

ASH INSTITUTE

**FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE
AND INNOVATION**

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY



JOHN F. KENNEDY
SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

**Practicing Democracy:
How Political Arrangements
Promote Equal Citizenship . . . or
Not**

April 27, 2007

**Organized by
Kay L. Schlozman
J. Joseph Moakley Endowed Professor of Political
Science
Boston College**

2006-2007 Ash Institute Visiting Fellow

**Practicing Democracy:
How Political Arrangements Promote Equal Citizenship . . . or Not
Friday, April 27, 2007**

9:00 am

**Session 1: Political Money and Campaign Finance - Chair: David King
Presenter - Michael Malbin, Campaign Finance Institute
Commentator 1 - Raymond La Raja, University of Massachusetts-Amherst
Commentator 2 - John Bonifaz, National Voting Rights Institute
Discussion**

10:30 - 10:45: Break

10:45 am

**Session 2: Citizenship and Enfranchisement - Chair: Alexander Keyssar
Presenter - Michael Jones-Correa, Cornell University
Commentator 1 - Melissa Nobles, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Commentator 2 - Chris Leonard, Association of Community Organizations
for Reform Now (ACORN)
Discussion**

12:05 – 1:30: Lunch

1:30 pm

**Session 3: Representing Groups - Chair: Jane Mansbridge
Presenter - Mona Lena Krook, Washington University – St. Louis
Commentator 1 - Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University
Commentator 2 - Debo Adegbile, NAACP Legal Defense Fund
Discussion**

2:50 - 3:00: Break

3:00 pm

**Session 4: Ballot Integrity and Prevention of Electoral Corruption
Chair: Archon Fung
Presenter - Henry Brady, University of California-Berkeley
Commentator 1 - Ted Selker, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Commentator 2 - Deborah L. Markowitz, State of Vermont
Discussion**

4:20 – 4:30: Closing Remarks: Kay Schlozman; Gowher Rizvi



Dear Friends,

Welcome to the workshop on "Practicing Democracy: How Political Arrangements Promote Equal Citizenship . . . or Not." We are delighted to host you here at the Ash Institute and hope you find the discussions productive. The topic is of central concern to the Ash Institute and to democratic practices across the world today.

We are particularly grateful to Professor Kay Schlozman and the distinguished group of scholars and practitioners who will address these important issues today.

If there is anything further that we can do to facilitate your discussion and participation, please let us know.

With all good wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Gowher Rizvi". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent initial "G".

**Gowher Rizvi
Director
Ash Institute
www.ashinstitute.harvard.edu**

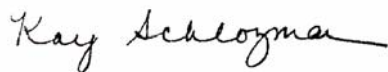
Dear Colleagues and Friends,

Welcome to the workshop, “Practicing Democracy: How Political Arrangements Promote Equal Citizenship . . . or Not,” sponsored by the Roy and Lila Ash Institute for Democratic Governance and Innovation.

Political arrangements can have consequences for equal citizenship in various ways: for example, by controlling who is considered a citizen or which citizens have the right to participate fully in governing ; by facilitating or inhibiting the conversion of market resources into political influence; by creating circumstances in which some votes count more than others; by affecting the likelihood that citizens will be able to elect candidates of their choice; by fostering the representation of particular interests.

Our sessions will focus on the political institutions, procedural rules, and representative arrangements that have implications for democratic equality among citizens. The approach will be explicitly comparative, placing American practices in the context of political arrangements in other democracies -- both long-established ones and, where appropriate, emerging ones. Consistent with the mission of the Ash Institute, the participants in the workshop include practitioners as well as academics. I hope that our conversations are lively and productive.

