

## **Douglas R. Hess, Ph.D.**

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### **Education**

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Ph.D., Public Policy, George Washington University, 2012. State and urban politics and policy, social policy, American politics. Dissertation: *Governing national programs in a federal system: Household food security and food and nutrition service programs.*

M.A., Policy Studies, Johns Hopkins University, 1999. Comparative nonprofit sector studies, nonprofit management, policy analysis, program evaluation. M.A. Thesis: *Community organizing, building, and developing: Their relationship to comprehensive community initiatives.*

B.A., Psychology, Grinnell College, 1991.

### **Academic Career**

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Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Grinnell College. 2013 – 2021.

Adjunct Professor, Department of Government, Georgetown University, Spring semester, 2021.

Adjunct Professor, Department of Government, Smith College, Jean Picker Semester-in-Washington Program. Fall semester, 2012.

Adjunct Professor, Department of Political Science, Grinnell College. Grinnell-in-Washington Program. Fall semesters, 2008 to 2011.

Lecturer, Trachtenberg School of Public Policy and Public Administration, George Washington University. Summer semester, 2008.

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, George Washington University. Various semesters between 2006 and 2011.

### **Policy Career**

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**Policy Research and Consulting.** Freelance consultant or principal investigator for the following clients or projects:

- ***Institute for Responsive Government***, February 2023-current. Authoring report on innovations in voter registration policy to reach citizens with low incomes and disabilities.
- ***Confidential Client***, February 2023-current. Providing donor-advisor firm with advice on electoral and policy opportunities.
- ***Democracy Fund***, November 2021-March 2022. Statistical and contextual analysis of output and outcome data to evaluate the impact of automatic voter registration and related policies.
- ***National Voter Registration Act (NVRA) Research Project***, August 2013-August 2019.
  - ♦ Raised \$110,000 to collect data from a dozen states to assess state compliance with the NVRA, evaluate the impact of efforts to enforce this federal voting rights law, and assist advocates with research needs.

- ◆ Co-authored and published an article in a top academic journal on field experiments conducted in agencies in two states testing interventions to improve agency compliance.
- ◆ Presented research results to funders, civil rights attorneys, and the Justice Department, leading to increased understanding of the impact of these interventions on the voting rights of citizens with low incomes.
- ◆ Co-authored report with two national policy organizations assessing state compliance with the Act in social service agencies. The report generated new funding on the topic.
- ◆ Conducted a two-day workshop for three national policy groups on the collection and analysis of program monitoring data. Advised the think tank Dēmos on a review of the impact of their initiatives to improve NVRA performance.
- ◆ Co-led successful effort to bring Iowa agencies into better compliance with the NVRA.
- ◆ Hired and supervised research assistants.
- **Rockefeller Family Fund, August 2012 – December 2012.** Assisted Fund president with exploratory project on uses for multi-billion-dollar settlements from the mortgage crisis.
- **ACT for Alexandria, August 2012 – August 2013.** Assessed food hardship among vulnerable populations in Alexandria, Virginia, and local organizational capacity to address food hardship. Co-authored a report and made recommendations which led to the founding of a new organization to address hunger in the city.
- **Food Research and Action Center, May 2012 – August 2013.** Reviewed program evaluations, studied scholarly research, and interviewed food advocates and program managers for a draft white paper that I co-wrote and edited on food access and demand in low-income communities.
- **Wellspring Advisors, June 2011 – August 2011.** Reviewed strategic opportunities for enhancing civic engagement projects in 2012 and used Census data to project state populations and demographic changes.
- **Project Vote, Summer 2004, May 2007 – August 2010.** Provided research, advice, and leadership to a coalition of civil rights organizations for a multi-faceted national campaign to improve how states implement the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA).
  - ◆ By influencing how the NVRA was governed and implemented, this project helped millions of people to register to vote through social service agencies in multiple states.
  - ◆ Initiated meetings and correspondence between federal officials and coalition partners over several years resulting in renewed federal action on enforcement.
  - ◆ Developed detailed technical assistance and performance monitoring plans that established best practices in NVRA implementation and monitoring. These plans were adopted by several states voluntarily and serve as the basis for legal settlements in this area of law.
  - ◆ Co-authored technical assistance materials and reports on policy compliance using data from the US Election Assistance Commission, Census Bureau, USDA, state elections and human services agencies, and local investigations.
  - ◆ Reports on electoral participation and NVRA compliance received significant positive attention from major media outlets, advocates, federal and state officials, and academics.
  - ◆ Co-authored testimony presented before Congress and the National Research Council on the NVRA, compliance, and needed improvements to the Act's implementation.
  - ◆ Hired, supervised, and mentored research consultant. Oriented new attorneys on the Act.

