS distribution oversight committee on cultures and societies (1987–89)
 HASS Overview Committee (1999–2000, 2002–05; chair, 2002–05)
 Faculty fellow, Burton House (1988–1989)
 Truman Scholarship Selection Committee (1988–1989, 1994–1996, 2002)
 Burchard Scholar Selection Committee (1992–1996, 2000, 2002–04)
 Kelly-Douglas Prize Selection Committee (2002–04)
 Freshman Advisor, 1986–97; 2000–15; 2016–2017

PUBLICATIONS

Books

- 2015 *Electing the Senate*. Princeton. University Press (with Wendy Schiller)
- 2014 *Measuring American Elections*. Cambridge University Press (with Barry Burden)
- 2012 *Fighting for the Speakership: The House and the Rise of Party Government*. Princeton University Press (with Jeffery A. Jenkins).
- 2010 *Committees in the U.S. Congress, 1993–2010*. CQ Press (with Garrison Nelson).
- 2002 *Committees in the United States Congress, 1789–1946*, 4 vols. Congressional Quarterly Press (with David Canon and Garrison Nelson).
- 2001 *Analyzing Congress* W. W. Norton. [2nd edition, 2012]
- 1989 *Budget Reform Politics: The Design of the Appropriations Process in the House, 1865-1921*. Cambridge University Press.

Chapters in Edited Collections

- 2020 “Polling Place Quality and Access” (with Robert Stein and Christopher Mann) in *The Future of Election Administration*, eds. Mitchell Brown, Bridgett A. King, and Kathleen Hale. Palgrave MacMillan.
- 2020 “The Elections Performance Index: Past, Present, and Future” in *The Future of Election Administration*, eds. Mitchell Brown, Bridgett A. King, and Kathleen Hale. Palgrave MacMillan.
- 2017 “Election Administration in 2016: A Tale of Two Cities” (with Terry Susan Fine) in *Conventional Wisdom, Parties, and Broken Barriers in the 2016 Election*, eds. Jennifer C. Lucas, Christopher J. Galdieri, and Tauna Starbuck Sisco.
- 2014 “Measuring American Elections” in *Measuring American Elections*, eds. Barry C. Burden and Charles Stewart III.
- 2014 “The Performance of Election Machines and the Decline of Residual Votes in the U.S.” in *Measuring American Elections*, eds. Barry C. Burden and Charles Stewart III.
- 2014 “Understanding Voter Attitudes toward Election Fraud Across the United States.” (With Thad E. Hall) in *Advancing Electoral Integrity*, eds. Pippa Norris, Richard W. Frank, and Ferran Martinez i Coma.

- 2014 “What Hath HAVA Wrought? Consequences, Intended and Unintended, of the Post-*Bush v. Gore* Reforms,” in *Bush v. Gore Ten Years Later*, eds. R. Michael Alvarez and Bernard Grofman.
- 2011 “Congressional Committees in a Partisan Era: The End of Institutionalization as We Know It?” in *New Directions in Congressional Politics*, ed. Jamie Ll. Carson, Routledge.
- 2008 “Function follows Form: Voting Technology and the Law,” in *America Votes!*, ed. Benjamin E. Griffith American Bar Association.
- 2008 “Improving the Measurement of Election System Performance in the United States” in *Mobilizing Democracy: A Comparative Perspective on Institutional Barriers and Political Obstacles*, eds. Margaret Levi, James Johnson, Jack Knight, and Susan Stokes, Russell Sage.
- 2006 “Architect or Tactician? Henry Clay and the Institutional Development of the U.S. House of Representatives” in *Process, Party, and Policy Making: New Advances in the Study of the History of Congress*, eds David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins, Stanford University Press.
- 2005 “Congress in the Constitutional System,” in *Institutions of Democracy: The Legislative Branch*, ed. Sarah Binder and Paul Quirk, Oxford University Press.
- 2002 “The Evolution of the Committee System in the U.S. Senate” (with David Canon), in *Senate Exceptionalism*, ed., Bruce Oppenheimer, Ohio University Press.
- 2002 “Order from Chaos: The Transformation of the Committee System in the House, 1810–1822,” in *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives on the History of Congress*, eds. David Brady and Mathew McCubbins, Stanford University Press.
- 2001 “The Evolution of the Committee System in Congress,” in *Congress Reconsidered*, 7th edition, eds., Lawrence Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Congressional Quarterly Press.
- 1992 “Committees from Randall to Clark,” in *The Atomistic Congress*, eds. Ron Peters and Allen Hertzke. M.E. Sharpe.
- 1992 “Responsiveness in the Upper Chamber: The Constitution and the Institutional Development of the U.S. Senate,” in *The Constitution and the American Political Process*, ed. Peter Nardulli. University of Illinois Press.
- 1991 “Lessons from the Post-Civil War Era,” in *Causes and Consequences of Divided Government*, eds. Gary Cox and Samuel Kernell. Westview Press.

