

Cheating Voters: Understanding and Overcoming Threats to Voting Rights & Electoral Integrity

PSCI 4002/5003 University of Colorado Denver Fall 2013 ONLINE COURSE

About the Instructor Megan Reif

- Research Fellow, University of Gothenburg, Sweden (Jan 2012 -)
- Sr Research Fellow, **Electoral Integrity Project** (Univ. of Sydney/Harvard)
- Project Manager, Election Fraud & Violence/Middle East, **Varieties of**

Democracy Project (Univ. of Gothenburg & Notre Dame)

-Electoral Conflict Advisor, **European Centre for Electoral Support**

LEAD/Election Violence Program, Madagascar (Jan 2012 -)

- Consultant, **US Institute of Peace in Pakistan** (Election violence)

The instructor's research focuses on democratization, election violence, and fraud. A former associate dir. of development at The Carter Center, Reif observed Indonesia's presidential election in 2004, managed the election violence monitoring program and parallel vote tabulation for Pakistan's Free & Fair Election Network (FAFEN) in 2008, and worked with the Intl Fdn for Election Systems (IFES) Election Violence Education and Resolution Program as a Manatt Democracy Studies Fellow. She has done fieldwork on elections in Algeria, Pakistan, and Newark, NJ and served as an election protection volunteer in 2008 (Detroit) and 2012 (Adams County, CO). At the invitation of the Central Election Commission of Georgia (the country), she designed a survey on election security for election management bodies worldwide).

CONTACT: See Page Three

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Course Overview

This course seeks to expose students to the origins and evolution of norms of electoral integrity in a variety of contexts throughout history. Films and documentaries on the subject covering different places and periods of history complement book chapters, online TED talks/lectures, instructor lectures/notes, media reports, practitioner reports, and scholarly articles. Material from electoral assistance and monitoring organizations such as The Carter Center, the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), International IDEA, the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA), the European Centre for Electoral Support (ECES), Pakistan's Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) will also be included when possible. While focusing primarily on scholarly and theoretical approaches and empirical strategies for studying the topic, the course will also expose students to data, practical/policy knowledge, and familiarity with skills, career paths, and further training necessary to pursue a career in international or domestic work in the field of democracy and elections. If possible, the instructor will include exclusive video online interviews with election officials, politicians, and scholars.

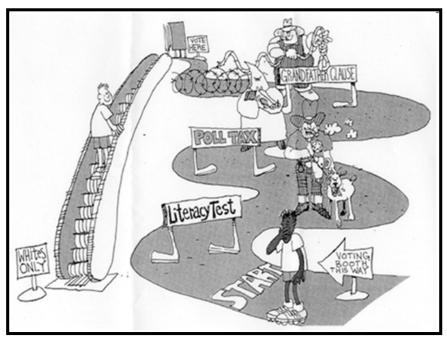


FIGURE 1: PRE-VOTING RIGHTS ACT CARTOON ON POST-RECONSTRUCTION ERA VOTER DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS (ALL IMAGES CREATIVE COMMONS LICENSE)

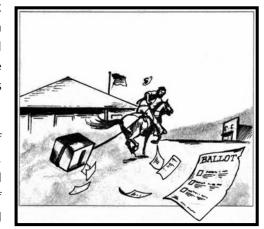
Course Introduction¹

A majority of the world's nation states now hold elections as their primary means of selecting local, regional, and/or national leaders. Unlike their predecessors in the advanced industrialized world. which introduced competitive elections incrementally with sequenced extension of the franchise and gradual adoption of the secret ballot, countries currently making transitions to democracy are obliged to abide by a set of international norms for electoral integrity. These standards frequently enforced by international election observers, evaluations of elections can affect a

country's foreign aid, alliances, trade, and international image. Still, incumbent politicians threatened with losing the benefits of office and facing insufficient voter support have at their disposal various forms of fraud, coercion, violence, and institutional-procedural manipulation to win even when outsiders are scrutinizing their behavior. As these means evolve and pose new challenges with each election, techniques for detecting and deterring them develop and create new norms of electoral integrity. Additionally, developing countries with small budgets, difficult terrain, and large, diverse populations face enormous

logistical challenges of organizing and administering complex elections. The complexity and cost of any electoral process, from creating and publicly posting voter registration lists to recruiting and paying polling station workers, to procuring and distributing secure ballot boxes, to printing and delivering ballots creates opportunities for error and procedural malpractice.

At the same time, demographic changes in the electorates of advanced democracies and in the United States, in particular, have revived old debates surrounding voter registration and eligibility to vote. While laws designed to suppress the vote of particular groups of voters prior to the 2012 U.S. Presidential and



¹ This syllabus follows the recommendations and policies provided in the July 1, 2013 Memorandum, "Syllabus Policy" from Roderick Naim, Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic and Student Affairs, to Faculty at the University of Colorado Denver. The length of this syllabus is attributable in part to elements required in these guidelines. Please read the university guidelines carefully. The design of this syllabus is inspired by Tona Hangen, "Writing Syllabi worth Reading," available at http://www.tonahangen.com/courses/syllabusdesign, and Jason B. Jones, "Creative Approaches to the Syllabus" The Chronicle of Higher Education, *ProfHacker*, August 26, 2011. Course design included consultation with members of the Electoral Integrity Project and draw in part on the syllabi of Walter Mebane (Election Forensics, University of Michigan), Taylor Boas (Campaigns, Boston University), and Pippa Norris (Electoral Integrity, Harvard/University of Sydney). All errors and omissions are, of course, my own,



FIGURE 2: ELECTION POSTER, ALGIERS, ALGERIA, 2007 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

Congressional elections were largely partisan in their intention and biased in their enforcement, such laws often do conform to the same international standards of election transparency, such as voter identification, that the U.S. and the election observation organizations it funds demand from foreign governments. However, in a federal system, there are at least fifty electoral laws, countless regulations, over 3,000 counties and 10,000 jurisdictions, many of which have different types of electoral management bodies, voting machines, and ballots, raising the issue of whether votes count equally from one person to another and whether the U.S. should have a Federal election

management body with binding authority. Electronic voting machines, Internet voting, and other technological advances have reopened debates about what were until recently long-settled norms of ballot secrecy, while new campaign finance laws raise questions about the fairness of elections even when voting procedures and electoral administration are of high quality.

U.S. elections in 2000 and 2004 resembled earlier periods in U.S. history, such as the election of 1876, when questions about electoral integrity threatened to undermine faith in the country's democratic institutions. They also increased international awareness of the mechanics of elections and skepticism about their quality in the country held up as a model of democracy. A burgeoning literature and group of scholars focused on measuring, deterring, and resolving conflicts related to election fraud, violence, malpractice, and electoral integrity abroad are increasingly turning their attention toward the U.S., arguing that it is

"The idea of democracy has become so closely identified with elections that we are in danger of forgetting that the modern history of representative elections is a tale of authoritarian manipulations as much as it is a saga of demographic triumphs"

- Andreas Schedler, The Menu of Manipulation, 36.

time for international norms and best practices that have developed in new democracies over the past twenty years to be applied here.

This course examines this emerging literature and examines how the menu of fraud, violence, and malpractice that politicians use to win elections have

evolved alongside electoral laws and procedures to generate democratic norms that are now accepted, but should not be taken for granted. Comparing countries as diverse as America and Ghana, Imperial Germany and Indonesia, the course explores the causes and consequences of strategies that cheat voters out of expressing their true preferences, as well as mechanisms and institutions designed to detect and deter electoral manipulation.

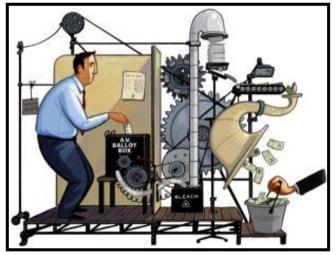
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Course Learning Objectives

By the end of the semester, students who participate actively in this course and complete all readings and assignments should:

- 1. **Understand the broad range of issues** related to the conduct of elections and implications of failures of election integrity for democratization, democracy, and reversals and setbacks thereof.
- 2. Know key concepts, debates, types of information, and further study necessary to develop further expertise on one or more issues related to election integrity (e.g., legal frameworks, international organizations and cooperation, programming, statistics, engineering, project management, etc.)
- 3. Understand the complexity and context-specific nature of the origins, development, and practice of **US** and international norms of election integrity.
- 4. **Identify explicit and implicit hypotheses** embedded in social scientific, historical, and policy evidence and argument on the subject of electoral integrity.
- 5. Strengthen skills in assessing assertions, arguments, and evidence in social scientific, policy, and popular literatures and contributing to the debate by analyzing trade-offs involved in implementing policies and procedures designed to improve the quality of elections.
- 6. Develop a **sense of scholarly community** and collaboration with your fellow students, graduate and undergraduate.
- 7. Develop a sense of **best practices and policies** that can achieve electoral integrity while minimizing the costs of electoral reform.
- 8. Understand the preparation, skills, knowledge required to work on some aspect of election integrity in the field of international electoral assistance, including earning a certificate in one area of EU-UNDP electoral assistance e-learning.
- 9. Possess expertise in on the history and electoral administration of one US county and one foreign country, and be able to identify strengths and weaknesses of each.
- 10. Write four memoranda, the combination of and editing of which, based on instructor comments, can be used as a **future writing sample**. If you would like to develop the memos as a writing sample, keep in touch and I will be happy to help you develop it.



