

Political Science 485-001: Election Forensics

Fall 2022

Monday, Wednesday 2:30–4 (1427 MH)

Professor: Walter R. Mebane, Jr.

Office: 7735 Haven Hall; email wmebane@umich.edu

Office hours: Tue 1–3 or other times by appointment.

Course web page: in Canvass; syllabus also at <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/ps485.html>

Assignment Due Dates

due date	description	weight
—	short papers	20%
Nov 16	fraud statistics exercise	10%
Nov 21	proposal for final paper	10%
Dec 12, noon	final paper (see file fpaper.pdf)	30%
—	participation (includes discussion instigation)	10%
Dec 16, 4pm–6pm	final exam	20%

The course incorporates many features of a seminar. Practically this means two things. First, for each course topic 3 through 8 students are responsible for instigating discussion with the assigned reading as a point of departure. Following a voluntary sign-up period, the assignments of students to topics will be posted on Canvas. Second, pertaining to **two** of the first eight topics, every student must submit a paper that raises some analytically interesting point addressed or raised by the course readings. These papers may focus on either required or recommended reading. Additional reading may be drawn in but not substitute for some reference to reading listed on the syllabus. One of the topics must be the topic that student has been assigned as a discussion instigator. The other may be freely chosen. The papers should pertain to distinct topics. Each paper is due at the beginning of the class meeting during which the topic (or specifically the reading the paper addresses) comes up. Grades for the papers will be counted separately from grades for the quality of discussion instigation.

Instigation grades will be part of “participation.” Students assigned to instigate discussion for a topic need to coordinate among themselves how they will take responsibility for kicking off the various classes encompassed by their topics. Typically instigation will involve the group making a brief (say 10–15 minutes) presentation to motivate and pose initial discussion points then continuing to supply comments and material to move discussion along. Each group that is not assigned to instigate discussion for a class meeting is expected to offer at least one significant intervention (response or question) during the class meeting.

Note that it will be possible to take the final exam earlier during exam week than the official time shown above. Details will be discussed in class and announced in detail later.

Reading Availability

Much of the course will refer to journal articles and papers posted on the Canvass course site. Other articles are easily found via Google or in <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/> or <https://www.lib.umich.edu/>. In the following listing, required reading is preceded by a bullet. Other items are recommended.

Class meeting and reading schedule

1. introduction (Aug 29–31)

- Lehoucq, Fabrice. 2003. “Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types, and Consequences,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 6 (June): 233–256. (in file `lehoucq.annurev.polisci.6.121901.pdf`)
- Francisco Cantú. 2019. “The Fingerprints of Fraud: Evidence from Mexico’s 1988 Presidential Election.” *American Political Science Review* 113 (3): 710–726. (in file `fingerprints_of_fraud_evidence_from_mexicos_1988_presidential_election.pdf`)
- Matt Bishop, Sean Peisert, Candice Hoke, Mark Graff and David Jefferson. 2009. “E-Voting and Forensics: Prying Open the Black Box.” 2009 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections, Montreal, August 10–11. (in file `bishop.pdf`)
- Michigan Bureau of Elections. 2020. “Election Security in Michigan.” (in file `Security_best_practices_693420_7.pdf`) and at https://www.michigan.gov/documents/sos/Security_best_practices_693420_7.pdf
- Mebane. 2022. “eforensics Analysis of the Kenya 2022 Presidential Election.” (in file `Kenya2022.pdf`) and at <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/Kenya2022.pdf>

Challú, Cristian, Enrique Seira and Alberto Simpser. 2020. “The Quality of Vote Tallies: Causes and Consequences.” *American Political Science Review* doi:10.1017/S0003055420000398, pp. 1–15. (in file `quality_of_vote_tallies_causes_and_consequences.pdf`)

Paul Mwangi & Company. 2022. “Republic of Kenya in the Supreme Court of Kenya at Nairobi, Presidential Election Petition No. of 2022.” (particularly notice pp. 51–52) (in file `PETITION-1_odinga.pdf`)

2. the US in 2000 (Sep 7–14)