- 1991 “Tax Reform in the 1980s,” in *Politics and Economics in the 1980s*, eds. Alberto Alesina and Geoffrey Carliner. University of Chicago Press, pp. 143-170.

Articles in Refereed Journals

- 2021 “The Miracle and Tragedy of the 2020 Election” (with Nathaniel Persily) *Journal of Democracy*. 32(2): 159–78. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2021.0026>.
- 2021 “Polarization Lost: Exploring the Decline of Ideological Voting in Congress after the Gilded Age” (with Sara Chatfield and Jeffery A. Jenkins) *Journal of Historical Political Economy*. 2(2): 183–214. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1561/115.00000009>.
- 2020 “Reconsidering Lost Votes by Mail” *Harvard Review of Data Science*. 2(4). <https://doi.org/10.1162/99608f92.6c591bd4>.
- 2020 “Abstention, Protest, and Residual Votes in the 2016 Election,” (with R. Michael Alvarez, Stephen Pettigrew, and Cameron Wimpby) *Social Science Quarterly*. 101(2): 925–939. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12757>.
- 2020 “Explaining the Blue Shift in Election Canvassing,” (with Edward B. Foley) *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy* 1(2): 239–265. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1561/113.00000010>.
- 2020 “The Relationship of Public Health with Continued Shifting of Party Voting in the United States,” (with Jason H. Wasfy, Emma W. Healy, and Jinghan Cui) *Social Science & Medicine* 252(May 2020): 112921. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2020.112921>.
- 2019 “Causal Inference and American Political Development: The Case of the Gag Rule,” (with Jeffery A. Jenkins) *Public Choice*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-019-00754-9>.
- 2019 “Learning from Each Other: Causal Inference and American Political Development,” (with Jeffery A. Jenkins and Nolan McCarty) *Public Choice*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-019-00728-x>.
- 2019 “Waiting to Vote in the 2016 Presidential Election: Evidence from a Multi-county Study,” (with Robert M. Stein, et al) *Political Research Quarterly*. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1065912919832374>.
- 2019 “Voter ID Laws: A View from the Public,” (with Paul Gronke, et al) *Social Science Quarterly* 100(1): 215–232.
- 2018 “The Deinstitutionalization (?) of the House of Representatives: Reflections on Nelson Polsby’s “The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives” at Fifty” (with Jeffery A. Jenkins) *Studies in American Political Development* 32(2): 166–187.

- 2018 “Pedagogical Value of Polling-Place Observation by Students” (with Christopher B. Mann, et al) *PS: Political Science & Politics* 51(4): 831–837.
- 2018 “Learning from Recounts,” (with Stephen Ansolabehere, Barry C. Burden, and Kenneth R. Mayer) *Election Law Journal* 17(2): 100–116.
- 2017 “County Community Health Associations of Net Voting Shift in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election,” (with Jason Wasfy and Vijeta Bhambhani) *PLOS ONE*, Oct. 2, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0185051>.
- 2017 “The 2016 U.S. Election: Fears and Facts about Electoral Integrity,” *Journal of Democracy* 28(2): 50–62.
- 2015 “Partisanship and Voter Confidence, 2000–2012,” (with Michael W. Sances). *Electoral Studies* 40: 176–188.
- 2015 “Waiting to Vote” (with Stephen Ansolabehere). *Election Law Journal*. 14(1): 47–53.
- 2013 “U.S. Senate Elections before the 17th Amendment: Party Cohesion and Conflict, 1871–1913” (with Wendy J. Schiller and). *Journal of Politics* 75(3): 835–847.
- 2013 “Voting Technology, Vote-by-Mail, and Residual Votes in California, 1990–2010” (with Dustin Beckett and R. Michael Alvarez). *Political Research Quarterly* 66(4): 658–70.
- 2011 “Adding up the Costs and Benefits of Voting by Mail.” *Election Law Journal* 10(3): 1–5.
- 2011 “Voter Opinions about Election Reform” (with R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall and Ines Levin) *Election Law Journal* 10(2): 73–87.
- 2006 “Residual Vote in the 2004 Election” *Election Law Journal* 5(2): 158–169.
- 2005 “Studying Elections: Data Quality and Pitfalls in Measuring the Effects of Voting Technologies” (with R. Michael Alvarez and Stephen Ansolabehere). *The Policy Studies Journal* 33(1): 15–24.
- 2005 “Residual Votes Attributable to Technology” (with Stephen Ansolabehere). *Journal of Politics* 67(2): 365–389.
- 2003 “Out in the Open: The Emergence of Viva Voce Voting in House Speakership Elections” (with Jeff Jenkins). *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 28(4): 481–508.
- 2001 “The Effects of Party and Preferences on Congressional Roll Call Voting (with Stephen D. Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder, Jr.). *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 26(4): 533-572.