With All Best Wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Kay Schlozman". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

**Kay Schlozman
Ash Institute Visiting Fellow**

Session 1: Political Money and Campaign Finance

Overview

Michael Malbin
Campaign Finance Institute and
State University of New York at Albany

Any mass democracy presupposes some form of indirect communication with voters. These communications cost money; someone must bear the cost. In the United States and most other countries, most political money comes from private contributions. This in turn results in a system that is dependent financially on people whose issue agendas frequently are not the same as their fellow citizens at the other end of the economic ladder. Major donors in the U.S. (those who give \$1000 or more) are substantially wealthier on average than small donors (\$200 or less) who in turn are wealthier than non-donors. Meanwhile, candidates devote their time to courting these major givers, making competition difficult for candidates not willing or able to do the same. These facts are well known and not surprising. The real question is whether public policy can and should produce a substantially more equal campaign finance system.

The “problem of equality” in money and politics refers to at least two different issues, one each relating to candidates and donors. For candidates, the playing field can be leveled and the voters given more choices through any program that recognizes a public value in giving at least some public financial support to credible candidates who pass a reasonable qualification threshold. That support can be given in cash, which is the mode generally followed in the U.S., or in-kind (for example through subsidized communications) which is the method used in some other countries.

With respect to donors, however, the problem is both more fundamental and more complicated. Campaign finance regulation has been a blunt tool for promoting political equality among citizens. That is because the fundamental need is to empower or encourage those who do *not* now participate, while most existing law focuses on restraining those who do participate now. Of course, these two are somewhat related. Where there are no limits on contributions, candidates may have little incentive to reach out to small donors. But using contribution or spending limits can only take you so far. In a regime in which free speech is protected, and where the lines between electoral and issue speech are intrinsically vague, it is impossible to

use limits to prevent the motivated wealthy or well organized from spending independently to influence elections.

We suspect that a more promising path may be to focus on policies that aim directly at awakening the sleeping giant of campaign finance in the U.S.; the nine or more out of every ten people who give nothing at all.

The Campaign Finance Institute has recently undertaken a massive project to put this suspicion to the empirical test. The project will look at multiple states with a variety of programs: we will be looking at tax credits (which are also available in Canada), rebates (which is the closest thing to vouchers in existing law), systems that give four-for-one public matching funds for small contributions, and full public funding or “Clean Money” systems.

As scholars, we do not know which has the best potential for enhancing participation. But if we are neutral with respect to means, we are not with respect to ends. If the goal is equality, it would be better to shift the focus away from convoluted mechanisms toward direct ones. Systems need to be tested directly by whether they in fact live up to the goal of bringing more people into the system, advancing equality by enlarging the playing field.

David King Chair

David C. King is Lecturer in Public Policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, where he also serves as Research Director for the Institute of Politics and is on the Executive Committee of the Center for American Political Studies. He lectures on the U.S. Congress, interest groups, and political parties. He joined the Harvard faculty in 1992.

In the wake of the 2000 presidential elections, Professor King directed the Task Force on Election Administration for the National Commission on Election Reform, chaired by former presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. That effort culminated in landmark voting rights legislation signed by President Bush in late 2002.

He is the Faculty Director of Harvard's program for Newly Elected Members of the U.S. Congress. He has run similar programs for the State Duma of the Russian Federation, and has advised on legislative design issues in several countries, including South Korea, Nicaragua, Chile, and

Bolivia. Professor King also oversees Harvard's surveys of young peoples' interests in community service and politics.

Professor King is co-author of *The Generation of Trust: Public Confidence in the U.S. Military Since Vietnam*, (2003), author of *Turf Wars: How Congressional Committees Claim Jurisdiction* (1997), and co-editor of *Why People Don't Trust Government* (1997).

Michael Malbin Presenter

Michael J. Malbin, Executive Director of the Campaign Finance Institute (CFI) since it opened in 1999, is also a Professor of Political Science at the State University of New York at Albany. One of the country's leading scholars in the field of campaign finance, he has written extensively about money and politics for more than three decades.

His recent co-authored books include: *The Election After Reform: Money, Politics and the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act* (2006); *Life After Reform: When the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act Meets Politics* (2003); *The Day After Reform: Sobering Campaign Finance Lessons from the American States* (1998) and *Vital Statistics on Congress*.