Contacting the Instructor

- This is my first online course, and the idea of not meeting students face to face is disconcerting. On the other hand, the online format is an ideal way to share some of the wonderful films, lectures, and other interactive material on this dynamic topic.
- I enjoy getting to know students' personal interests, aspirations, and superpowers so as to be a mentor as well as an instructor. In the online format, there is more burden on the student to seek out opportunities for personal interaction.

require at least TWO phone/audio, video, or in-person meetings during the semester on topics of your choosing (you may want to discuss a paper, graduate school, career options, etc. Please let me know in advance if possible so I can prepare material or comments that might be helpful). You are, of course, welcome to contact me for office hours as often as you wish.

• **ELECTRONIC CONTACT:** Unfortunately, CANVAS does not support Windows 8 Tablets/Window Phone devices. I had hoped to use the CANVAS mobile app to manage discussions,

communication, etc., but will have to log-in to the main website like everyone else. Because I will be traveling during this semester doing election integrity and democracy-related research, I cannot always access UCD systems and email, which require I open a Citrix VP client. While I will do so regularly and whenever possible, the best way to reach me for urgent questions is at my personal email address at reifmegan@live.com, which I can access on my phone and synchronizes with all of my devices. If you send an email via CANVAS, it comes as a forwarded message from the system and it is difficult for me to respond directly. You can also reach me by Text/SMS on my phone (below) and Viber (if I am traveling abroad (an account is free)).

- OFFICE HOURS: Megan will be available via:
 - o Phone if you SMS me first: **(720-585-7367)** we can set a time to talk at a mutually convenient time. Evenings and weekends are fine, as I may be in Sweden or Africa, which are 8 hours ahead of Denver time, or Pakistan (12 hours ahead).
 - o I am on **Skype** regularly at "**threeguineas**" if my status is "green" and my status says "in student office hours" you can assume I am available. Please send me a Skype instant message and we can arrange a time to talk soon after if not immediately. My Skype name is will search all of your emails to see if you already have an account. If not, *it is not mandatory to set up a Skype account*.
 - Google+ (https://plus.google.com/u/0/106807994170326938739/about) by appointment (video or audio chat) (Just search for my name, Megan Reif, and/or email addresses (reifmegan@gmail.com).
 - o I will be traveling periodically throughout the semester, but will let everyone know when I am in town and will set up office hours and appointments in the Auraria library or a coffee shop (to be identified in the pre-course survey).
 - Depending on your use of Google+ and student schedules, we will set up a Google+
 Circle, and hope that the online status of 2 or more students will coincide or schedule a
 Hangout, participation in which can count toward one of the required meetings.

Expectations

- **Use of Canvas:** Most course material consists of readings and audio-visual material. Log into Canvas to obtain readings. I expect you to log into Canvas at least once per week (usually Tuesdays) to engage in online discussion of the readings (rubric below).
- Meet with me at least twice during the semester (virtually or in-person)
- Participation, civility, professionalism, and confidentiality: The goal of the course is to facilitate to the greatest extent possible student learning about electoral integrity. This goal requires a dynamic, participatory class environment in which competing ideas and perspectives are expressed and discussed in constructive ways. Because the course sometimes touches on contentious issues, an extra measure of attention is needed to the imperative of classroom civility, or citizenship, including the skills of communicating about controversial issues with respect, civility, and nuance. Inappropriate or berating comments toward others, their experiences, or beliefs are unacceptable. Because this is an online course, you must respect the anonymity, privacy, and integrity of your instructor, any guest speakers, classmates, and any copyrighted material. Video, audio, and written materials to which you have access for the course MAY NOT be copied, shared, and/or distributed outside of the classroom. You may not copy or distribute any commentary written on CANVAS or other course venues by your classmates or the instructor without their prior permission.

- According to standard academic practice, I expect about 2-3 hours of work outside of class for every "hour" inside class to earn a minimum of "C" in the course.
- Grading Scale:
 - **A** 100% to 93%
 - **A-** < 93% to 90%
 - **B+** < 90% to 87%
 - **B** < 87% to 84%
 - **B-** < 84% to 80%
 - **C+** < 80% to 77%
 - **C** < 77% to 74%
 - **C-** < 74% to 70%
 - **D+** < 70% to 67%
 - **D** < 67% to 64%
 - **D-** < 64% to 61%
 - **F** < 61% to 0%

Tips for Success

"No man should escape our universities without knowing how little he knows." - J. Robert Oppenheimer

"Education is not filling a bucket but lighting a fire"

 Wisdom found in Chinese Fortune Cookie • Know that instructors know that reading loads seem heavy but keep assigning them for a reason: Upper-level undergraduate and graduate courses require a great deal of reading, and when you are taking more than one course, it often seems unrealistic to complete it all. Instructors understand this. However, the quantity of reading is often assigned because it barely scratches the surface of a much broader literature. Instructors know that many students will not go to read additional work on a topic, but it is important for students to know that any course is merely a cursory introduction to a vast, rich, and provocative literature with a great deal of disagreement among authors on theories, evidence, and implications. Without assigning a sample of

important as well as varied work on a topic, students may develop the impression that everything that can be said on a topic has been said, or that debates are settled with clear right and wrong answers. In the social sciences, this is rarely the case. In contrast to physics and otherolitical scientists have settled on few empirical regularities, let alone laws. A primary goal of upper-level courses should be to empower students to recognize (a) what they WILL NOT be learning as part of a course but SHOULD BE LEARNED if they want to develop additional expertise on the subject and (b) that they can now, and in the future, contribute original insights using new evidence, creative thinking, an dialogue, even if they are not yet experts on a topic.

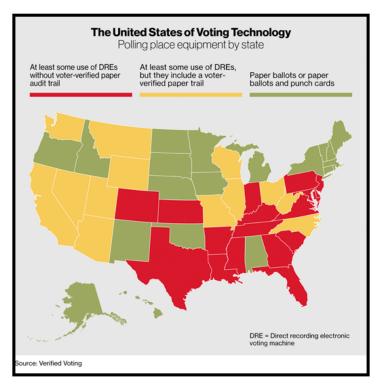
- Know that instructors (at least in empirical social science) do not always expect you to read and fully understand each work completely. Much, but not all, work in social science, can be read and digested more quickly than a novel, history, or philosopy. If a reading is a work of empirical social science, X recommends starting each reading by (1) reading the abstract (if applicable), the first paragraph, and the last paragraph of each reading. See if you can answer the basic questions, "What is the main purpose of this work? What is the main argument/intellectual puzzle/gap in the literature that the author(s) address? What evidence is provided and how do they analyze it?" (2) Then read the first sentence and last sentence of every paragraph and look at any tables and figures. (3) Finally, read the text word-for-word. Sometimes it is helpful to do steps (1) and (2) for all of the readings, think about how they speak to each other, and then complete step (3) for each one, comparing the evidence and method in more detail.
- **Teaching the instructor:** Most instructors (one hopes) expect to learn from the students in any course, particularly one taught to upper-level undergraduate and / graduate students, particularly at a place as diverse as University of Colorado Denver, where people with so many different socio-economic, occupational, cultural, linguistic, and other experiences come together in the classroom. In addition to the extremely rewarding process of getting to know the interesting, varied individual students in a course and seeing the unique dynamic that emerges among each set of students, ensuring that no course is ever the same, instructors learn about the substance of a topic through the new perspective, research, and discussion of the coursework. Research scholars who also teach focus on a much narrower sub-topic in their own research than the more general courses they teach. Teaching is an opportunity to stay abreast of general scholarly research and publications beyond an area of expertise. The more one becomes an "expert" on a particular topic, the more humble he or she becomes about topics beyond that expertise. As a result, students need not fear asking questions they perceive to be naïve or uninformed, admitting when they do not fully understand a concept, reading, or comment, or otherwise feeling inhibited. I am to create a climate of humility and mutual respect in my courses to facilitate mutual learning and teaching. If you rise to the occasion and approach the course with the goal of both learning and teaching, your effort will show and will be rewarded
- Fears: For some reason, students in many classrooms develop a competitive attitude toward their classmates—a remnant, perhaps, of the days of grading on the curve when only 1-2 people could earn an "A" in a class. People also worry about what their peers and instructors will think of their questions, arguments, etc. I have found that the questions that people think are the simplest or "stupidest" questions are those that get to the heart of a topic. For example, last year a student prefaced her question by saying it was "dumb", and proceeded to ask, "does democracy require secularism?" This question is central to both academic and policy debates about democracy and has been for at least a century. There is a vast literature on the topic. Chances are, your question represents an issue of scholarly debate. There is no point you can make that you should worry about.