- 2001 “Candidate Positioning in U.S. House Elections,” (with Stephen D. Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder, Jr.). *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(1): 136–159.
- 2000 “Old Voters, New Voters, and the Personal Vote: Using Redistricting to Measure the Incumbency Advantage” (with Stephen D. Ansolabehere and James M., Snyder, Jr.), *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(1): 17–34.
- 1999 “The Value of Committee Seats in the United States Senate, 1947–91,” (with Tim Groseclose), *American Journal of Political Science*. 43(3): 963–973.
- 1998 “The Value of Committee Seats in the House, 1947-1991,” (with Tim Groseclose) *American Journal of Political Science*, 42(2): 453–474.
- 1994 “Let's Go Fly a Kite: Correlates of Involvement in the House Bank Scandal,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 19(4): 521-535.
- 1992 “Committee Hierarchies in the Modernizing House, 1875-1947,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 36(4):835-56.
- 1992 “Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation: Republican Rotten Boroughs, Statehood Politics, and American Political Development,” (with Barry Weingast) *Studies in American Political Development*, pp. 223-271.
- 1990 “Television Markets and Senate Elections,” (with Mark Reynolds) *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 15(4): 495-524. (See *LSQ* 16(3):327 for correction of table 2 misprint.).
- 1989 “A Simultaneous Determination Model of Senate Elections,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 14(4): 567-601. Reprinted in *The Changing World of the U.S. Senate*, ed. John Hibbing. IGS Press.
- 1988 “Budget Reform as Strategic Legislative Action: An Exploration,” *Journal of Politics*, 50(2): 292-321.
- 1987 “Does Structure Matter? The Effects of Structural Change on Spending Decisions in the House, 1871 to 1922,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 31(3): 584-605. Reprinted in *The Congress of the United States, 1789-1989*, eds. Joel Silbey, et al. Carlson Publishing.

Articles in Law Reviews

- 2020 “Protecting the Perilous Path of Election Returns: From the Precinct to the News,” (with Stephen Pettigrew) *Ohio State Technology Law Journal* 2020: 588–638.
- 2016 “Revisiting Public Opinion on Voter Identification,” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Nathaniel Persily) *Stanford Law Review* 68(6): 1455–89.

- 2013 “Waiting to Vote,” *Journal of Law and Politics* 28(4): 439–463.
- 2013 “Voter ID: Who Has Them? Who Shows Them?” *Oklahoma Law Review* 66(4): 21–52.
- 2013 “Regional Differences in Racial Polarization in the 2012 Presidential Election: Implications for the Constitutionality of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act,” *Harvard Law Review Forum* 126: 205–220.
- 2010 “Losing Votes by Mail,” in *Journal of Legislation and Public Policy* 13(3): 573-602.
- 2010 “Race, Region, and Vote Choice in the 2008 Election: Implications for the Future of the Voting Rights Act.” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Nathaniel Persily) *Harvard Law Review* 123(6): 1385–1436.