Before joining the faculty at SUNY in 1990, he was a reporter for *National Journal*, Resident Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, Associate Director of the House Republican Conference and Speechwriter to the Secretary of Defense. Concurrent with his SUNY appointment, he has held appointments as a member of the National Humanities Council, Visiting Professor at Yale University and a Guest Scholar at The Brookings Institution.

Professor Raymond La Raja Commentator

Raymond J. La Raja is an Assistant Professor in Political Science at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, as well as an editor of *The Forum*, an electronic journal of applied research in contemporary American politics.

His research on American political parties, interest groups, and consequences of electoral reforms has appeared in numerous journals and edited volumes. His forthcoming book on campaign finance reform called *Small Change: Money, Political Parties and Campaign Finance Reform*, will be released by the University of Michigan Press in the fall.

He also serves on the Academic Advisory Board of the Campaign Finance Institute in Washington, D.C.

Professor La Raja received his B.A. and M.P.P. from Harvard University and his Ph.D. in political science from UC Berkeley.

John Bonifaz Commentator

John C. Bonifaz is the founder of the National Voting Rights Institute and serves as a Senior Legal Fellow at Demos in its Democracy Program.

He has been at the forefront of key voting rights battles in the country over the past dozen years and he led the fight in the federal courts in Ohio for a recount of the 2004 presidential vote in that state. He has pioneered a series of court challenges that have helped to redefine the campaign finance question as a basic voting rights issue of our time. He has worked to defend laws passed at the state level, which overhaul the campaign finance system and open up the political process to all candidates and voters, regardless of economic status.

From January through September 2006, he took a leave from the National Voting Rights Institute to run as a Democratic candidate for Massachusetts Secretary of State, garnering nearly 130,000 votes in a primary fight against a 12-year incumbent.

John Bonifaz is a 1992 cum laude graduate of Harvard Law School and a 1999 recipient of a MacArthur Foundation Fellowship. In the spring of 2007, he will be serving as an adjunct member of the faculty at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, teaching a course on advocating for democracy in the United States.

Session 2: Citizenship and Enfranchisement

Overview

Michael Jones-Correa
Cornell University

Countries differ markedly in their expectations for citizens, and the accommodations they make for individuals to participate fully as citizens. In my comments, I propose to outline the ways in which institutions structure the ‘rules of the game’ for political participation, and the ways in which these rules either facilitate or detract from the participation of citizens, particularly that of naturalized citizens, new arrivals to the polity.

There is a rich and vibrant literature on political participation. Though the focus since the 1960s has been on individual characteristics and participation, increasingly there is an appreciation of the ways in which individuals are influenced by their social networks and institutional contexts. Participation, then, is not simply a function of a bundle of socio-economic traits—education, income, age, etc.—but of the interaction between individuals and networks, on the one hand—churches, civic groups, work places, neighborhoods, friends and family—and institutions—if thinking of electoral participation, than aspects such as registration and voting requirements, bilingual balloting, felony disenfranchisement, voting equipment, etc., all play a role.

In my talk, I’ll focus on two aspects of these networks and contexts which have shaped debates in both Europe and the United States, both having to do with the reception and incorporation of diverse immigrants into democratic societies.

The first will be the question of immigrant transnational ties, their links to their countries of origin, and whether these undermine their participation and commitment to their new country of residence. The second will be the shifts in electoral institutions, particularly in the United States, and how these might affect immigrant participation in electoral politics.

In addressing these two issues, I’ll draw more generally on the European and U.S. literatures on immigrant incorporation, and specifically on the results of the recently completed 2006 Latino National Survey.

Networks and institutions both shape political participation—whether naturalization, civic participation or registration and voting—but not necessarily in the ways public debates suggest. Transnational ties do influence commitments to immigrants’ receiving countries—but not all ties

have the same effects. Likewise, institutions can have positive or negative effects on ethnic and immigrant participation. Untangling and better understanding these relationships will make for more informed debates, and better public policy, around citizenship and enfranchisement.