- Writing in online discussion: The point of online discussion is to freely discuss ideas, brainstorm, interact, and otherwise generate new insights and understanding beyond what the readings or instructor provide. While clear writing, grammar, and spelling can help you make your point more clear and avoid misunderstandings, you are not being graded on the style of your online discussion, but on ideas and content. Internet shorthand and other time-saving techniques are fine in the discussion as long as your readers will be able to figure out what you are trying to say. More important than style is substantiating any propositions/arguments with evidence, examples, etc., and clarifying if people do not initially understand your point.
- Constructive and provocative online discussion: What if a perspective is politically incorrect or even potentially offensive? Or, what if one vehemently disagrees with something that is said or read? A way to show civility is to respond to comments to which you disagree with statements like: "I hear what you are saying and I disagree because . . . ", or, "One could also argue . . . ", or, "It seems to me that . . . because the reading states suggests . . . " Students are also expected to stay focused on the topic of the reading and to bring evidence to bear on the discussion, rather than to focus on opinions. We have the privilege of learning in a safe and constructive environment. This does not mean that I will censor views, but rather that we carefully measure what is said and how it is said in order to stay focused on the goals of the course. Further, it means that we remain open to considering new ideas and perspectives and become good students of the literature and history as we formulate our own points of view. Lastly, it means that respect for persons always pervades our discussion of contentious issues. Personal insults, intolerant statements, etc. may be removed.
- Peers: Many students look to instructors or others in more senior positions for career advice, networking, recommendations, etc. This is appropriate and natural, but please do not overlook your peers. A class is a wonderful opportunity to get to know some incredible people, particularly at a diverse place like the University of Colorado Denver, where students have years of professional experience in the military, private, and public sectors, and fascinating backgrounds. With the important rule that all information remains confidential, I require students to share a bit about themselves to maximize this networking opportunity. You may be in class with a future mayor, senator, or even president. Maybe you could be their campaign manager, pollster, or appointed election official! Former students of mine have become friends and have helped one another find jobs. I have connected former students with shared interests who did not interact with one another later on, either via Linked-In or in-person when they lived in the same place. Get to know your peers, treat them well, and think about ways to keep in touch and collaborate in the future, whether via Facebook, Linked-In, Google+, etc.
- Library resources (http://www.auraria.edu/): I assume that you are familiar with Google Scholar and use of Auraria Library databases to access Google Scholar with links to .pdf files for your research memos. I expect that you understand what a peer-reviewed journal article is and how to find one, and how to differentiate it from news media, commentary, web resources such as those provided herein, etc. If you are not familiar with library research and resources, the Auraria library social science librarians are extraordinarily helpful and can offer a great deal of personalized assistance. If you have questions or need help finding information, I recommend contacting Eric Baker, in particular (03-556-8192 eric.baker@ucdenver.edu Auraria Library Room #118-5). Please note that Auraria may require different log-in information than your other UCD accounts. Please plan accordingly and set it up early. Auraria help can be reached by chat, SMS, etc., here: http://www.auraria.edu/services/askus.
- Writing assignments: Remember not to compare your writing with published writing and let it paralyze you and keep you from being creative. Having reviewed articles and rewritten about a

third of an edited volume, I know well that much published is the result of an extensive editing process. It is better to take a risk to make a new, original argument and be asked to revise than say something safe that has been said, worry about that perfect footnote, etc. I am more concerned about ideas than style, though I expect basic command of citation practices, grammar, punctuation, etc. at this level of coursework. If you think your writing may need a second-look, feel free to take advantage of your peers if they are willing or seek assistance from the UCD Writing Center (http://www.ucdenver.edu/academics/colleges/CLAS/Centers/writing/Pages/TheWritingCenter.aspx).

My one writing rule: NO Passive Voice: E.g., "Research has been done..." WHO did the research? "Laws were passed" WHO PASSED THEM? The norm for writing in top political science journals, conference papers, etc. is to use the first person. Even senior social scientists have a bad habit of using the passive voice. Often the use of the passive voice is an indicator of fuzzy thinking about causality, a lack of information about the cause, actor, or nature of a specific event, or a lack of willingness of the author to "take ownership" of his or her arguments and ideas. Frequently, the passive voice may suggest areas where you need to do additional research or thinking. Authors often use the passive voice to give their writing a false air of authority, objectivity, or universality. Try to banish the passive voice, at least in final drafts of your work. I often find myself using the passive voice and try to edit myself immediately, but I have a strong bias against it when reading others' writing, usually because authors who use it make it difficult for me to understand what they are trying to say.

- See http://www.unc.edu/depts/wcweb/handouts/passivevoice.html for clarification.
- o I will post some additional writing tips on Canvas.



Assessment/Evaluation (Course Assignments)

Graded tests and assignments in this course will be returned via the course's Canvas course shell. You can access your scores at any time within the Canvas gradebook.

(10%) Participation ((a) "In Class" Time ~2 hours (undergrad) / ~ 3 hours (grad) (b)

Discussion (c) Two meetings with instructor).

In an ordinary class, undergraduates would meet for ~70 minutes twice a week and graduate students just under three hours for in-class time (listening to lectures, engaging in discussion, watching films, online lecture, and asking questions. I will assign approximately 1.5 hours per week of some film or other material that takes advantage

of this online format, and expect you to ask and answer questions of your peers and me in ways that demonstrate that you have spent time absorbing and thinking about the material. question/hypothesis/proposition/argument, a topical news report, examples from your cases (see below) commentary, etc., responding to the responses on your question, and responding to at least two of your colleagues' postings each week) (rubric in syllabus). Periodically, I will ask graduate students to read one additional scholarly reading per week. This will be optional for undergraduates,

and grad students can summarize the findings/discussion from the scholarly lectures in discussion for those who haven't seen it.

Extra credit of up to 1 point per week on discussion (see Rubric for Threaded Discussion, below) can be earned by subscribing to and bringing the content of several blogs/listservs and other content sources relevant to the topic into your discussions. These sources are listed in the Course Wiki under (Election Integrity Feeds, Blogs, Lists, Commentary).

(10%) Preparation (to be assessed through the degree to which assignments and discussion directly engage examples from the readings and other course materials, your case studies (see below), and current events like implementation of the recent Supreme Court ruling on the Voting Rights Act) (10%). Discussion should be supported with examples and evidence, not just opinion.

~ 60 pages of reading per week (articles, book chapters, blogs such as the Election Law Blog and others, and/or government and practitioner reports).

Graduate students will be expected to read and discuss one additional scholarly reading in ways that the students who have not read those articles can pick up on the main points/argument, and otherwise bring in outside knowledge or current events to the discussion.

Regularly read about and follow news from one US county/electoral jurisdiction and one foreign country (see tables below- no duplications will be allowed, so if you have a request, assignment to particular requested pairs will be on a first-come, first-serve basis) on the themes covered week by week. During discussions, you should gradually develop an expertise on the two cases that enable you to speak as a stakeholder in that electoral ecosystem. As you contribute to the discussion with examples/insights/comparisons from your two cases, other students can compare their experience with yours.

CHOOSE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING US COUNTIES / ELECTORAL JURISDICTIONS:

- Adams (CO)
- Fremont (WY)
- Compton (CA)
- Shelby (AL)
- Essex (NJ) - Yuba (CA)
- Grant Parish (LA)
- East St. Louis (IL)
- Kansas City (MO)
- East Chicago (IL) - New Hanover (NC)
- Montrose (CO)
- Cuyahoga (OH)
 Maricopa (AZ)
- Galveston (TX)
- Duval (FL)
- Marion (IN)
- Shannon (SD) - Boston (MA)
- Hamtramck (MI) - Kings (Brooklyn)
- (NY)
- Cibola (NM)
- Philadelphia (PA)

.... AND ONE OF THE FOLLOWING FOREIGN COUNTRIES

- Georgia
- Nigeria
- Burundi
- Romania
- Mauritania
- Nepal
- Indonesia
- India
- Switzerland
- France
- Argentina
- Congo (Kinshasa)
- Madagascar
- Bolivia
- Germany
- Malaysia
- Ivory Coast
- Jamaica
- Mexico
- Brazil
- Venezuela
- Liberia
- Costa Rica
- Philippines

Comparative / Analytical Written Work (60%) Four, two-page, single-spaced memos (or faux press releases, election observation reports, etc) with references citing the course reading material and case-specific sources dealing with the two cases above (thinking of these as backgrounders for someone interested in observing elections, campaigning, running elections, etc. in that county/country). You are encouraged to "role play" and take on the "voice" of an organization/official writing to another official in these memos. Model memo for Memos III and IV: Robert A. Pastor. "Improving the U. S. Electoral System: Lessons from Canada and Mexico." Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy. September 2004, 3(3): 584-593. http://online.liebertpub.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/doi/abs/10.1089/153312904323216186

evidence/citation to literature in the form of a third page with references cited required (APSR, APA, MLA, or any standard citation format is acceptable). To store, take notes about and format your references I highly recommend the free citation software, Zotero (www.zotero.org, see 5-10 minute instructional videos for easy instructions on how to get started and auto-cite in Microsoft Word).

Graduate students will be expected to provide more supporting empirical and scholarly graphs/data, or other supporting information, such as lists of cases, sequences of events, etc.