- Jonathan N. Wand, Kenneth Shotts, Jasjeet S. Sekhon, Walter R. Mebane, Jr., Michael Herron and Henry E. Brady. 2001. “The Butterfly Did It: The Aberrant Vote for Buchanan in Palm Beach County, Florida.” *American Political Science Review* 95 (December): 793–810. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/butterfly.pdf>
- Henry E. Brady, Michael Herron, Walter R. Mebane, Jr., Jasjeet S. Sekhon, Kenneth Shotts and Jonathan Wand. 2001. “Law and Data: The Butterfly Ballot Episode.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34: 59–69. (in file `brady.etal.ps2001.pdf`)
- Mebane. 2004. “The Wrong Man is President! Overvotes in the 2000 Presidential Election in Florida.” *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (September): 525–535. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/mebane.pop2004.pdf>

Hasen, Richard L. 2004. “A Critical Guide to Bush v. Gore Scholarship,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 7: 297–313. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=491326>

Toobin, Jeffrey. 2001. *Too Close to Call*. New York: Random House.

Kirk Wolter, Diana Jergovic, Whitney Moore, Joe Murphy, Colm O’Muircheartaigh. 2003. “Reliability of the uncertified ballots in the 2000 presidential election in Florida.” *The American Statistician* 57 (1): 1–14.

Walter R. Mebane, Jr., and Jasjeet S. Sekhon. 2004. “Robust Estimation and Outlier Detection for Overdispersed Multinomial Models of Count Data.” *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (April): 392–411.

3. the US in 2016 and 2020 (Sep 19–21)

- Select Committee on Intelligence United States Senate. 2020. “Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 U.S. Election: Volume 5: Counterintelligence Threats and Vulnerabilities,” pages v–xiv, 1–7, 24–26, 27–30, 138, 153, 158–159, 170–173, 182–186, 199, 259–261, 322–323, 347–360, 364–373, 560, 663–668, 671–678. https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/report_volume5.pdf (in file `report_volume5.pdf`)
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. 2017. “Intelligence Community Assessment: Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections.” ICA 2017-01D, 6 January 2017. https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf (in file `ICA_2017_01.pdf`)
- Senator John Danforth, Benjamin Ginsberg, The Honorable Thomas B. Griffith, David Hoppe, The Honorable J. Michael Luttig, The Honorable Michael W. McConnell, The Honorable Theodore B. Olson and Senator Gordon H. Smith. 2022. “Lost, Not Stolen: The Conservative Case that Trump Lost and Biden Won the 2020 Presidential Election.” <https://lostnotstolen.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Lost-Not-Stolen-The-Conservative-Case-that-Trump-Lost-and-Biden-Won-the-2020-Presidential-Election-July-2022.pdf> (in file `Lost-Not-Stolen-The-Conservative-Case-that-Trump-Lost-and-Biden-Won-the-2020-Presidential-Election-July-2022.pdf`)
- Marc Fisher, Meagan Flynn, Jessica Contrera and Carol D. Leonnig. 2021. “The four-hour insurrection: How a Trump mob halted American democracy.” *Washington Post* January 7, 2021. Pages 1–42. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2021/politics/trump-insurrection-capitol/>
- The United States Attorney’s Office District of Columbia. 2021. “Capitol Breach Investigation Resource Page.” Browse at least five cases. <https://www.justice.gov/usao-dc/capitol-breach-cases>
- Walter R. Mebane, Jr., and Matthew Bernhard. 2017. “Effects of Voting Technologies and Recount Methods on Votes in Wisconsin and Michigan.” Working paper. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/recount2016.pdf>
- Robert M. Stein, Christopher Mann, Charles Stewart III, Zachary Birenbaum, Anson Fung, Jed Greenberg, Farhan Kawsar, Gayle Alberda, R. Michael Alvarez, Lonna Atkeson, Emily Beaulieu, Nathaniel A. Birkhead, Frederick J. Boehmke, Joshua Boston, Barry C. Burden, Francisco Cantu, Rachael Cobb, David Darmofal, Thomas C. Ellington, Terri Susan Fine, Charles J. Finocchiaro, Michael D. Gilbert, Victor Haynes, Brian Janssen, David Kimball, Charles Kromkowski, Elena Llaudet, Kenneth R. Mayer, Matthew R. Miles, David Miller, Lindsay Nielson, Yu Ouyang, Costas Panagopoulos, Andrew Reeves, Min Hee Seo, Haley Simmons, Corwin Smidt, Farrah M. Stone, Rachel VanSickle-Ward, Jennifer Nicoll Victor, Abby Wood, and Julie Wronski. 2019. “Waiting to Vote in the 2016 Presidential Election: Evidence from a Multi-county Study.” *Political Research Quarterly* 1–19. (in file `Stein et al. 2019 waiting to vote.pdf`)