Alexander Keyssar Chair

Alexander Keyssar is the Stirling Professor of History and Social Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

His 1986 book, *Out of Work: the First Century of Unemployment in Massachusetts*, was awarded several scholarly prizes, including the Frederick Jackson Turner Award of the Organization of American Historians; it was also named a Notable Book of the Year by *The New York Times*. In 2000, he published *The Right to Vote: the Contested History of Democracy in the United States*, which received the Beveridge Prize from the American Historical Association and was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize, *The Los Angeles Times* Book Prizes Award, and the Francis Parkman Prize. He is co-author of *Inventing America: A History of the United States* and has written widely on public policy issues in the popular press.

In 2004/5, He chaired the Social Science Research Council's National Research Commission on Voting and Elections. His current research interests include election reform, the history of democracies, and the history of poverty.

Professor Keyssar received his Ph.D. in the History of American Civilization at Harvard and has also taught at Brandeis University, Duke University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Michael Jones-Correa Presenter

Michael Jones-Correa is Professor of Government at Cornell University. He taught at Harvard University as an Assistant and Associate Professor of Government from 1994 to 2001, and has been a Visiting Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars 2003-2004 and a Visiting Scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation 1998-1999.

Professor Jones-Correa is the author of *Between Two Nations: The Political Predicament of Latinos in New York City* (Cornell, 1998), and the editor of *Governing American Cities: Inter-Ethnic Coalitions, Competition and Conflict* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2001). He has also written two dozen articles and book chapters on, among other things, the diffusion of racial restrictive covenants, religion and political participation, Latino identity and politics, the role of gender in shaping immigrant politics, dual nationality, immigrant naturalization and voting, and Hispanics as a foreign policy lobby.

He is currently working on three major projects: increasing ethnic diversity of suburbs and its implication for local and national politics; a multi-authored analysis of a 2006 national and state-stratified survey of Latinos in the United States; and the re-negotiation of ethnic relations in the aftermath of civil disturbances in New York, Los Angeles, Miami, and Washington D.C.

Professor Jones-Correa's research and teaching interests include, among other things, political participation and incorporation, immigrant politics and immigration policy, minority politics and inter-ethnic relations in the United States, and urban and suburban politics.

Melissa Nobles Commentator

Melissa Nobles is Associate Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Professor Nobles' teaching and research interests are in the comparative study of racial and ethnic politics, nationalism, and issues of retrospective justice. Her book, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford University Press, 2000), examines the political origins and consequences of racial categorization in demographic censuses in the United States and Brazil.

Her book, *The Politics of Official Apologies*, (forthcoming, Cambridge University Press), comparatively examines the political uses of official apologies in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the U.S. It explores why minority groups demand such apologies and why governments give them (or not). She argues that official apologies are tactics used in larger political strategies to alter the terms and meanings of political membership.

Professor Nobles holds a B.A. in history from Brown University and an M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from Yale University. Her book, *Shades of Citizenship*, received the Outstanding Book Award for 2001 from the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, as well as an Honorable Mention for the Ralph Bunch Book Award from the American Political Science Association. Nobles has also been a Fellow at Boston University's Institute on Race and Social Division (2000-01) and Harvard University's Radcliffe Center for Advanced Study (2003-04).

Chris Leonard Commentator

Chris Leonard has been a member of ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now) since 1983. In Boston, he has served as campaign director and head organizer leading ACORN's nonpartisan voter registration and turnout campaign, which increased voter turnout by 29% in 5 targeted low-income, majority-minority precincts.

In Philadelphia, while serving as field organizer, he maintained three active neighborhood chapters and organized community groups to give voice to community concerns on issues of safety, recreation, schools, housing, lending, city services delivery, and cleaner neighborhoods.

As field director and head organizer in Washington, D.C., he led efforts to have owners of an extremely distressed apartment complex of 264 units (one-third vacant) cede ownership of the property to a non-profit housing developer and management organization. He convinced owners of another distressed property with 24 low-income Vietnamese, African-American, and Spanish speaking tenants to sell and helped tenants exercise their right of first refusal to purchase their units and do a moderate rehab.

In his multiple roles with ACORN, Chris Leonard has led local and state campaigns to win justice for low-income families and has mentored hundreds of grassroots community leaders.