**Senior Policy Analyst, Food Research and Action Center, January 2000 – August 2003.**

- Analyzed national household survey on food security conducted by the Census Bureau and produced a report on state food insecurity rates.
- Designed surveys of state officials and analyzed results for a series of reports I co-authored on various food assistance programs in US. Provided interviews for the national and state media.

- These reports received significant media attention, and served as a resource for advocates, government officials, and other researchers.

**Research Director, Congress Watch, May 1999 – December 1999.**

- Analyzed campaign finance and lobbying data for reports that received major news coverage.
- Supervised a full-time research assistant.

**Graduate Research Assistant, Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, Johns Hopkins University, August 1997 – May 1999.**

- Reviewed and summarized academic literature on civil society for two leading scholars in nonprofit studies (Lester Salamon and Helmut Anheier).

**Southern Regional Organizer, Human Rights Campaign, September 1996 – August 1997.**

- Mobilized membership and state LGBT rights organizations to achieve the electoral and legislative goals of the organization and its political action committee.

**Director, National Voter Registration Act Implementation Project, Project Vote, January 1994 – September 1996.**

- Organized plaintiffs and *pro bono* attorneys for successful and ground-breaking litigation in several states regarding enforcement of the NVRA after its passage in 1993.
- Developed and executed strategies for performance monitoring and remediation of voting rights violations that remain central components of NVRA litigation.
- Hired and supervised a team of research assistants, collected data, designed and conducted original analyses, and wrote reports on implementation of the NVRA.

**Assistant, International Liaison Office of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, June 1993.**

- Temporary assistant in the Washington, DC office of the president of Haiti in exile.
- Shared communications from the president's negotiation team on Governor's Island with interested parties in DC.

**Assistant to Executive Director, Washington Office on Haiti, November 1992 – May 1993.**

- Assistant to Claudette Werleigh (later the first female prime minister of Haiti).
- Created and co-managed the first National Lobby Day for Haitian Americans.
- Organized a coalition of human rights delegations to Haiti. Edited coalition report summarizing the findings from delegations which received national media coverage.
- Led a delegation of human rights observers, immigration attorneys, and journalists to Haiti to talk to Haitian pro-democracy and human rights advocates.

**Field Organizer, Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, September 1991 – November 1992.**

- Developed multi-racial community organizations and campaigns in Jennings, MO, St. Louis, MO, and Little Rock, AR.

**Professional leadership**

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**American Political Science Association, Standing Committee on Election Assistance and Policy, (2021-current).** Co-authored proposal to form this new standing committee and was appointed by APSA leadership to the committee for a three-year term.

**Committee on Assessment, Grinnell College.** (2020-2021). Appointed to the campus-wide committee on the development and assessment of learning goals.

**Wilson Center for Leadership and Entrepreneurship, Grinnell College.** (2017-2020). Appointed to the Center's programming committee and to its advisory committee of faculty and alumni leaders.

**Team-Teaching and Student Engagement Workshops, Grinnell College.** (Summer 2015 and 2016). Co-designed and co-led three-day faculty workshops with the director of the Center for Teaching, Learning, and Assessment.

**Peer Connections Pre-orientation Program, Office of Diversity and Achievement, Grinnell College.** (2015-2016). Faculty mentor for a year-long peer group program for first-year students from historically marginalized identities and backgrounds or first-generation students.

**Faculty Organizing Committee, Grinnell College.** (2014-2016). Twice elected by social sciences division to serve on this campus-wide policy committee.

**Voting Rights Task Force.** (2008-2010). Represented Project Vote on this national coalition task force managed by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

**NVRA Coalition.** (2004; 2006-2010). Rebuilt in 2004 a national coalition of civil rights organizations focused on enforcement of the National Voter Registration Act. Later served as a primary partner in the coalition while consulting for Project Vote.