Other Publications

- 2021 “Lessons Learned from the 2020 Election” (with John Fortier), MIT Election Data and Science Lab and the American Enterprise Institute. <https://electionlab.mit.edu/sites/default/files/2021-09/Lessons-Learned-in-the-2020-Election.pdf>.
- 2020 “Restoring Trust in the Voting Process” (with David Canon, Guy-Uriel Charles, Edward Foley, Richard Hasen, Lisa Manheim, and Daniel Tokaji.” *Election Law Journal* 2020(2): <https://doi.org/10.1089/elj.2021.29000.rtl>.
- 2020 “How to Survive Election Night.” (with Nathaniel Persily) *Slate*, October 21, 2020. <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2020/10/how-to-watch-and-understand-election-night-vote-count.html>.
- 2020 “Doomsday Scenarios Abound, But the Next President Will Be Decided by the Voters, Not the Courts, Not Congress.” *Cognoscenti*, October 20, 2020. <https://www.wbur.org/cognoscenti/2020/10/20/2020-election-integrity-vote-count-charles-stewart-iii>.
- 2020 “Actually, We Will Know a Lot on Election Night.” (with Nathaniel Persily) *The Wall Street Journal*, September 24, 2020. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/actually-we-will-know-a-lot-on-election-night-11600959867>.
- 2020 “With Six Weeks to the Election, Six Ways to Protect It.” (with Nathaniel Persily) *The New York Times*, September 20, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/20/opinion/2020-election-security-voting.html>.
- 2020 “The Looming Threat to Voting in Person.” (with Nathaniel Persily) *The Atlantic*, June 27, 2020.

- <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/looming-threat-voting-person/613552/>.
- 2020 “Ten Recommendations to Ensure a Healthy and Trustworthy 2020 Election.” (with Nathaniel Persily) *Lawfare*, March 19, 2020. <https://www.lawfareblog.com/ten-recommendations-ensure-healthy-and-trustworthy-2020-election>.
- 2018 “Why we’re still waiting for election results from Florida and Georgia — and why newly counted ballots favor Democrats.” *The Monkey Cage*, November 14, 2018.
- 2018 “Surprise: This new index shows that U.S. elections were better run in 2016 than in 2012.” *The Monkey Cage*, August 16, 2018.
- 2018 “Trump’s controversial election integrity commission is gone. Here’s what comes next.” *The Monkey Cage*, January 4, 2018.
- 2016 “The Wisconsin Recount May Have a Surprise in Store after All.” (with Stephen Ansolabehere, Barry C. Burden, and Kenneth R. Mayer) *The Monkey Cage*, December 5, 2016.
- 2016 “Donald Trump’s Claims of Massive Widespread Voter Fraud Require Great Investigation — Which Hopefully His Team Has Done.” *New York Daily News*, November 28, 2016.
- 2016 “Hillary Clinton Will Gain Votes after Election Night. Here’s Why.” (with Edward Foley) *The Monkey Cage*, November 8, 2016.
- 2016 “A Cyberattack Could Disrupt Tuesday’s U.S. Election — But Wouldn’t Change the Results.” (with Merle King) *The Monkey Cage*, November 7, 2016.
- 2016 “The Election Might Not End on Tuesday Night — and That’s Okay.” (with Edward Foley) *The Monkey Cage*, November 4, 2016.
- 2016 “Donald Trump’s ‘Rigged Election’ Talk Is Changing Minds. Democrats’ Minds, That Is.” *The Monkey Cage*, October 19, 2016.
- 2016 “Americans Have Become Much Less Confident That We Count Votes Accurately” (with Paul Gronke and Michael W. Sances), *The Monkey Cage*, August 10, 2016.
- 2016 “The United States Is Getting Better at Running Elections” (with Stephen Pettigrew), *The Monkey Cage*, August 9, 2016.
- 2015 “Managing Polling Place Resources”
- 2015 “What Happened to John Boehner Hasn’t Happened in a Century. No One Knows What Comes Next.” (with Jeffery A. Jenkins), *The Monkey Cage*, September 30, 2015.