Session 3: Representing Groups

Overview

Mona Lena Krook
Washington University, St. Louis

In recent years, countries around the world have established measures to guarantee the representation of women and minorities in various kinds of elected assemblies. Existing research tends to address these groups together as presenting analogous challenges to political representation. However, a closer look at various theoretical arguments, as well as their applications in empirical work, reveals at least three distinct approaches to sex and race as political identities.

- The first emphasizes common features of the experiences of women and minorities, drawing on these to delineate criteria for selecting groups in need of increased representation.
- A second recognizes some similarities but places identities in an implicit or explicit hierarchy of importance.
- A third stresses differences in the challenges to existing states posed by women and minorities, which leads these groups, more often than not, to compete with each other for group representation.

What unites all three approaches are their assumptions about the inherent nature of sex and race as political cleavages: they presume that features internal to these groups justify and indeed suggest concrete policies for – their increased political representation.

While these intuitions are widespread, they do not hold up against empirical evidence: none of these accounts can explain actual patterns in the guarantees that have been made to women and minorities. On the contrary, data from around the world suggests that political struggles and concerns influence the recognition of particular identities, the choice of specific ‘repertoires’ of group representation, and the reasons behind the diffusion of representational guarantees.

These points will be illustrated through a comparison of four cases where proposals have been made to promote the representation of women

and minorities, revealing the various ways in which actors choose identity groups, design measures, and garner support for policy reform.

Analyzed individually, these examples offer distinct insights as to the nature of political cleavages. Viewed in conjunction with one another, however, they call attention to the crucial role of politics in shaping the access of women and minorities to positions of political power.

Jane Mansbridge Chair

Jane Mansbridge is the Adams Professor of Political Leadership and Democratic Values at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

She is the author of *Beyond Adversary Democracy and Why We Lost the ERA*, and editor of *Beyond Self-Interest, Feminism* (with Susan Moller Okin), and *Oppositional Consciousness* (with Aldon Morris).

Her current projects include *Everyday Feminism*, on the “everyday activism” of low-income non-politicized women, work on self-interest in deliberative democracy, and an article on the selection model of political representation.

Mona Lena Krook Presenter

Mona Lena Krook is Assistant Professor of Political Science and Women and Gender Studies at Washington University in St. Louis.

Her research examines the adoption, implementation, and impact of quotas for the selection of female candidates to political office. Her most recent publications address the global diffusion of gender quotas, the normative dimensions of quota reform, and the broader significance of quota policies to existing political processes.

Her current project seeks to extend this work to comparisons with debates over quotas for minorities and other politically marginalized groups.

Professor Krook received her Ph.D. in Political Science from Columbia University

Eileen McDonagh
Commentator

Eileen McDonagh is Professor of Political Science at Northeastern University and a Visiting Scholar at the Institute for Quantitative Social Science at Harvard University.

She has published extensively in research areas inclusive of reproductive rights, women and politics, American political development, and sport policies. She has received research support from the National Science Foundation and from a number of private foundations, including the AAUW Research Scholar Fellowship for 2004-2006.

Professor McDonagh is the author of *Breaking the Abortion Deadlock: From Choice to Consent* (Oxford University Press, 1996). Her book manuscript analyzing sex equality in sports, *Playing with the Boys: Separate Is Not Equal in Sports*, is in press (Oxford University Press, 2007, co-authored with Laura Pappano). She also has a forthcoming manuscript analyzing a cross-national study of women's political leadership patterns, *Gender and the State: Bringing Maternalism Back-In to Democracies* (University of Chicago Press, 2008).

She is the Founder and Director of the Pro-Consent Coalition, a non-profit educational organization for the protection of women's abortion rights: www.proconsent.org.

Professor McDonagh graduated from USC and earned her M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the Government Department at Harvard.

Debo Adegbile
Commentator

Debo P. Adegbile is Associate Director of Litigation at the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (LDF) where he works with the Director of Litigation to oversee the organization's legal program in the areas of Criminal Justice, Economic Justice, Education, and Political Participation, while remaining actively engaged in voting rights litigation and advocacy.