- (3a) (10%) MEMO 1 (DUE TUES SEPT 17 by 9am): Background on history of elections and electoral integrity norms, past malpractice and regulation, etc. for the US county, assessing the strengths and weaknesses of election process, vulnerabilities, etc. You may make optional recommendations
- (3b) (10%) MEMO 2 DUE (DUE TUES OCT 8 by 9am): Backgrounder for country (these memos could take the form of a press release/preliminary election assessment for a particular election in the case's history, with reference to improvements/setbacks compared to the past).
- (3c) (20%) MEMO 3 (DUE TUES OCT 29 by 9am): Memo from the perspective of an official, politician, NGO, or other actor from the US county to the foreign country comparing the US county to the foreign country and making recommendations for reform based on best practices/lessons-learned in the US county and things the foreign country should try to avoid based on past mistakes in the US county. If you want to focus on particular aspects of election integrity or actors, such as campaign finance from the perspective of a politician, feel free to be creative and brainstorm with me about areas of focus that would interest you.
- (3d) (20%) MEMO 4 (DUE TUES NOV 19 by 9am): Same as Memo 3, but reversed, so you imagine the foreign country observing elections in the US county and what they might say the strengths and weaknesses are, what could be changed, etc.
- (20%) "Final" DUE DEC 14th (Questions on the EU-UNDP course you have chosen will be posted on Dec 9, but I recommend starting after you turn in the memo on Nov 19 and working a little bit each day): Rather than a final exam, you will complete one of three possible EU/UNDP elearning electoral assistance 15-hour interactive courses [http://elearning.ec-undp-electoralassistance.org/] at your own pace throughout the semester (one hour per week would be a good pace), with a few follow-up questions replicated online on CANVAS at the end of the semester to verify that you have completed the course. If you do the full course, you can

earn a certificate. I have contacted the course system and have alerted them that you will be setting up accounts. Just write in the "Motivation" section that you are taking the course as part of Megan Reif's University of Colorado Denver Election Integrity course. This will give you a sense of what election administration officials/practitioners need to know and what the standards are. (Created by Dalene Goosen, e-learning expert and personal colleague now with the European Centre for Electoral Support (bio) (excerpt/example of the course here: http://thoughtstream.biz/projects/eea/index.html).

Fall 2013 US County – Foreign Country Comparison Pairs

Fall 2013 County-Country Assignments

Yuba, CA	Burundi	Robert
Adams Co, CO	France	Destiny
Compton, CA	Liberia	Linzi
Grant Parish, LA	Nigeria	Michael
Essex, NJ	Brazil	Desmond
Marion, IN	Bolivia	Kevin
Montrose, CO	Georgia	Ebrahim
East Chicago, IL	Romania	Alicia
Maricopa, AZ	Philippines	Nancy
Galveston, TX	Switzerland	Samantha
Kings Co, NY (Brooklyn)	Mexico	David
Boston, MA	Italy	Svetlana
Kansas City, MO	India	Nichol
East St. Louis, IL	Germany	Julian
New Hanover, NC	Mauritania	Elsa
Shelby, AL	United Kingdom	Caleb
Fremont, WY	Argentina	Jenica
Philadelphia, PA	Ivory Coast	Chaz
Cibola, NM	Malaysia	Christine
Duval, FL	Costa Rica	Nasser
Cuyahoga, OH	Jamaica	Tess

Threaded Discussion Rubric (Maximum of 12 points per week)

Category/ Points	3	2	1	0
Pose Discussion Question, Argument, Hypothesis, etc.	Posts by Tues on current week's readings	Poses discussion question by end of week	Posts discussion question by Sunday	Does not post a discussion question or research step
Peer Response	Responds to 2 peer questions by end of week	Responds to 2 peer questions by Sunday	Responds to 2 by Tuesday of following week	Responds to NO peer postings.
Final Response	Responds to all peers who have posted a response to you.	Responds to 3/4 of the peers who have posted a response to you.	Responds to 1/2 of the peers who have posted a response to you.	Responding to NONE of the peers who have posted a response to you.
Quality Threads	Student comments add significantly to the discussion by making connections across the readings and/or films, posing hypotheses, using examples from the assigned case studies, bringing in outside knowledge and/or material, such as news, relevant to the readings, or even respectfully disagreeing. Student also substantiates any comments made with reasoning or even source citation. A quality posting is about 30 to 75 words. Quality postings also receive many responses.	Student comments add moderately to the discussion by raising questions, alternative hypotheses and arguments, positing examples and counter-examples, pointing out problems, linking others points and integrating them, or even respectfully disagreeing. Student does not substantiate any comments made with reasoning or even source citation. Posting is about 20 to 75 words.	Student comments that do not add to the discussion. Student does not substantiate any comments made with reasoning or even source citation. Posting is simple: "I agree" or "Yes" or "No" or repeats something already said.	Student does not participate at all in the threaded discussion.

General Quality/Grading Rubric Guidelines for Memo (think of this as a checklist to guide you, not mechanic accumulation of points.

CONTENT (Refer to assignment instructions)	Student	Instructor Check	Instructor Comments
Title, Summary of Memo, Intro	Rating	CHECK	Comments
Excellent: Title includes subject and hint of point of view/thesis;			
intro concisely identifies findings in a few sentences			
Mixed: Roughness or confusion, lack of connection between intro,			
body			
Needs work: Title, Summary left out or have little connection w/			
content			
Thesis/Theoretical Argument/Main Findings			
Excellent: Clear, focused statement of key importance/relevance			
of case that is original and non-obvious to an informed audience;			
reflects understanding of existing research on the case and gaps in			
that research; considers and discusses information that is			
unavailable and implications of missing information			
Mixed: Clearly stated but obvious or derivative, limited connection			
with existing research or imitation thereof			
Needs work: Mentions findings, implications/importance of case			
but not addressed in remainder of essay			
Background of Case(s) and Significance			
Excellent: stated briefly, clearly; objectives of research study			
identified; relevance to field and broader society discussed			
explicitly and clearly; cites peer-reviewed journal articles, relevant			
policy or news articles			
Mixed: unclear or hard to find, or not properly focused			
Needs work: Absent/mostly lacking			
Method			
Excellent: All required items from assignment stated clearly,			
techniques identified, limitations stated. Clear justification for			
evidence used, whether qualitative or quantitative.			
Mixed: unclear or hard to find, or not properly focused			
Needs work: Absent/mostly lacking			
Findings/Evidence			
Excellent: Most important findings are clearly stated, interpreted,			
and explained. Numerous references to (mostly) peer-reviewed			
and/or original data as source material to substantiate and explain			
findings and conclusions. Specific, concrete details and examples			
are used and cited.			
Mixed: mostly ok, but unclear identification, insufficient			
interpretation, lacking explanation, unclear citation			

Needs more work: insufficient or irrelevant evidence, connection		
between thesis, main ideas, and evidence unclear		
Analysis		
Excellent: Thoughtful, thorough explanation of connections		
between main ideas, thesis, and evidence, interpreting		
significance, relevance, and implications		
Mixed: Mostly explains connection between evidence and thesis,		
but sometimes lacking, not enough focus on details, facts, poor		
integration of tables, figures, maps, and prose		
Needs work: Does not elaborate beyond basic or obvious		
conclusions, too brief or unclear to be convincing.		
Maps, figures, and other supporting materials		
Excellent: shows appropriate features/headings, attention to		
consistent, clear choice of colors and lines, figure frames and		
labels. Proper citation to source material when any secondary		
sources or data are used.		
Mixed: No citation, consistency, clear labeling; cluttered design,		
difficult-to-read color choice		
Needs more work: Sloppy, use of software color and data break		
defaults, no use of labels.		
Conclusion		
Excellent: Provides closure by reviewing purpose and findings,		
discussing limitations and significance of findings, directions for		
future research to address unanswered/unresolved questions.		
Should be thought-provoking enough to leave the reader wanting		
to know more.		
Mixed: Mostly repetitive or superficial, adds little to paper		
Needs more work: Absent/mostly lacking		
WRITING		
Sentence craft and style		
Excellent: Sophisticated use of language, tone, and style; precise		
and appropriate choice of words; varied sentence structures		
Mostly ok: Adequate, but some word choices awkward, vague,		
imprecise, or in appropriate (e.g., misuse of thesaurus); simple		
or repetitive sentence structure or unnecessarily complex, run-		
on sentences.		
Needs more work: Vague and abstract language, misused		
words, poor sentence structure		
Syntax, grammar, active voice		
Excellent: Free of punctuation, grammatical, spelling errors, and		
typos (2-4 per document)		
Mostly ok: errors that distrct the reader but do not obscure		
meaning (2-3 per page)		