## **Publications**

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Hess, Douglas R. (scheduled for release in June 2023). "Addressing persistent voter registration problems with Medicaid automatic voter registration." Washington, DC: Institute for Responsive Government.

Bullock, Graham and Douglas R. Hess. (October 2021). "Defining civically engaged research as scholarship in political science." *PS: Political Science & Politics*.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1017/S1049096521000676>

Dobbs, Kirstie L., Douglas R. Hess, Adriano Udani, and Graham Bullock. (October 2021). "Introduction to Special Symposium." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. Co-author and Co-editor of a special symposium on civically engaged research.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1017/S1049096521000834>

Hess, Douglas R. (2019). NVRA Performance Data, Missouri. MIT Election Data and Science Lab Hosted Election Science Data, Harvard Dataverse. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/YE2EE1>

Ashbrook, Alexandra, Sarah Brannon, and Douglas R. Hess. (July 2017). "A review of National Voter Registration Act compliance in SNAP applications and how anti-hunger groups can advocate for improvements." Food Research and Action Center & Project Vote: Washington, DC.

Hess, Douglas R., Michael J. Hamer, & David W. Nickerson. (2016). "Encouraging local compliance with federal civil rights laws: Field experiments with the National Voter Registration Act." *Public Administration Review*, 76(1): 165-174. <https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.12473>

Hess, Douglas R. and Lisa Lowry. (2014). "Toward an end to hunger in Alexandria, VA." Partnership for a Healthier Alexandria: Alexandria, VA.

Hess, Douglas R. and Jody Herman. (2009). "Representational bias in the 2008 electorate." Project Vote: Washington, DC.

Herman, Jody, Douglas R. Hess, and Margaret Groarke. (2009). "A review of academic literature on the effectiveness of the National Voter Registration Act." Project Vote: Washington, DC.

Hess, Douglas R. and Scott Novakowski. (2008). "Unequal access: Neglecting the National Voter Registration Act, 1995 – 2007." Project Vote: Washington, DC.

Hess, Douglas R. (2007). "Representational bias in the 2006 electorate." Project Vote: Washington, DC.

Hess, Douglas R. (2004). "Food and anti-hunger charities" in *Philanthropy in America: A comprehensive historical encyclopedia*, edited by Dwight F. Burlingame. Volume 1: 155-158. ABC-CLIO: Santa Barbara.

Hess, Douglas R. (2003). "Review of *Civic Innovation in America: Community empowerment, public policy and the movement for civic renewal* by Carmen Sirianni and Lewis Friedland." *Journal of Community Practice*, 11(1): 126-128.

### **Research in progress**

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Hess, Douglas R. "Policy governance, implementation cycles, and program outcomes." Drafts presented at APSA and APPAM conferences.

Hess, Douglas R., et al. "Comparing self-reported spatial and temporal distances to food stores in the American Housing Survey."

### **Research grants & academic awards**

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- Grant for \$25,000 from the American Political Science Association's 2020 Special Project Fund, with three other scholars. "The Components, Processes, and Implications of Conducting Civically Engaged Research in Political Science." <https://bit.ly/2Rs22dx>
- Selected Participant, Obermann Center of Advanced Studies, University of Iowa, spring 2020. Workshops on engaged learning and engaged research.
- Selected Participant, Institute for Civically Engaged Research, American Political Science Association, summer 2019. Workshops on engaged research in political science.
- Grant for \$60,000 for voting rights research from consortium of funders, 2017 – 2019. Principal Investigator; managed funds at Grinnell College.
- Travel grant from University of Wisconsin-Madison Elections Research Center to attend conference, 2018.

- Travel grant from MIT Election Data & Science Lab to attend conference, 2015.
- Grant for \$50,000 from Carnegie Corporation of New York for voting rights research, 2013. Principal Investigator with two other scholars; managed funds at Grinnell College.
- Inducted into the National Honor Society for Public Affairs and Administration, 2012.
- Selective Excellence Fellowship, George Washington University, 2003 – 2006.
- Graduate Fellowship, Johns Hopkins University, 1997 – 1999.