His litigation experience with the LDF encompasses constitutional cases, actions arising under the Voting Rights Act (VRA) and other civil rights statutes, as well as state and federal legislative advocacy. Recently, he concluded two years of legislative activity in collaboration with numerous

local and national partners, which resulted in the reauthorization of the expiring provisions of the VRA.

During his work on the VRA renewal, he served as lead trial counsel in the Voting Rights Act case, *Wallace v. Blanco*, in which the LDF litigated several issues relating to the voting rights of New Orleans' Hurricane Katrina evacuees.

In the 2006, 2004, and 2002 federal elections, he served as a coordinator of the national, non-partisan Election Protection Program. In 2003, he served as the lead counsel for African-American intervenors in *Louisiana House of Representatives v. Ashcroft, et.al.* From 1994-2001, Mr. Adegbile was an Associate at the law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton, & Garrison where he litigated several complex commercial and civil rights cases.

Debo Adegbile earned his J.D. from the New York University School of Law.

Session 4: Ballot Integrity and Prevention of Electoral Corruption

Session Overview

Accuracy and Security in Voting Systems Henry Brady and Iris Hui University of California, Berkeley

Why did the debate about voting systems change so radically between 2000 and 2005 from a concern with accuracy and fairness to a preoccupation with security and trustworthiness? How did this change in emphasis affect public policy? And is the current emphasis upon security the right one?

The presidential election events in Florida in 2000 brought to the fore questions about accuracy and fairness, largely, but not exclusively, related to punch card voting. The events also heightened partisan fears about voting systems, and led to a spate of law suits regarding punch card systems. In subsequent years, a new definition of the “voting systems problem” developed as a result of several converging trends.

The effort to get rid of punch cards through court cases and legislation helped reduce concerns about punch card systems, but it did so without leaving a legacy of case law or legislation devoted to improving accuracy and securing equal protection by setting standards for reducing residual vote levels. It would be interesting to think of counterfactual possibilities such as what would have happened had punch cards been defended more vigorously by election officials? What would have happened if some of the “near-miss” court cases had established residual vote measures as important indicators of voting system performance?

The availability of Help America Vote Act funds after 2002 made it possible for localities to consider buying electronic machines which had become cheaper and somewhat better as a result of the continuing advances in chip-making and electronics.

But partisan fears about stolen elections and growing fears over the role of computers in American life (perhaps further fueled by the horrific events of 9/11) led to a concern with electronic voting. Finally, a social movement started on the Internet in 2003 by computer scientists and others crystallized these concerns and provided a seemingly simple solution to the problem of security—the use of voter verified paper trails with electronic voting.

The “verified voter” movement and its more extreme cousin “black box voting” brilliantly touched a nerve in American politics that was exposed by the presidential election fiasco in Florida in 2000. Using what Richard Hofstadter called the “paranoid style” in American politics, some parts of the movement, especially the “black box wing” have engaged in “heated exaggeration, suspiciousness, and conspiratorial fantasy” to make its case. This style, made famous by Joe McCarthy, attributes defeats, such as the ones the Democrats suffered from 2000 until 2006, to a dark, sinister conspiracy. In the case of voting systems, some computer scientists have used their specialized knowledge and prestige to refer to possibilities that only they can fully comprehend, but that, if known to the general public, would be frightening in the extreme, and when pressed for examples about actual incidents they have often responded with “How would you know?” The answer, of course, is that you could generally know by parallel monitoring or by analyzing voting statistics, but that is a tedious and complicated business.

At the same time, of course, the voting-machine manufacturers have helped exacerbate the problem by writing sloppy code, designing vulnerable machines, and sometimes refusing to release source code, not to mention writing ill-advised political fund raising letters. There are, in fact, real problems with voting-system security which need to be addressed. As Hofstadter noted, “nothing really prevents a sound program or demand from being advocated in the paranoid style.” Is the voter-verified ballot a good idea? If it were costless and easy to implement, it would be an excellent idea. Unfortunately, it is neither, but it is certainly not a bad idea, and it may be the best way to quiet fears unleashed regarding electronic voting. Advances in technology and worries about computer security—not to mention the populist logic of the voter-verified paper trail idea and the very effective campaign waged by computer scientists—appear to be leading to national standards for paper trails.