Needs more work: Errors in diction, grammer, punctuation, and		
spelling impede understanding (more 3-4 per page).		
Clarity		
Excellent: clear, unambigous writing		
OK: limited but largely free from serious errors		
Needs more work: errors and ambiguities		
PRESENTATION		
Organization (headings, descriptive phrasing, logical sequencing,		
ample white space)		
Excellent: clear structure reflects and enhances argument, use		
of paragraphs to structure main ideas effectively, paragraphs		
organized with supporting points, good transitions between		
paragraphs, essay contains no superfluous, irrelevant material		
OK: some evidence of structure, some transitions between		
paragraphs, main points organized by paragraph, but reader		
must work hard		
Needs more work: unclear or inappropriate organization, use of		
verbosity as filler, other superfluous material; rough or no		
transitions between paragraphs, many ideas per paragraph		
Tables (if not included paper evaluated on choice to not include)		
Excellent: All appropriate, none irrelevant, proper formatting,		
clearly labeled, appropriate links to text, interpretation in text)		
Mostly ok, but some exceptions		
Needs more work		
PROFESSIONALISM		
Neatness (attention to typos, spelling, pagination, citations etc.)		
Excellent: Thoughtful, effective presentation; no typos, no		
spelling problems, pages numbered, appropriate citation and		
bibliography/references cited format used		
OK: Reasonable but some inattention to details		
Needs more work		
Mechanics/Meets requirements (e.g., paper length, format, etc.)		
Excellent: No errors in citations and reference list. Citations for		
facts, sources used, paraphrased information, and arguments		
drawn from other authors. Introduces and uses citations		
smoothly, appropriate use of direct quotations and		
paraphrasing, with in-text attribution.		
OK: Citations are mostly complete, but smooth reference to		
OK: Citations are mostly complete, but smooth reference to sources in the prose may be absent. May contain errors in use of		
OK: Citations are mostly complete, but smooth reference to sources in the prose may be absent. May contain errors in use of footnotes and/or within-text citations and reference list.		
OK: Citations are mostly complete, but smooth reference to sources in the prose may be absent. May contain errors in use of footnotes and/or within-text citations and reference list. Needs more work: Only cites URLs, weak citation, paraphrasing		
OK: Citations are mostly complete, but smooth reference to sources in the prose may be absent. May contain errors in use of footnotes and/or within-text citations and reference list. Needs more work: Only cites URLs, weak citation, paraphrasing without use of citation.		
OK: Citations are mostly complete, but smooth reference to sources in the prose may be absent. May contain errors in use of footnotes and/or within-text citations and reference list. Needs more work: Only cites URLs, weak citation, paraphrasing		

paper mills or paper-writing services (software will be used to verify/check for this)

These criteria are based on the following sources: Joseph Grengs, Urban Planning 507 Final Research Project Criteria, Winter 2005; Wake Forest University Criteria for Effective Writing:

http://www.wfu.edu/english/major/academicwriting.html; Roever, Sally, and Paul Manna. "'Could You Explain My Grade?' Pedagogical and Administrative Virtues of Grading Sheets." PS: Political Science & Politics 38, no. 2 (April 2005): 317-20; Walvoord, Barbara E., and Virginia J. Anderson. Effective Grading: A Tool for Learning and Assessment. Hoboken, NJ: Jossey-Bass, 2009.

Submission Procedures

Assignment Submission Guidelines: Post all assignments on Canvas and cc: to reifmegan@live.com, in case I am traveling and unable to access the website or UCD email momentarily. In general, assignments are due on Tuesdays, and discussion of readings starting Tuesdays and conducted throughout the week. Discussion participation and posing of questions will be logged as attendance. For Religious Observances or other conflicts, please let me know at least 7 days in advance for such planned absences, and no points will be deducted for lateness. Documentation for other extensions may be required, particularly if you do not make arrangements in advance.

NOTE: Canvas, while it advertises mobile access, only has applications for Android and iPhone, so the best way to reach me electronically is to email me directly at reifmegan@live.com, since Canvas emails get forwarded to my ucdenver account, which I can access less reliably overseas. You can also reach me most of the time via VIBER or SMS. I have Skype, VIBER, Facebook, Twitter, and Text messaging on my phone. Essentially, everything electronic except Canvas.

Course Resources and Materials

- Pre-requisites: This course does not require formal pre-requisites. However, an introductory understanding of basic principles of American government and comparative politics is assumed. Terms such as Federalism, Proportional Representation, Presidential versus Parliamentary systems, and other rudimentary terms pertaining to democracy, elections, electoral systems, and political development should not be unfamiliar to you, and you should be willing and able to find information on basic concepts. In short, this course assumes that you have taken introductory courses in American Government and Comparative Politics. You can of course succeed without them, but you
- Assigned Readings: All readings will be posted on Canvas in .pdf format or on Vimeo or publicly-available video links. No full-texts are required. A bibliography of recommended reading, including books, is provided on Canvas for those wishing to develop further expertise on this topic. I make the assumption that you know as much as I do about using Canvas (possibly nothing). Please email me and/or CU Online with technical problems and questions and I will do my best to answer them. Films unless otherwise noted will be on my Vimeo site: https://vimeo.com/votesafe
- Internet Resources: Below are a few sources of US and foreign election integrity resources. I am continuously updating election information link pages that I have on Symbaloo and Netvibes, and am working on dedicated pages on Diigo. I will post these on the Canvas site as they are updated, or you can browse them from my link page, http://about.me/megan.reif. If you find resources that are useful, please let me know. A much more comprehensive list is available at:

https://sites.google.com/site/pippanorris3/teaching/dpi416-home-page/dpi416-power-point-slides/dpi416-links

- Electoral Integrity Project: <u>www.electoralintegrityproject.com</u>
- Rick Hasen's Election Law Blog (highly recommend subscribing to listserv): http://electionlawblog.org/
- National Conference of State Legislatures (incl. electoral legislation database): http://www.ncsl.org/legislatures-elections/elections/2011-2012-elections-legislation-database.aspx
- US Federal Election Commission: http://www.fec.gov/
- National Association of Secretaries of State (USA): http://www.nass.org/
- National Assoc of County Recorders, Election Officials, & Clerks: http://www.nacrc.org/
- CalTech/MIT Voting Technology Project: http://www.vote.caltech.edu/
- Intl Center for Electoral Psychology: http://www.electoralpsychology.com/
- Intl Foundation for Election Systems: http://www.ifes.org
- Intl IDEA: http://www.idea.int/
- Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors: http://www.gndem.org/
- Association of European Election Officials (ACEEEO): http://www.aceeeo.org/en/
- Intl Centre for Parliamentary Studies: http://www.parlicentre.org/
- Brennan Center for Voting Rights & Elections Project:
 http://www.brennancenter.org/issues/voting-rights-elections
- ACE Electoral Knowledge Project: http://aceproject.org/main/english/ei/onePage
- Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa: http://www.eisa.org.za/
- EU Electoral Assistance: http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/human-rights/election_observation_missions/electoral-assistance_en.htm
- UNDP Electoral Assistance:
 http://www.undp.org/content/brussels/en/home/ourwork/democraticgovernance/in_de
 pth/electoral-assistance/
- EU-UNDP Electoral Assistance Partnership: http://www.ec-undp-electoralassistance.org/
- European Centre for Electoral Support: http://eces.eu/
- OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights: http://www.osce.org/odihr
- USENIX EVT Workshops: https://www.usenix.org/conference/evtwote13
- Verified Voting: https://www.verifiedvoting.org/
- Voting Machines ProCon.org: http://votingmachines.procon.org/
- Intl Assoc for Voting System Sciences: http://www.iavoss.org/

Course Readings and Assignment Schedule

DISCLAIMER: This syllabus is representative of materials that will be covered in this class; it is not a contract between the student and the institution. It is subject to change without notice as new information on the topic, student interests, and questions develop. Any potential exceptions to stated policies and requirements will be addressed on an individual basis, and only for reasons that meet specific requirements. If you have any problems related to this class, please feel free to discuss them with me.

Course	Course Content				
Week	Week Beginning Monday / Topic and Readings (Preparation)	Assignments & Deadlines			
1	20 August: Introductions Pre-course survey:	* Complete pre-course survey (Tues Aug 27)			
	 https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/cheatingvoterspre Watch: Hacking Democracy (on Megan's Vimeo via password votesafepeace) Official Site: http://hackingdemocracy.com/ Read: Elklit, J. (2012). What Kind of Animal is Electoral Integrity? In Challenges of Electoral Integrity. Presented at the International Political Science Association Annual Congress, Electoral Integrity Project Pre-Conference Workshop on Challenges of Electoral Integrity, Madrid, Spain: Electoral Integrity Project of the University of Sydney/Harvard University. Recommended: OSCE. 2010. Election Observation Handbook. 6th Ed. http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/68439 				
	* Starred readings, if any, are required for graduate students, optional for others				
2	26 August: Elections before Democracy: A Glimpse at the (Messy) Origin of a few Election Integrity (and anti-Integrity) Norms	* Choose or be assigned to your county-country pairs (Weds Aug 28)			
	WEDS AUG 28 is the 50th Anniversary of the March on Washington and Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream Speech"	* Discussion (Create bio and introduce yourself to			
	Watch: Home of the Brave → \$3.99 rental on Amazon Instant Video (all other videos will be on Megan's Vimeo Page except for TED talks, radio programs) Official Site: http://www.bullfrogfilms.com/catalog/hob.html	the group) Megan at APSA / V-Dem			
	Read: Paul Ortiz, "The struggle to save democracy" in Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920 (University of California Press, 2005) Ch. 2 [33-60].	Meetings			