- 2015 “Boehner’s Dissidents: More Historical Context about Speakership Revolts” (with Jeffery A. Jenkins), *The Monkey Cage*, January 8, 2015.
- 2015 “The Revolt against Boehner in Historical Perspective” (with Jeffery A. Jenkins), *The Monkey Cage*, January 6, 2015.
- 2013 “2012 Survey of the Performance of American Elections: Final Report”
- 2012 “Could Conservatives Overthrow Boehner? What History Can Tell Us” (with Jeffery A. Jenkins), *The Monkey Cage*, December 5, 2012.
- 2011 “Voting Technologies,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 14: 353–78.
- 2010 “Residual Voting in Florida,” Pew Charitable Trusts (with Paul Gronke and James Hicks)
- 2010 “What Happened in Massachusetts,” *Boston Review* March/April 2010 (with Stephen Ansolabehere).
- 2009 “Early- and Late-Adopters of Provisional Ballots,” *Pew Report on Provisional Ballots*, August 2009.
- 2009 “Assessment of Voting Systems,” *Election Law Journal*, forthcoming. [Review of R. Michael Alvarez and Thad Hall, *Electronic Elections: The Perils and Promise of Digital Democracy*]
- 2009 “Amazing Race: How Post-Racial Was Obama’s Victory,” *Boston Review* January/February 2009 (with Stephen Ansolabehere).
- 2008 “Election Fraud Fears: The Cure,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 2008.
- 2008 “Basic Principles of Data Collection,” *Data for Democracy: Improving Elections through Metrics and Measurement*, Pew Charitable Trusts.
- 2008 “Roll Calls,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. William A. Darity, Jr., vol. 7, 2nd ed., pp. 276–277.
- 2005 “Truth in Numbers: Moral Values and the Gay-Marriage Backlash Did Not Help Bush,” *Boston Review* February/March 2005 (with Stephen Ansolabehere).
- 2003 *Voting in Massachusetts*. Report by the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project.
- 1996 Review of *Ethics in Congress: From Individual to Institutional Corruption*, Dennis F. Thompson, *American Political Science Review*, 90(1): 206-207.
- 1994 Contributor to the *Encyclopedia of the United States Congress*, ed. Donald C. Bacon, et al. Simon and Schuster. Essays on the House Appropriations Committee and the 1921 Budget and Accounting Act.

- 1994 Contributor to the *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System*, ed. Joel H. Silbey, et al. Scribner's. Essay on Congressional Appropriations Committees.
- 1991 Contributor to the *Encyclopedia of American Political Parties and Elections*, ed. L. Sandy Maisel. Garland Publishing Company. Articles on Henry Clay, Thomas P. O'Neill, Samuel J. Randall, Sam Rayburn, Thomas B. Reed, Champ Clark, Tony Coelho, George Norris, James P. Clarke, William Frye, Thomas Taggart, Norman Mack, Conservative Coalition, Democratic Study Group, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committees (House and Senate), and Republican Congressional Campaign Committees (House and Senate).
- 1989 Review of *Balanced Budgets and American Politics*, James D. Savage, *Congress and the Presidency*, 16(1): 77-79.
- 1986 Review of *Representation and Responsibility*, eds., Bruce Jennings and Daniel Callahan, *American Political Science Review*, 80(4): 1322-1323.

Court filings

- 2015 “Brief of Nathaniel Persily, Bernard Grofman, Stephen Ansolabehere, Charles Stewart III, and Bruce E. Cain as *Amici Curae* on Support of Appellees,” in the case of *Evenwel vs. Abbott*, in the Supreme Court of the United States.
- 2009 “Brief of Nathaniel Persily, Stephen Ansolabehere, and Charles Stewart III as *Amici Curae* on Behalf of Neither Party,” in the case of *Northwest Austin Municipal Utility District Number One vs. Eric H. Holder, Jr.*, in the Supreme Court of the United States.
- 2006 “Declaration of Charles Stewart III on Excess Undervotes Cast in Sarasota County, Florida for the 13th Congressional District Race. URL: <http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/electionlaw/litigation/documents/declarationstewart.pdf>

Unpublished manuscripts

Unpublished manuscripts and preprints of published materials can be accessed on SSRN: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/cf_dev/AbsByAuth.cfm?per_id=1329707.

SEMINARS, COLLOQUIA, PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS, ETC.

Note: The following list excludes numerous presentations at professional conferences across many decades and webinars on voting amid the pandemic during 2020.

- April 2019 “American Elections since 2000: Getting Better, but Not Feeling Better,” Parthenos Lecture, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
- June 2018 “How Voters Think about System Security: Research Findings and Observations,” presentation to the 2018 State Certification Testing of Voting Systems National Conference, Raleigh, North Carolina.
- February 2018 “Is Technology Good for Voting?,” lecture given at Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts.
- December 2017 “The Voter Experience,” presentation made to the Committee on the Future of Voting, National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine, Denver, Colorado.
- December 2017 “The Health of American Elections,” presentation made to the Giving Pledge, San Francisco, California.
- December 2017 “What We Learned from Research into Wait Times in 2016 (and What That Means for the Future),” presentation made to the winter meeting of the Florida Association of State Election Directors, Daytona Beach, Florida.