So have we made any progress over the past six years? None of the strategies that have been pursued to improve voting systems including court cases, federal legislation, and the verified-voting social movement, has really solved the system’s problems although some progress has been made. Court cases are slow, incremental, and often poor instruments for changing administrative systems. National legislation has been limited by partisan differences over the causes and nature of voting system failures and by the power of American federalism—especially the power of local election officials. The “verified-voting” social movement has become enormously powerful, but it has mostly focused on one thing, security issues for DRE

voting systems, and it has both encountered substantial opposition from election administrators and it has focused almost all of its and the media's attention on the one issue of security when many others, such as poor registration systems, inaccurate voting systems, and poorly trained poll workers, are equally pressing and important.

The result has been a failure to consider all of the risks of voting systems, not just security risks but human factors risks as well, and to often focus on only one side of the risk equation, such as the vulnerabilities of electronic systems to software problems without considering the nature of the threats.

One approach that might get beyond the current focus on one thing at a time would be to develop risk analyses that considered all of the risks of voting systems and that utilized measures of performance. We have shown in a series of papers that it is possible to get a meaningful measure of performance for accuracy by using residual vote analysis and sophisticated statistical and mapping techniques. Moreover, the mapping techniques have something in common with the voter-verified ballot idea, they are very compelling. The problem becomes immediately clear to anyone who will look. Perhaps that is the device that proponents of accuracy and fairness need to make their case.

Archon Fung Chair

Archon Fung is Associate Professor of Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government. His research examines the impacts of civic participation, public deliberation, and transparency upon public and private governance and how participation and deliberation can make contemporary public governance more fair and effective.

His *Empowered Participation: Reinventing Urban Democracy* examines two participatory-democratic reform efforts in low-income Chicago neighborhoods. His current projects examine initiatives in ecosystem management, toxins reduction, endangered species protection, local governance, and international labor standards. His recent books and edited collections include *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*; *Can We Eliminate Sweatshops?*; *Working Capital: The Power of Labor's Pensions*; and *Beyond Backyard*

Environmentalism. His most recent book is, *Full Disclosure: The Perils and Promise of Transparency*, (co-authored with Mary Graham and David Weil).

His articles on regulation, rights, and participation appear in *Political Theory*; *Journal of Political Philosophy*; *Politics and Society*; *Governance*; *Environmental Management*; *American Behavioral Scientist*; and *Boston Review*.

Professor Fung received two Bachelor of Science degrees and a PhD from MIT.

Henry Brady **Presenter**

Henry E. Brady is the Class of 1941 Monroe Deutsch Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley, with appointments in the Department of Political Science and the Goldman School of Public Policy.

Professor Brady's scholarly work includes publications on political methodology, political behavior, and public policy. His work is tied together by an interest in the interaction between the mass public and elites in both democratic and transitional societies. He has published on American, Canadian, Estonian, and Russian public opinion, elections, and political participation, and on public policy topics including voting systems, social welfare policy, computers and the social sciences, and the demographics of education in California. He is the author or co-author of over sixty professional articles and half a dozen books including *Letting the People Decide* (1992) on the Canadian election of 1988 (winner of the Canadian government's Harold Adams Innis Award for best book in the social sciences), *Voice and Equality* (1995) on political participation in America, *Expensive Children in Poor Families: The Intersection of Childhood Disability and Welfare* (2000), *Rethinking Social Inquiry* (2004) about utilizing both qualitative and quantitative methods (winner of the Sartori Award), *Capturing Campaign Effects* (2006) on studying political campaigns, and the forthcoming *Gathering Voices: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*.

In 2004 Professor Brady was elected as a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 2006, a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and is a past President of the Political Methodology Society.