Timothy B. Tyson, "Ghosts of 1898: Wilmington's Race Riot and the Rise of White Supremacy," News & Observer (Raleigh, NC, November 17, 2006) [16pp] Tilly, C. (2009). Astonishing Switzerland. Swiss Political Science Review, 15(2), 321-331. 3 3 September (Tues) Monday is Labor Day: Suffrage Post question, position, hypothesis, news for Watch: Iron-Jawed Angels discussion and respond to Official site: http://iron-jawed-angels.com/ at least 2 posts by Tuesday, Sept 10 (for readings from PREVIOUS Read: Crook, M., & Crook, T. (2007). The Advent of the Secret Ballot in WEEK) Britain and France, 1789-1914: From Public Assembly to Private Compartment. History, 92, 449-471. Megan Office Hours at Anderson, M. L. (1993). Voter, Junker, Landrat, Priest: The Old Tivoli Coffee Shop/Café Authorities and the New Franchise in Imperial Germany. (near Public Service American Historical Review, 98, 1448-74. Credit Union) Thursday, Sept. 5 11am- 5pm Friday, Sept 6 by appointment Online/phone by appt 4 9 September: Overt Electoral Manipulation and its Effects **BRIEF TASK**: Set up request to sign up/start verification Task: (very brief) Sign up for at least one EU-UNDP-IDEA Electoral process for one of three Assistance Certificate Course(s): **EU-UNDP-IDEA Electoral** (a) EU and UNDP working together on electoral assistance; if **Assistance Certificate** intl organizations & their funding interests you Course(s) (at left) (b) Effective Electoral Assistance; electoral administration, election forensics, crowd-sourcing, and technology (c) Information Communications Technology & Elections Management (electoral administration, election forensics, crowd-sourcing, and technology interests you) http://elearning.ec-undp-electoralassistance.org/ Watch: Curry, M. (2005). Street Fight. Documentary, Marshall Megan Office Hours at Curry Productions, LLC. Official Site: Tivoli Coffee Shop/Café http://www.pbs.org/pov/streetfight/credits.php (near Public Service Credit Union) Read: Schedler, A. (2002). The Menu of Manipulation. Journal of Tuesday, Sept. 10 Democracy, 13(2), 36-50. 11am- 5pm Scher, R. K. (2010). The Politics of Disenfranchisement: Why Is It So Hard to Vote in America? M.E. Sharpe. Or by appointment **Chapter 6:** "Gaming the System: Disenfranchisement by other Means" (pp 141-164) Online/phone by appt Fabrice Edouard Lehoucg. 2003. 'Electoral fraud: Causes, types, and consequences.' Annual Review of Political Science 6: Megan will be in Stockholm with V-Dem 233-256. project Sept 13-18

	Kuntz, P., & Thompson, M. R. (2009). More than just the final straw: Stolen elections as revolutionary triggers. Comparative Politics, 253–272.	
5	16 September: Administrative/procedural error, registration barriers, irregularities, and their effects	17 Sept Memo I due on US County Case
	 Read: Scher, R. K. (2010). The Politics of Disenfranchisement: Why Is It So Hard to Vote in America? M.E. Sharpe. Chapter 1: "Trying to vote in America" (pp. 3-26) Scher, R. K. (2010). The Politics of Disenfranchisement: Why Is It So Hard to Vote in America? M.E. Sharpe. Chapter 2: "Let everyone vote? Not on your life?" (pp. 29-51) (History of suffrage rights, exclusions in US)(skim) Chapter 7: "Do we want to do better?" "The voters' responsibility, and the state's" (pp 165-173 - short) Alvarez R. Michael, Hall, Thad E. and Llewellyn Morgan. 2008. 'Who should run elections in the United States?' Policy Studies Journal 36(3): 325-346. Birch, S. (2008). Electoral institutions and popular confidence in electoral processes: A cross-national analysis. Electoral Studies, 27, 305-320. 	Reading is a bit heavier than usual this week, but there is nothing to watch! Ofc hrs online/phone by appt
6	 23 September: Reforms and their effects: Hidden costs Read: Schaffer, F. C. (2008). The hidden costs of clean election reform. Cornell University Press. - Preface (pp vii-xvii); - Introduction (pp. 1-20); - Chapter 4 (pp.98-124). Campbell, T.A. 2003, 'Machine Politics, Police Corruption, and the Persistence of Vote Fraud: The Case of the Louisville, Kentucky, Election of 1905', Journal of Policy History, vol. 15, pp. 269-300. * Ichino, Nahomi and Schuendeln, Matthias. 2012. 'Deterring or displacing electoral irregularities? Spillover effects of observers in a randomized field experiment in Ghana.' Journal of Politics 74(1): 292-307. 	Megan Office Hours at Tivoli Coffee Shop/Café (near Public Service Credit Union) Tuesday, Sept. 10 11am- 5pm Or by appointment Online/phone by appt
7	30 September: Reforms and their effects: The silver lining? Watch: Shayfeen.com (We are Watching You) Official Site: http://www.shayfeencom.org/ & Read: Shayfeen discussion guide http://www-tc.pbs.org/independentlens/classroom/women/resources/shayfeen_discussion.pdf Lindberg, S. I. (2009). Democratization by elections: A new mode of transition? In S. I. Lindberg (Ed.), Democratization by Elections: A new mode of transition (pp. 1–16). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. AND	Megan Office Hours at Tivoli Coffee Shop/Café (near Public Service Credit Union) TBA/by appt

10	21 October: Remedies & Best Practices (General Issues and Election Management Bodies)	Megan will be in Sweden for V-Dem Oct 18-Nov 1
	 Read: Francia, P. L., & Herrnson, P. S. (2007). Keeping it Professional: The Influence of Political Consultants on Candidate Attitudes toward Negative Campaigning. Politics & Policy, 35(2), 246–272. Farrell, David, M. (1998). Political consultancy overseas: the internationalization of campaign consultancy. PS: Political Science & Politics, 31(2), 171–176. 	
9	 14 October: External Influence: Campaigns Watch: Boynton, R. (2005). Our Brand Is Crisis. Documentary Listen: This American Life, "Take the Money and Run for Office" http://www.thisamericanlife.org/radio-archives/episode/461/take-the-money-and-run-for-office 	Megan will be in Sweden for V-Dem Oct 18-Nov 1 Office Hours online/by appt
	Read: Lessig, L. (2013, April 3). Excerpt from Lawrence Lessig's new TED Book, "Lesterland." TEDBlog. http://blog.ted.com/2013/04/03/how-we-can-make-elections-about-the-people-not-just-funders-an-excerpt-of-lawrence-lessigs-new-ted-book-lesterland/ Briffault, R. (2010). Corporations, corruption, and complexity: Campaign finance after Citizens United. Cornell JL & Pub. Pol'y., 20, 643-670. Pinto-Duschinsky, Michael. 2005. 'Financing politics: a global view.' Journal of Democracy 13(4), 69-86.	
	Watch: Young, R. (2012). Big Sky, Big Money. (On Vimeo) Official Site: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/big-sky-bigmoney/ Lawrence Lessig: We the People, and the Republic we must reclaim Video on TED.com. (n.d.). http://www.ted.com/talks/lawrence lessig we the people and the republic we must reclaim.html	Foreign Case Megan Office Hours at Tivoli Coffee Shop/Café (near Public Service Credit Union) TBA/by appt
8	 Chapter 1: "The Power of Elections in Africa Revisited" (pp 25-46) Reif, M., & Naviwala, N. (2013, May 11). Election violence, a good sign for Pakistan's democracy? The AfPak Channel at Foreign Policy: A Special Project of the New America Foundation. Blog. Reif, M. (2009). Making Democracy Safe: Explaining the Causes, Rise, and Decline of Coercive Campaigning and Election Violence in Old and New Democracies (A Theory and Typology of Election Violence). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada. (pp 1-10; pp 48-52) 7 October: External Influence: Money, Regulation, Federalism, 	8 Oct Memo II due on

Watch: Merz, J. J., & Merz, K. (2011). An African Election.
Documentary, Drama, History, Thriller.
Official Site: http://anafricanelection.com/
Read:

Office Hours online/by appt

Elklit, J., & Reynolds, A. (2002). The Impact of Election Administration on the Legitimacy of Emerging Democracies: A New Comparative Politics Research Agenda. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 40(2), 86–119.

Schaffer, F. C. (2008). The hidden costs of clean election reform. Cornell University Press.

- Chapter 6, Remedies (pp 150-196)

Scher, R. K. (2010). *The Politics of Disenfranchisement: Why Is It So Hard to Vote in America?* M.E. Sharpe.

Chapter 7 "Do we want to do better?" (pp 174-188) (skip over previously read pp 165-173)

Carter, J., & Baker, J. A. (2005). Building Confidence in U.S. Elections: Report of the Commission on Federal Election Reform. Washington, DC: Center for Democracy and Election Management, American University. http://www1.american.edu/ia/cfer/report/report.html

Read (at least) Links to the following sections:
 Executive summary, Help America Vote Act,
 Vote-by-Mail, Vote-Centers, Institutions, Research on Election Management, Poll-Worker
 Recruitment, Election Observation,

29 Oct Memo III due on US Case

11 *28 October: Remedies: Voting Tech, Ballot Design*

Watch:

(1) Bismark, D. (2010). David Bismark: E-voting without fraud. http://www.ted.com/talks/david_bismark_e_voting_without_fraud.html + READ (some of the) discussion below video (~15 min) (2) Michael Bruter (2012) Breaking the Wall of the Polling Booth https://vimeo.com/55002576 + Read Powerpoint presentation from Third Annual Meeting of Electoral Management Bodies, Tbilisi, Georgia, March 2013 (~18 min)

(3) Punchscan.org video: http://punchscan.org/ (~3min)

Niemi, Richard G., and Paul S. Herrnson. 2003. "Beyond the Butterfly: The Complexity of U.S. Ballots." Perspectives on Politics, 1 (2 Jun.): 317–326.