- November 2017 “The Health of the American Electoral Process,” talk given at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.
- August 2017 “Collaboration between Academics and Election Officials and Scientific Musings on List Maintenance,” presentation made to the annual meeting of the National Association of State Election Directors, Anaheim, California.
- August 2017 “Managing Polling Place Lines,” presentation made to the annual meeting of the Election Center, Anaheim, California.
- August 2017 “Data Delivers for Elections,” presentation made to the National Conference of State Legislators Legislative Summit, Boston, Massachusetts.
- June 2017 “Using Election Technology to Make Better Decisions: The Case of Precinct Wait Times,” presentation give at the National Conference of State Legislators Conference on the Future of Elections: Technology Policy and Funding, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- May 2017 “Looking Back at 2016, Looking Ahead to 2018,” presentation given to the summer meeting of the Maryland Association of Election Officials, Ocean City, Maryland.
- April 2017 “Improving Polling Places: Resource Allocation,” presentation given to the Pennsylvania Election Policy Summit, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
- April 2017 “Data Drive Election Reforms,” presentation given to the Pennsylvania Election Policy Summit, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
- February 2017 “Measuring Polling Place Lines as a Management Tool,” presentation given to the winter meeting of the National Association of Secretaries of State, Washington, D.C.
- February 2017 “Tales from the Survey of the Performance of American Elections,” presentation given to the winter meeting of the National Association of State Election Directors, Washington, D.C.
- February 2017 “President Trump’s Victory: American Politics at a Turning Point,” annual Mitsui Lecture delivered to the Mitsui Interbusiness Research Institute, Tokyo, Japan.
- December 2016 “The 2016 Survey of the Performance of American Elections,” presentation given to the conference on Voting in America sponsored by the Pew Charitable Trusts, Washington, D.C.
- November 2016 “The Election of 2016,” presentation given at Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts.
- November 2016 “Ballot Security,” presentation given to the Moritz College of Law, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

- October 2016 “New Election Law and the Electoral Process in 2016+,” presentation given to the Boston Bar Association, Boston, Massachusetts.
- September 2016 “The Beginning or the End? What the 2016 Election Tells Us about the New American Politics,” presentation to the MIT Club of Northern New Jersey, Newark, New Jersey.
- September 2016 “Lines at the Polls,” presentation to the Expert Witness Training Conference, Voting Rights Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- September 2016 “The Beginning or the End? What the 2016 Election Tells Us about the New American Politics,” presentation to the MIT Club of Boston, Cambridge, Massachusetts
- August 2016 “Tackling Lines through Data,” presentation given to the South Carolina State Election Commission, Columbia, South Carolina.
- August 2016 “Polling Place Lines: Past, Present, and Future,” presentation given to the Making Elections Work in Florida and Beyond conference, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.
- July 2016 “Tackling Lines through Data,” presentation given to the Texas Annual Election Law Seminar, Austin, Texas.
- June 2016 Testimony before the Boston City Council Committee on City, Neighborhood Services, and Veterans Affairs.
- June 2016 “Data and Tools for Election Administrators,” presentation given to the Ohio Secretary of State Summer Conference, Cleveland, Ohio.
- June 2016 “What's at Your Fingertips: Data Available for Local Election Officials,” presentation at the 2016 State Certification Testing of Voting Systems National Conference, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- June 2016 “The Presidential Election of 2016,” presentation given to the annual meeting of Red para el Estudio de la Economía Política de América Latina (REPAL), Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- May 2016 “Allocating Polling Place Resources,” testimony given to a public meeting of the U.S. Election Assistance Commission, Washington, D.C.
- June 2016 “Election Day Data Collection,” presentation given to the annual meeting of the Virginia Association of Boards of Elections.
- May 2016 “Election Day Data Collection,” presentation given to the annual meeting of the Florida State Association of Supervisors of Elections, Clearwater, Florida (May).
- April 2016 “Speaker Battles, Then and Now,” presentation given at the current researchers workshop, Center for Legislative Archives, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