Ted Selker

Commentator

Ted Selker is an Associate Professor at the MIT Media and Arts Technology Laboratory and the Director of the Context Aware Computing Lab. He is also Director of Counter Intelligence, a forum discussing kitchens and domestic technology, lifestyles and supply changes as a result of technology. Professor Selker is creating the Industrial Design Intelligence forum to discuss the need to understand cognitive science and quantitative experiments in doing product design. Additionally, in March 2004, he was named Co-Director of the MIT/Caltech Voting Project.

Prior to joining MIT in November 1999, he directed the User Systems Ergonomics Research Lab at the IBM Almaden Research Center, where he became an IBM Fellow in 1996. He has served as a consulting professor at Stanford University, taught at Hampshire College, University of Massachusetts at Amherst and Brown University and worked at Xerox, Palo Alto Research Center (PARC) and Atari Research Labs.

His research has contributed to products ranging from notebook computers to operating systems. He is known for the design of the "TrackPoint III" in-keyboard pointing device now found in Compaq, Fujitsu, HP, IBM, Sony, TI, and other computers, for creating the "COACH" adaptive agent that improves user performance (Warp Guides in OS/2), and for the design of the 755CV notebook computer that doubles as an LCD projector.

Professor Selker is the author of 18 patents and 20 papers in refereed journals and conference proceedings. His inventions have received more than 30 awards from publications like *PC Magazine*, *Business Week*, and *BYTE*.

Deborah L. Markowitz

Commentator

Deborah Markowitz, now serving her fifth term in office, was elected Vermont's 37th Secretary of State in 1998. Secretary Markowitz is the constitutional officer chiefly responsible for Vermont's elections, the State Archives, professional licensing and business registrations, and for providing educational assistance to Vermont's local officials. She was the first woman to be elected Secretary of State in Vermont.

As Secretary of State, she has modernized the administration of Vermont's elections, resulting in fewer problems and complaints during elections. She implemented an ambitious election reform agenda that included widespread voter education and outreach programs. The results of her efforts are impressive: in the 2004 elections, Vermont had a near-record voter turnout (68%), with 20% of the voters exercising their right to vote early or by mail.

A graduate of the University of Vermont (B.A., 1983), Secretary Markowitz received her Juris Doctorate degree from the Georgetown University Law Center (magna cum laude, 1987). She served as a law clerk with Justice Louis Peck of the Vermont Supreme Court (1987 - 1988) and practiced law with Langrock, Sperry, Parker and Wool (1988 - 1990). She also served as the founding director of the Vermont League of Cities and Towns Municipal Law Center (1990 - 1997).

Secretary Markowitz has been recognized nationally for her leadership by being elected President of the National Association of Secretaries of State. She is on the Board of Advisors of the Federal Elections Assistance Commission and has been awarded an Aspen-Rodel Fellowship in Public Leadership.

Roy and Lila Ash Institute for Democratic Governance and Innovation

The Ash Institute for Democratic Governance and Innovation is dedicated to fostering democratic governance and innovation worldwide. By linking theory and practice, the Ash Institute seeks to increase understanding of democracy under changing conditions in the world and to disseminate best practices to public sector leaders. Four central activities support the mission of the Ash Institute:

Knowledge Building: Research and dissemination is a hallmark of the Ash Institute's continuing effort to catalyze innovation and explore the actual processes of democracy. Research results in papers, monographs, books and case studies, which are used in the Kennedy School's management curriculum and in other programs.

Teaching and Training: The Ash Institute has developed a number of course materials for the Kennedy School's MPP and MPA programs, and our "Innovations in Government" executive training course has attracted participants from more than 65 countries.

Global Network: Our Global Network is a worldwide community of leaders dedicated to effective government and public service management. It is supported by an online platform, the Government Innovators Network, a dynamic means of sustaining a community of innovators in government, academia, research, the media and private organizations.

Innovations in American Government Awards Program: The Innovations in American Government Awards Program identifies, promotes and helps replicate best practices and exemplary projects that can be adopted in other settings, providing public officials and senior executives with innovative leadership models.