Reynolds, A., & Steenbergen, M. (2006). How the world votes: The political consequences of ballot design, innovation and manipulation. *Electoral Studies*, *25*(3), 570–598.

Saltman, Roy G. 2008. The History and Politics of Voting Technology: In Quest of Integrity and Public Confidence. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Chapter 4: The Late 19th & Early 20th Centuries:
 Mechanization & Political Reforms (pp 105-136)
 Note: You need not absorb every technical date, detail, etc. for these chapters.
- Chapter 6: The Middle and Late 20th Century: Election Administration and Computing Technology (pp 155-186)

Megan will be in Sweden for V-Dem Oct 18-Nov 1

Office Hours online/by appt

12	4 November: Remedies and Best Practices: Observation/monitoring, media, organization, civil society	Megan Office Hours at Tivoli Coffee Shop/Café (near Public Service
	Watch: Whisper to a Roar Official Site:	Credit Union) TBA/by appt
	http://awhispertoaroar.com/	
	(Themes: leadership, elites, activism, mobilization, youth)	
	 Monitoring Kelley, Judith. 2010. 'Election observers and their biases.' Journal of Democracy 21: 158-172. Kelley, J. (2009). The more the merrier? The effects of having multiple international election monitoring organizations. Perspectives on Politics, 59-64. Maiola, Giovanna. "Methods for Media Analysis in Election Observation." In The Preconditions for a Democratic Election. (2006). Council of Europe. (pp 43-56) + Maiola presentation on hate speech, election information, in US elections from ECES 2012 Barcelona meeting (Canvas) and ODIHR Reports on Election Observation in the US: http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/usa (SHORT) Cohen, Rick. Voting Rights: Who's Afraid of International Election Observers? (n.d.). NPQ - Nonprofit Quarterly. Retrieved September 4, 2013, from http://www.nonprofitquarterly.org/policysocial-context/21226-voting-rights-whos-afraid-of-international-election-observers.html (SHORT) 	
	Crowdsourcing/SMS/Social Media: Schuler, I. (2008). SMS as a tool in election observation (Innovations Case Narrative: National Democratic Institute). innovations, 3(2), 143–157. Eaves, Ushahidi and the Long Tail of Mapping for Social Change. (2012). TechPresident. http://techpresident.com/news/wegov/22533/how-use-maps-change-ushahidi	
	Recommended: Sutter, D. (2003). Detecting and correcting election fraud. Eastern Economic Journal, 29(3), 433–451. Bjornlund, E. (2004). Beyond Free and Fair: Monitoring Elections and Building Democracy. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press. - Chapter 12: "Foreign support for domestic election monitoring in Indonesia: Missed opportunities and unintended consequences" (pp 256-278)	
13	11 November: Remedies: fraud detection and prevention strategies (polling, exit polls, real-time information, quick counts/PVTs, audits)	Megan Office Hours at Tivoli Coffee Shop/Café (near Public Service Credit Union) TBA/by appt
	Garber, L., & Cowan, G. (1993). The virtues of parallel vote	
	tabulations. <i>Journal of Democracy</i> , 4(2), 95-107.	

Mebane Jr, W. R. A Layman's Guide to Statistical Election Forensics. (electionguide.org – short)

Beber, B., & Scacco, A. (2012). What the numbers say: A digit-based test for election fraud. *Political Analysis*, *20*(2), 211-234.

Mitofsky, W. J. (1998). Review: Was 1996 a Worse Year for Polls Than 1948? *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 62(2), 230–249.

- * Morton, R. B., Müller, D., Page, L., & Torgler, B. (2013). *Exit Polls, Turnout, and Bandwagon Voting: Evidence from a Natural Experiment* (No. 2013-01). Center for Research in Economics, Management and the Arts (CREMA).
- * Stark, P. B. (2008). Conservative statistical post-election audits. *Annals of Applied Statistics*.

Recommended:

Bjornlund, E. (2004). *Beyond Free and Fair: Monitoring Elections and Building Democracy*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

 Chapter 13: "Verifying the Vote Count: Quick Counts, Parallel Tabulations, and Exit Polls in Macedonia and Indonesia" (pp 279-302)

14 *18 November: Other factors, content, dangers, and cautions- (Beyond [mere] Election Integrity)*

Watch: Bensmaïl, M., Barrat, P., & Leclère, T. (2003). *Algeria's Bloody Years*. Icarus Films. Official Site: http://icarusfilms.com/new2003/alg.html

Content: Amaney A. Jamal, Of Empires and Citizens: Pro-American Democracy or No Democracy at All? (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), **Ch. 1**

Media Bias:

Sallie Hughes and Chappell Lawson, "Propaganda and Crony Capitalism: Partisan Bias in Mexican Television News," Latin American Research Review 39, 3: 81–105.

Electoral Systems (anyone interested in elections should take an fullk course on electoral systems—their design, effects, trade-offs, policy implications): Birch, S. (2007). Electoral systems and electoral misconduct. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(12), 1533–1556.

Electoral Thresholds/Inclusion/Exclusion: Taagepera, R. (1998). Nationwide inclusion and exclusion thresholds of representation. *Electoral Studies*, *17*(4), 405–417.

Census & boundaries: Hill, S. (2002). Behind Closed Doors: The Recurring Plague of Redistricting and the Politics of Geography. *National Civic Review*, 91(4), 317-330.

- * Brown, M. J. (2013). A Spatial Look at Redistricting: The political process and the Modifiable Areal Unit Problem.
- * Rania Maktabi, "The Lebanese Census of 1932 Revisited. Who Are the Lebanese?," British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 26, no. 2 (November 1, 1999): 219-241.

19 Nov Memo IV due on Foreign Case

You will be assigned to read 2 of the readings at left for the following week and bring knowledge of it to the online discussion.

Please let me know if you have a preference.

Megan Office Hours at Tivoli Coffee Shop/Café (near Public Service Credit Union) TBA/by appt

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		Remuneration of politicians & ballot access (passive suffrage): Stratmann, T. (2005). Ballot access restrictions and candidate entry in elections. European Journal of Political Economy,	
		21(1), 59–71.	
		Svaleryd, H., & Vlachos, J. (2009). Political rents in a non-corrupt democracy. <i>Journal of Public Economics</i> , <i>93</i> (3–4), 355–372.	
		Costs of Electoral Administration:	
		Montjoy, R. S. (2010). The Changing Nature and Costs of Election Administration. <i>Public Administration Review</i> , 70(6), 867-875.	
	15	25 November (Fall Break)	
	16	2 December (Theme TBA based on your interests)	Start your EU-UNDP Course
		Watch: TBA (brief, hopefully a guest speaker/interview with Election Management Official from US or Abroad—probably Georgia or Burundi) Read: Brief, TBA	Megan Office hours virtual by appointment
L			
	17	Dec 9-14 FINALS WEEK	Megan Office hours virtual by appointment
		Post-course survey:	
		https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/cheatingvoterspost	

The University Fine Print

LATE ASSIGNMENT POLICY

Late assignments are accepted up to 24 hours after the official due date. In fairness to the other students, the recorded grade will automatically be lowered by 5 percentage points. This is a general policy. Instructors may decide to maintain different standards based on individual circumstances or refuse to accept late papers at all.

CLAS INCOMPLETE (IF) POLICY

The faculty in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences passed the following policy relating to the awarding of incomplete grades. This CLAS policy is consistent with the UCDHSC campus policy.

Incomplete grades (IF) are NOT granted for low academic performance. To be eligible for an Incomplete grade, students MUST (1) successfully complete a minimum of 75% of the course, (2) have special circumstances beyond their control that preclude them from attending class and completing graded assignments, and (3) make arrangements to complete missing assignments with the original instructor. Verification of special circumstances is required. Completion of a CLAS Course Completion Agreement is strongly suggested. Incompletes cannot be awarded that stipulate (1) a student may repeat the entire course, (2) repeat or replace existing grades, (3) allow the student an indeterminate period of time to complete a course, or (4) allow the student to repeat the course with a different instructor.

ACADEMIC DISHONESTY/PLAGIARISM POLICY

(Department of Political Science Policy) The content of papers and exams is assumed to be the work of the person whose name appears as author. Plagiarism occurs when content which is the work of another person (published author, classmate, et. al.) is not clearly attributed to that person. Plagiarism also occurs when students purchase papers from the internet or some other source and use those papers for anything other than background research (with the proper citations). Plagiarism can occur when students use concepts and ideas (not just quotes) from another source without properly attributing them. Plagiarism also occurs when work done for one course is submitted to satisfy a requirement of another course unless the instructors of the respective courses have been informed and approved multiple submissions.

When an instructor suspects that a student has committed plagiarism, she/he must promptly report it to the Chair of the Department. Upon receipt of such report, the Chair shall form a committee including the faculty member who made the report, the Chair, and a third faculty member chosen by the Chair.