### **Conference presentations**

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Hess, Douglas R. (2018). “Better models of state policy effects on low-income voter registration and voting through matching multiple Current Population Survey Supplements.” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Conference, 2018, Boston, MA

Hess, Douglas. (2016). “Implementation theories and interventions: Improving civil rights compliance in three states.” Paper presented at the Spring Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, 2016, Washington, DC.

Hess, Douglas. (2015). “The dynamics of voting rights implementation in a federal system: Case studies on compliance with the National Voter Registration Act in two states.” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Conference, 2015, San Francisco, CA.

Hess, Douglas R., Michael Hanmer, and David Nickerson. (2011). “Encouraging bureaucratic compliance with civil rights law: A field experiment with county agencies in two states.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2011, Chicago, IL.

Hess, Douglas R. and Jody Herman. (2008). “Evaluating the NVRA with state and county-level data and indicators of compliance: A multi-level analysis.” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Conference, 2008, Boston, MA

Hess, Douglas R. (2007). “Food security measurement at the metropolitan and county level: Useful as an outcome indicator?” Poster presented at the 2007 annual meeting of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.

Hess, Douglas R., Pamela Blumenthal and Meghan Salas. (2007). “Urban leadership and partnerships: A framework for future research.” Paper presented at the 2007 annual meeting of the Urban Affairs Association, Seattle, WA.

Young, Garry, Harold Wolman and Douglas R. Hess. (2006). “Can old dogs learn new tricks? The impact of changed constituencies on representative behavior.” Paper presented at the 2006 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA.

### **Policy testimony**

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Mellor, Brian and Douglas R. Hess. (March 19, 2009). “Improving voter registration performance in public assistance agencies through modernizing data transfer systems.” Testimony for the Committee on State Voter Registration Databases of the National Research Council.

Slater, Michael and Douglas R. Hess. (April 1, 2008). “The National Voter Registration Act: The challenges public agencies face.” Testimony for a hearing before the Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration, U.S. House of Representatives.

### **Recent media publications and interviews**

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Hess, Douglas R. (April 29, 2022). “This law would help protect US elections — so why won’t Republicans support it?” *The Hill*. <https://bit.ly/3Q98JgE>

Hess, Douglas R. (March 17, 2021). “Making it easier to vote does not threaten election integrity.” *The Conversation*. <https://bit.ly/theconvo1>

Hess, Douglas R. (October 29, 2020). “A serious test of US democracy will come after November 3.” *The Hill*. <https://bit.ly/hillhess2020>

Hess, Douglas R. (January 4, 2019). “Declining confidence in election results may be depressing voter turnout.” *London School of Economics, US Centre on American Politics and Policy Blog*. <http://bit.ly/lsehess>

Hess, Douglas R. (July 28, 2017). “Why Trump’s management style doesn’t work.” *Fortune*. <https://for.tn/2vXNhEe>

Hess, Douglas R. (April 22, 2017). Interviewed for “Part of Georgia’s preparation for runoff election in June involves a lawsuit.” National Public Radio. <https://n.pr/2vWsUqG>

Hess, Douglas R. (February 22, 2017). “Voter ID bills try to solve problems that don’t exist.” *Des Moines Register*. <https://dmreg.co/2vXMjb4>

Hess, Douglas R. (October 26, 2016). “Divided government begets gridlock, not compromise.” *US News*. <https://bit.ly/usnewshess>

Hess, Douglas R. (September 27, 2016). “After a rocky debate, here’s what Trump needs to do to win over voters.” *Fortune Insiders*. <https://for.tn/2vR4QWl>

Hess, Douglas R. (July 4, 2015). “States are ignoring federal law about voter registration. Here’s why.” *Monkey Cage/The Washington Post*. <http://bit.ly/nvra1>

Hess, Douglas R. (March 5, 2015). “Iowa misses chance to improve students’ health, education.” *The Des Moines Register*.

### **Conference discussant or panel chair**

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Discussant. (2023). “Accessing Elections.” Panel for Midwest Political Science Association annual conference. Chicago.