- February 2016 “Revisiting Voter Identification and the Perception of Fraud,” presentation given at a symposium on the law of democracy, Stanford University Law School.
- November 2015 “Electing the Senate before the 17th Amendment,” presentation given at the current researchers workshop, Center for Legislative Archives, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- October 2015 “The Cost of Elections,” presentation given to a workshop sponsored by the National Conference of State Legislatures, Boulder, Colorado.
- August 2015 “Fairfax County and Lines: Results from 2014 Election Day Observation Program,” presentation made to the Fairfax County Electoral Board, Fairfax, Virginia.
- August 2015 “Polling Place Lines,” presentation made at the Large County Meeting of the Bipartisan Policy Center, Los Angeles, California.
- August 2015 “Early Voting, Absentee Voting, and Voting by Mail: Is Giving Voters More Options a Good Idea?” presentation to the National Conference of State Legislatures Summit, Seattle, Washington.
- June 2015 “Information from 2014 to Prepare for 2016,” presentation to the summer meeting of the National Association of State Election Directors, Cleveland, Ohio
- June 2015 “Voters as Informants,” presentation to the biennial conference of the Cooperative Congressional Election Study, Sundance, Utah\
- June 2015 “A Decade of Fixing Elections: MIT’s Voting Technology Project,” presentation to the MIT Cardinal and Gray Society Academy, Cambridge, Massachusetts
- May 2015 “Automating the Collection of Data for Line Management and Polling Place Capacity,” presentation to the State Certification Testing of Voting Systems National Conference, Seattle, Washington.
- March 2015 “Lines,” presentation to a symposium commemorating the first anniversary of the release of the report of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration, Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, D.C.
- February 2015 “A Voter’s Eye View of the 2014 Election,” presentation to the winter meeting of the National Association of Secretaries of State, Washington, D.C.
- November 2014 “Data and the Performance of Elections,” presentation to the National Conference of State Legislatures, Austin, Texas.
- June 2014 “Cooperation between Academics and Election Officials,” presentation to the Voting Systems Certification Conference, Denver, Colorado.

- May 2014 “Lines at Precincts,” presentation at the Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, D.C.
- February 2014 “The Survey of Local Election Officials,” presentation to the National Association of State Election Directors, Washington, D.C.
- January 2014 “The Florida Voting Wars,” League of Women Voters, Sanibel Island, Florida
- December 2013 “Findings from the Survey of Local Election Officials,” testimony given to the Presidential Commission on Election Administration, Washington D.C.
- August 2013 “The Election Administration and Voting Survey: A User’s View,” testimony given to the Presidential Commission on Election Administration, Denver, Colorado.
- June 2013 “Waiting in Line to Vote,” testimony given to the Presidential Commission on Election Administration, Coral Gables, Florida.
- June 2013 “A Voter’s Eye View of the 2012 Election,” presentation to the summer meeting of the Florida State Association of Supervisors of Elections, Marco Island, Florida.
- June 2013 “A Voter’s Eye View of the 2012 Election,” presentation to the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Town and City Clerks Association, Falmouth, Massachusetts.
- May 2013 “Who Favors Voter ID?” presentation to the biennial conference on the Cooperative Congressional Election Study, Sundance, Utah.
- May 2013 “Voter ID: Who Has Them? Who Shows Them? Who Favors Them?” presentation in the American Politics Speakers Series, MIT.
- May 2013 “A Voter’s Eye View of the 2012 Election,” presentation to a workshop with Ohio election officials on election reform in Ohio, Moritz College of Law, The Ohio State University.
- April 2013 “Barriers to Voting in 2012,” presentation at the symposium on “Voter Integrity or Suppression: The Effect of the New Voting Laws in 2012 and Beyond,” Boston Bar Association.
- March 2013 “Waiting to Vote in 2012: Evidence from a National Survey,” presentation at the conference “The Voting Wars: Elections and the Law from Registration to Inauguration,” University of Virginia Law School.
- March 2013 “A Voter’s Eye View of the 2012 Election,” presentation to the Election Center, New Orleans, Louisiana.
- February 2013 “Voter ID: Who Has Them? Who Shows Them?” presentation at the Election Law Symposium, University of Oklahoma College of Law.