The Committee may promptly hold a meeting with the student during which the student will be interviewed about the content of the paper. If, in this interview, the student does not demonstrate knowledge of the content of the paper which an author would possess, the Committee shall find that plagiarism has been committed.

If a finding of plagiarism has been made, and no extenuating circumstances are present, the student shall be assigned a grade of 'F' in the course. In particularly flagrant cases the Department may recommend suspension or expulsion from the Department. The Committee may also recommend to the Department and the CLAS Ethics Committee that the student be suspended from the University for a period of one calendar year. If extenuating circumstances are present, the Committee may choose to assign lesser penalties.

STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

***Appropriate accommodation will be made for students with disabilities or students called for military service. Please notify instructor for arrangements ***

Fall 2013 CLAS Academic Policies University Academic Calendar:

http://www.ucdenver.edu/student-services/resources/registrar/Pages/AcademicCalendar.aspx

The following policies pertain to all degree students in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences (CLAS).

- **Schedule verification**: It is each student's responsibility to verify online that his/her official registration is correct: verify before classes begin and prior to the drop/add deadline. Failure to verify schedule accuracy is not sufficient reason to justify a late add or drop.
- **E-mail**: Students must activate and regularly check their official student e-mail account for CU Denver business: http://www.ucdenver.edu/student-services/Pages/WebMail.aspx. Those who forward email must check CU Denver e-mail regularly for messages not automatically forwarded.

Waitlists:

- Students are <u>not</u> automatically notified if they are added to a class from a waitlist.
- Students are <u>not</u> automatically dropped from a class if they never attended, stopped attending, or do not make tuition payments.
- Waitlists are purged after the 1st week of classes, after which a paper Schedule
 Adjustment Form (SAF or drop/add form) is required. It is the student's responsibility to
 get the form (online or at the Advising Office, NC 4002), have it signed, deliver it to the
 Registrar (Annex 100) or the Student Services Center (NC 1003), and verify her/his
 schedule online.
- **Late adds** (after 4 September) will be approved only when circumstances surrounding the late add are beyond the student's control. This will require a written petition and verifiable documentation. Petition forms are available in NC 4002. The signature of a faculty member on a SAF does not guarantee that a late add petition will be approved.
- **Late drops** (after 28 October) will be approved only when circumstances surrounding the late drop have arisen <u>after</u> the published drop deadline and are beyond the student's control. This will require a written petition and verifiable documentation. The signature of a faculty member does not guarantee that a late drop petition will be approved.
- **Tuition:** Students are responsible for completing arrangements with financial aid, family, scholarships, etc. to pay their tuition prior to Census Date (4 September). Students who drop after that date are (1) financially responsible for tuition and fees, (2) academically responsible and will receive a "W" grade, and (3) are ineligible for a refund of COF hours or tuition.

Graduation:

- Undergraduate students wishing to graduate in Fall 2013 must complete the online Graduation Application form, in the UCD Access Portal, and meet with their academic advisor to obtain a graduation application. This application must be submitted by Census Date (4 September). You can obtain an application only after meeting with your advisor. There are no exceptions to this policy.
- Graduate students wishing to graduate in Fall semester 2013 must complete the online Graduation Application form, in the UCD Access Portal, and have a Request for Admissions to Candidacy on file with the CU Denver Graduate School (LSC 1251) no later than 5 PM, September 4, 2013.

Important Dates and Deadlines

- **August 18, 2013:** Last day to withdraw from all classes via UCDAccess and receive a refund of the \$200 advance payment and all tuition.
- **August 19, 2013:** First day of classes.
- **August 25, 2013:** Last day to add or waitlist classes using UCDAccess. After this date, a Schedule Adjustment Form (SAF) is required to change, add, or drop.
- **August 26, 2013:** Last day to drop without a \$100 drop charge. No adds permitted on this day.
- August 27 September 4, 2013:
 - UCDAccess registration is closed; registration now requires a SAF with faculty signature.
 - Verify your registration via UCDAccess. You are not registered for a course unless your name appears on the official roster; conversely, your name may have been added automatically from the waitlist without notification, which means that you will be held responsible.
- **September 2, 2013:** Labor Day (no classes; campus closed).
- September 4, 2013: Census date.
 - **9/4/13, 5 PM:** Last day to add structured courses without a written petition for a late add. This is an absolute deadline and is treated as such. This does not apply to independent studies, internships, project hours, thesis hours, dissertation hours, and modular courses.
 - **9/4/13, 5 PM:** Last day to drop a course or completely withdraw from Fall 2013 using a SAF and still receive a tuition refund, minus the drop fee. After this date, tuition is forfeited and a "W" will appear on the transcript. This includes section changes. This is an absolute deadline.
 - **9/4/13, 5 PM:** Last day to request pass/fail or no-credit option for a course.
 - 9/4/13, 5 PM: Last day for a graduate student to register for a Candidate for Degree.
 - **9/4/13, 5 PM:** Last day for a Ph.D. student to petition for a reduction in hours.
 - **9/4/13, 5 PM:** Last day to apply for Fall 2013 graduation. If an undergraduate, you must make an appointment and see your academic advisor to apply. If a graduate student, you must complete the Intent to Graduate and Candidate for Degree forms.
- **September 16-27, 2013**: Faculty can use the Early Alert system.
- October 28, 2013, 5 PM: Last day for <u>non-CLAS</u> students to drop or withdraw without a petition and special approval from the academic dean. After this date, a dean's signature is required.
- **November 11, 2013, 5 PM:** Last day for CLAS students to drop or withdraw with signatures from the faculty and dean but without a full petition. After this date, all schedule changes require a full petition. Petitions are available in NC 4002 for undergraduates and in the CU Denver Graduate School offices for graduate students.
- **November 25-December 1, 2013**: Fall break (no classes; campus open).
- November 28: Thanksgiving Day Holiday (no classes; campus closed). Be thankful.
- **December 9-14, 2013:** Finals Week. No schedule changes will be granted once finals week has started--there are no exceptions to this policy. Commencement is December 14.
- **December 19, 2013**: Due date for faculty submission of grades (tentative).
- December 23, 2013: Fall final grades available on UCD Access (tentative).

Other University-Wide Policies

Other University-wide policies that are relevant to the syllabus and that you will be expected to understand.

 Student Code of Conduct -http://www.ucdenver.edu/life/services/standards/students/pages/default.aspx

University Definition of Plagiarism: Plagiarism is the use of another person's ideas or words without acknowledgement. The incorporation of another person's work into yours requires appropriate identification and acknowledgement. Examples of plagiarism when the source is not noted include: word-for-word copying of another person's ideas or words; the "mosaic" (interspersing your own words here and there while, in essence, copying another's work); the paraphrase (the rewriting of another's work, while still using their basic ideas or theories); fabrication (inventing or counterfeiting sources); submission of another's work as your own; and neglecting quotation marks when including direct quotes, even on material that is otherwise acknowledged.

Cheating involves the possession, communication, or use of information, materials, notes, study aids, or other devices and rubrics not specifically authorized by the course instructor in any academic exercise, or unauthorized communication with any other person during an academic exercise. Examples of cheating include: copying from another's work or receiving unauthorized assistance from another; using a calculator, computer, or the internet when its use has been precluded; collaborating with another or others without the consent of the instructor; submitting another's work as one's own.

Fabrication involves inventing or counterfeiting information—creating results not properly obtained through study or laboratory experiment. Falsification involves deliberate alteration or changing of results to suit one's needs in an experiment or academic exercise.

Multiple submissions involves submitting academic work in a current course when academic credit for the work was previously earned in another course, when such submission is made without the current course instructor's authorization.

Misuse of academic materials includes: theft/destruction of library or reference materials or computer programs; theft/destruction of another student's notes or materials; unauthorized possession of another student's notes or materials; theft/destruction of examinations, papers, or assignments; unauthorized assistance in locating/using sources of information when forbidden or not authorized by the instructor; unauthorized possession, disposition, or use of examinations or answer keys; unauthorized alteration, forgery, fabrication, or falsification of academic records; unauthorized sale or purchase of examinations, papers, or assignments.

Complicity in academic dishonesty involves knowingly contributing to or cooperating with another's act(s) of academic dishonesty.

- Accommodations http://www.ucdenver.edu/student-services/resources/disability-resources-services/accommodations/Pages/accommodations.aspx
- Academic Freedom http://www.ucdenver.edu/policy/pages/academic-Freedom.aspx

- Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) http://www.ucdenver.edu/student-services/registrar/students/policies/Pages/StudentPrivacy.aspx
- Attendance - <u>http://www.ucdenver.edu/faculty_staff/employees/policies/Policies%20Library/OAA/StudentA</u> ttendance.pdf
- Discrimination and Harassment Policy and Procedures http://www.ucdenver.edu/about/WhoWeAre/Chancellor/ViceChancellors/Provost/StudentAf
 fairs/UniversityLife/sexualmisconduct/DenverPolices/Pages/DenverWelcome.aspx
- Grade Appeal Policy http://www.ucdenver.edu/policy/Documents/Process-for-Grade-lssues.pdf