EXHIBIT H
We are professional political scientists. We write to clarify the evidence in our field for President Trump’s claim, which he has repeated several times, that millions of non-citizens voted in the 2016 general election.

The president has cited a 2014 article by Jesse Richman, Gulshan Chattha, and David Earnest, published in the peer-reviewed journal Electoral Studies, as evidence for this claim. In that study, Richman and his colleagues used data from the 2008 and 2010 iterations of the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES), a large-scale, regular survey that contained more than 30,000 and 55,000 respondents, respectively. The researchers leveraged questions about respondents’ citizenship status and voting to argue that “between 7.9% and 14.7% of non-citizens voted in 2008.” Given the non-citizen population of about 19.4 million, the authors concluded, “the number of non-citizen voters...could range from just over 38,000 at the very minimum to nearly 2.8 million at the maximum.” The higher bound in this statement is the one that appears to have shaped the president’s rhetoric on the issue.

The analysis in this paper has been shown to be incorrect. In a survey as large as the CCES, even a small rate of response error (where people incorrectly mark the wrong item on a survey) can lead to incorrect conclusions. Importantly, the findings in Richman et al. rest on a sample of only 339 respondents who claimed to be non-citizens in 2008, out of about 30,000 CCES respondents. Stephen Ansolabehere, Samantha Luks, and Brian Schaffner demonstrated in a 2015 paper (also published in Electoral Studies) that response error explains nearly all of the supposed non-citizens in Richman et al.’s sample who voted. The underlying intuition is relatively straightforward: Given the dynamics of the CCES (a very large overall sample with a very small subpopulation of non-citizens), even with a very low error rate of 0.1%, we would expect roughly 10% of the people in the “non-citizen” category would actually be citizens. If those people then voted at a high rate, it would appear as if a low (but consequential) percentage of non-citizens were voting, which is precisely the result Richman et al. describe.

Indeed, Ansolabehere and colleagues leverage a key feature of the CCES to investigate this possibility. When they examined the responses from people who were asked the citizenship question at two different points in time, they found inconsistencies. The citizenship status of 56 respondents changed in two years, and 20 people reported moving from citizen to non-citizen status (which is not even a plausible change). Of those who we can be more confident are non-citizens, there was not a single voter in 2010. In 2012, there is just one person who may have voted, but even in that case the evidence suggests that the respondent was actually not a voter. Thus, we believe that the findings in Richman et al. are driven by measurement error in the CCES, and do not accurately reflect the rates of non-citizen voting in the United States. We agree with Ansolabehere et al. that “the likely percent of noncitizen voters in recent U.S. elections is 0.”

The scholarly political science community has generally rejected the findings in the Richman et al. study and we believe it should not be cited or used in any debate over fraudulent voting.

Signed,
Adam Berinsky, MIT
Chris Bonneau, University of Pittsburgh
Seth Masket, University of Denver
Douglas Rice, UMass Amherst
Sara Mitchell, University of Iowa
Paul M. Collins, Jr., UMass Amherst
Alex Garlick, APSA Congressional Fellow
Holona Ochs, Lehigh University
Jon Green, Ohio State University
Thad Dunning, University of California, Berkeley
Andrew J. Perrin, UNC Chapel Hill
Bethany Albertson, University of Texas at Austin
Jeremy Levine, University of Michigan
John Lovett, University of Richmond
Patricia Stapleton, Worcester Polytechnic Institute
Barry Driscoll, Grinnell College
Juliet Musso, University of Southern California
Dominic Ciolli, Ohio State University
Kerry L. Haynie, Duke University
Jennifer Diascro, University of California, Wash. Center
Conor M. Dowling, University of Mississippi
Erica Podrazik, Tulane University
Jonathon Kingzette, Ohio State University
Scott Blinder, UMass Amherst
Athena M. King, Jackson State University
John Ishiyama, University of North Texas
Ursula Daxecker, University of Amsterdam
William Resh, University of Southern California
Kyle Davis, Ohio State University
Philip A. Klinkner, Hamilton College
Brian Hamel, UCLA
Adam J. Newmark, Appalachian State University
Alexandra Filindra, University of Illinois, Chicago
Eric van der Vort, Syracuse University
Amanda Durso, University of Illinois, Chicago
Robert Ford, University of Manchester
Jens Olav Dahlgaard, University of Copenhagen
Daniel Bowen, The College of New Jersey
Celia Paris, Loyola University Maryland
David C. Kershaw, Slippery Rock University
Kassra A.R. Oskooi, University of Delaware
Jonathan Cervas, University of California Irvine
Aaron J. Ley, University of Rhode Island
Andrew Newman, Ohio State University
Jocelyn Shadforth, Anne Arundel Community College
Michael Newell, Syracuse University
Nathan Carrington, Syracuse University
Amber Wichowsky, Marquette University
Matthew Krell, University of Alabama
Graeme Blair, UCLA
Dwaine Jengelley, Purdue University
Matthew R. Miles, BYU-Idaho
Ngoc Phan, Davidson College
Hans Hassell, Cornell College
Sercan Canbolat, University of Connecticut
Eric Oliver, University of Chicago
Dr. Ryan Jablonski, London School of Economics
Jennifer Nicoll Victor, George Mason University
Tom Waters, Comm. Svc. Soc. of New York
Clifford James Carrubba, Emory University
Ian R. Turner, Texas A&M University
Matthew L. Bergbower, Indiana State University
Matty Robin, Cardlytics
Melissa Sands, Harvard University
Matt Levendusky, University of Pennsylvania
Michael Leo Owens, Emory University
Michael F. Seese, University of California, San Diego
Costas Panagopoulos, Fordham University
Joseph W. Roberts, Roger Williams University
Alexander W. Severson, Florida State University
Allen Hicken, University of Michigan
Rebecca Reid, University of Texas at El Paso
Eliza J. Willis, Grinnell College
Luke Keele, Georgetown
Anthony Madonna, University of Georgia
Denise Walsh, University of Virginia
Bernard Brennan, University of Illinois
John Mollenkopf, The Graduate Center, CUNY
Brandon Kendhammer, Ohio University
William Schultz, Florida State University
Kris-Stella Trump, Harvard Medical School
Nandini Deo, Lehigh University
Rebecca Best, University of Missouri at Kansas City
Kim Moloney, American University
Christopher M. Federico, University of Minnesota
Kirk A. Randazzo, University of South Carolina
Adriano Udani, University of Missouri-St. Louis
Stefan Müller, Trinity College Dublin
Jessica Trounstine, University of California, Merced
Daniel de Kadt, MIT
Keith Gaddie, The University of Oklahoma
Yamil Velez, Wesleyan University
Emily Farris, Texas Christian University
Shana Gadarian, Syracuse University
Tom Pepinsky, Cornell University
Michael P. Fix, Georgia State University
Angela X. Ocampo, UCLA
Bradford S. Jones, University of California, Davis