- January 2013 “A Voter’s Eye View of the 2012 Election,” presentation to the Election Funders Roundtable, Washington, D.C.
- January 2013 “A Voter’s Eye View of the 2012 Election,” presentation to the National Association of State Election Directors, Washington, D.C.
- January 2013 “A Voter’s Eye View of the 2012 Election,” presentation in the Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia.
- December 2012 “The 2012 Survey of the Performance of American Elections,” presentation at the Voting in American Conference, sponsored by the Pew Charitable Trusts, Washington, D.C.
- October 2012 “The Voting Wars of 2012,” presentation given to a public meeting sponsored by the League of Women Voters, Lexington, Massachusetts.
- June 2012 “Measuring the Performance of Elections,” presentation given at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Town and City Clerks Associations, North Falmouth, Massachusetts.
- June 2012 “The Measure of American Democracy,” presentation given at the 2nd Annual Social Science Librarians’ Boot Camp, Tufts University.
- May 2012 “What Hath HAVA Wrought? Or, the Garbage Man Cometh,” presentation at the symposium on “HAVA at 10,” Moritz College of Law, the Ohio State University
- April 2012 “Partisanship and Voter Confidence: 2000–2010,” presentation in the American Politics Speakers Series, MIT.
- April 2011 “What Hath HAVA Wrought? Consequences, Intended and Not, of the post-*Bush v. Gore* Reforms,” faculty workshop in the Moritz College of Law, The Ohio State University
- July 2009 “Racial Discrimination in Election Administration,” presentation at the annual conference of the National Association of County Recorders, Election Officials, and Clerks, Nashville, Tennessee.
- July 2009 “The 2008 Election: Trends and Turnout,” presentation at the annual meeting of the International Association of Clerks, Recorders, Election Officials, and Treasurers, Spokane, Washington.
- December 2008 “The 2008 Survey of the Performance of American Elections,” presentation at the Voting in America Conference, sponsored by the Pew Center on the States, Washington, DC.
- January 2007 “U.S. Senate Elections before 1914,” seminar in the Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania.
- December 2006 “Lessons from Electronic Voting in Georgia.” Talk given at a Public Hearing on the Voter Verifiable Audit Trail Pilot Program and Electronic Voting, Georgia Secretary of State, Powder Springs, Georgia.

- May 2006 “Elections since 2000: *Still* in Search of Accurate Vote Totals?” Talk given to the Milwaukee Public Policy Forum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
- December 2005 “U.S. Senate Elections before 1914,” seminar in the Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.
- October 2004 “Increasing Voter Participation and Confidence,” talk given at the symposium on The Integrity of the Electoral Process,” University of Toledo College of Law.
- April 2004 “The Long Strange Trip of Election Reform: Why 2004 Won't Be Much Different from 2000,” talk given at the symposium on Voting in an E-Democracy, Yale University
- April 2000 “The Inefficient Secret: Organizing for Business in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–1861,” seminar in the Department of Political Science, New York University.
- January 2000 “The Inefficient Secret: Organizing for Business in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–1861,” seminar in the Department of Political Science, Yale University.
- November 1999 “The Inefficient Secret: Organizing for Business in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–1861,” seminar in the Department of Politics, Princeton University.
- November 1998 “Architect or Tactician? Henry Clay and the Institutional Development of the U.S. House of Representatives,” seminar in the Department of Political Science, Columbia University.
- April 1994 “Ain't Misbehavin': Reflections on Two Centuries of Congressional Corruption,” seminar in the Department of Government, Harvard University.
- October 1992 “Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation: Republican Rotten Boroughs and American Political Development,” seminar in the Political Science Department, Yale University.
- April 1992 “Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation: Republican Rotten Boroughs and American Political Development,” seminar in the Politics Department, Princeton University.
- February 1992 “Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation: Republican Rotten Boroughs and American Political Development,” seminar in the political economy program, Government Department, Harvard University.
- November 1991 “Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation,” seminar in the Department of Political Science, Duke University.
- November 1991 “Committee Hierarchies in the Modernizing House of Representatives,” seminar in the program on political economy, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

- March 1991 “Through a Glass Darkly: The U.S. in the Middle East,” lecture in the MIT Community Series on the Middle East.
- October 1990 “A Theory of Supreme Court Nominations,” presentation to the Harvard/MIT Discussion Group on Political Economy (with Peter Lemieux).
- April 1990 “Political Institutions and Fiscal Policy,” seminar in the Domestic Studies Program, Hoover Institution, Stanford University.
- February 1990 “Parties and Deficits: Some Historical Evidence,” seminar in the Department of Political Science, University of California at San Diego.
- October 1989 “Advice? Yes! Consent? Maybe. Supreme Court Nominations from Washington to Reagan,” seminar in the Workshop on Politics and Organizations, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University.
- March 1987 “How Does Reform Change Congress? The Consequences of Budget Reform in the House of Representatives, 1865-1921,” presentation in the Seminar on History and Political Economy, The University of Pennsylvania.

LIST OF THESES SUPERVISED

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