Panel Chair and Discussant. (2018). “Building Better Elections: New Challenges in Electoral Management.” Pre-conference meeting for the American Political Science Association annual conference. Boston.

Discussant. (2016). “Policy Diffusion and Innovation.” Panel for Midwest Political Science Association annual conference. Chicago.

Discussant. (2002, 2003, 2004). Food Assistance and Nutrition Research Innovation and Development Grants Conference (USDA/Economic Research Service). Washington, DC.

### **Presentations at Grinnell College**

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Gallery Talk for *En voyage: Hybridity and Vodou in Haitian art*. (February 2018). Faulconer Gallery, Grinnell College Museum of Art.

“The gun laws controversy.” (November 2017). Faculty panel presentation and discussion.

“Community organizing, developing, and building.” (June 2017). Alumni College presentation.

“The 2016 presidential election.” (November 2016). Faculty panel presentation and discussion.

“Social Justice Careers.” (June 2016). Grinnell College Reunion. Discussion leader; panel member.

“Food Access, Household Resources, and Neighborhood Characteristics: Findings from the American Housing Survey.” (January 2014). Grinnell Faculty Colloquium.

“Food Security.” (September 2013). Presentation and panel discussion at Faulconer Gallery.

“The Bully Pulpit of the ‘Other President’: Harry Hopkins’ Defense of the New Deal.” (November 2012). Presentation and panel discussion on the centennial of Harry Lloyd Hopkins’ graduation from Grinnell College.

### **Courses taught**

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#### **Grinnell College.**

- First-Year Tutorial—The Haitian Revolution: Interpretations & Reverberations.
- Introduction to Political Science.
- Introduction to Statistics.
- Politics of Congress.
- Foundations of Policy Analysis.
- Voting Rights and Election Policy Seminar.
- Policy Analysis Seminar: Community and Household Food Security in the US and Iowa.
- Policy Analysis Seminar: Improving Public Decision Making & Problem Solving (Cognitive Psychology and Policy Analysis).
- Policy Analysis Seminar: Domestic and International Food Security.
- Policy Analysis Seminar: Addiction Policy (Neuroscience and Policy Analysis).
- Advanced Policy Research Seminar (capstone course for the Policy Studies program)

#### **Georgetown University, Department of Government.**

- Politics & Cyberspace.

#### **Smith College, Jean Picker Semester-in-Washington Program.**

- Seminar in American Government.

- Art and Craft of Political Science Research.

**Grinnell College, Grinnell-in-Washington Program.**

- Policy Analysis in Context.

**George Washington University, Trachtenberg School of Public Policy and Public Administration, Washington, DC.**

- Policy Analysis (core course for MPP students).

**George Washington University, Department of Political Science**

- Introduction to American Politics.
- State and Urban Politics.
- State and Urban Policy Problems.
- American Politics & Welfare Policy (writing seminar for political science majors).

**Mentoring student independent research (Grinnell College)**

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- Takshil Sachdev. 2019. “Racial implications of non-compliance with the National Voter Registration Act: Lessons from North Carolina.” Mentored Advanced Project. Research poster presented at 2019 Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) Conference.
- Zach Steckel. 2018. “Cognitive load and political conservatism.” Co-chaired independent major in decision sciences and senior thesis advisor with Prof. Janet Gibson (Psychology).
- Joel Bauman. 2018. “The ups and downs of state and local performance of a civil rights law.” Research poster presented at 2018 MPSA Conference.
- Keanan Gleason. 2018. “Accessing more data by matching across months in the Current Population Survey.” Research poster presented at 2018 MPSA Conference.
- James Dowel. 2015. “Compliance with the National Voter Registration Act in New Mexico.” Research poster presented at 2015 MPSA Conference.
- Gwenna Ihrle. 2014-2015. “Household characteristics as predictors of food access in the American Housing Survey.” Mentored Advanced Project. Research poster presented at 2015 MPSA Conference.
- Chris Lee. 2014. “NVRA-related data in the Current Population Survey.” Mentored Advanced Project.
- Ryan Hautzinger. 2014. “State-level NVRA performance data.” Mentored Advanced Project.
- Rebecca Moreland. 2014. “Third-party governance: An Iowa case study in refugee resettlement.” Mentored Advanced Project.