- Stephen Pettigrew. 2017. “The Racial Gap in Wait Times: Why Minority Precincts Are Underserved by Local Election Officials.” *Political Science Quarterly* 132(3):527547 (in file polq.12657.pdf)
 - M. Keith Chen, Kareem Haggag, Devin G. Pope, and Ryne Rohla. 2020. “Racial Disparities in Voting Wait Times: Evidence from Smartphone Data.” https://www.kareemhaggag.com/f/Racial_Disparities_in_Voting_Wait_Times.pdf (in file Racial_Disparities_in_Voting_Wait_Times.pdf)
- Hannah Klain, Kevin Morris, Max Feldman, and Rebecca Ayala. 2020. “Waiting to Vote: Racial Disparities in Election Day Experiences” (at https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/2020-06/6_02_WaitingtoVote_FINAL.pdf).
- Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller. 2019. “Report on the Investigation into Russian Interference in the 2016 Presidential Election. Volume I of II,” pages 1–15, 22–66, 108–110, 114–123, 129–141, 174–199. https://www.justice.gov/storage/report_volume1.pdf (in file report_volume1.pdf)
- Select Committee on Intelligence United States Senate. 2019. “Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 U.S. Election: Volume 3: U.S. Government Response to Russian Activities,” pages 1–42. https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Report_Volume3.pdf (in file Report_Volume3.pdf)
- David Shimer. 2020. *Rigged: America, Russia, and One Hundred Years of Covert Electoral Interference*. New York: Knopf.
- U.S. Department of Homeland Security. 2017. “Statement by Secretary Jeh Johnson on the Designation of Election Infrastructure as a Critical Infrastructure Subsector,” Press Release, January 6, 2017. (in file STATEMENT FROM SECRETARY JOHNSON RE ELECTION INFRASTRUCTURE - FINAL.docx)
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2017. “Starting Point: U.S. Election Systems as Critical Infrastructure.” https://www.eac.gov/assets/1/6/starting_point_us_election_systems_as_Critical_Infrastructure.pdf (in file starting_point.us_election_systems_as_Critical_Infrastructure.pdf))
- Select Committee on Intelligence United States Senate. 2019. “Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 U.S. Election: Volume 1: Russian Efforts Against Election Infrastructure with Additional Views.” https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Report_Volume1.pdf (in file Report_Volume1.pdf)
- Select Committee on Intelligence United States Senate. 2019. “Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 U.S. Election: Volume 2: Russia’s Use of Social Media with Additional Views.” https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Report_Volume2.pdf (in file Report_Volume2.pdf)
- Select Committee on Intelligence United States Senate. 2019. “Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 U.S. Election: Volume 4: Review of the Intelligence Community Assessment with Additional Views.” https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Report_Volume4.pdf (in file Report_Volume4.pdf)

- Latanya Sweeney, Ji Su Yoo and Jinyan Zang. “Voter Identity Theft: Submitting Changes to Voter Registrations Online to Disrupt Elections.” *Technology Science* 2017090601. September 6, 2017. (in file `sweeney.yoo.zang.techscience2017.pdf`)
- James Lamond and Talia Dessel. 2019. “Democratic Resilience: A Comparative Review of Russian Interference in Democratic Elections and Lessons Learned for Securing Future Elections.”
<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2019/09/03/473770/democratic-resilience/>
- Renee DiResta, Kris Shaffer, Becky Ruppel, David Sullivan, Robert Matney, Ryan Fox, Jonathan Albright, Ben Johnson. 2019. “The Tactics & Tropes of the Internet Research Agency.”
<https://disinformationreport.blob.core.windows.net/disinformation-report/NewKnowledge-Disinformation-Report-Whitepaper-121718.pdf>
- Gillian Cleary. 2019. “Twitterbots: Anatomy of a Propaganda Campaign.”
<https://www.symantec.com/blogs/threat-intelligence/twitterbots-propaganda-disinformation>
- Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Kenneth R. Mayer, Donald P. Moynihan and Jacob R. Neihsel. 2017. “What Happens at the Polling Place: Using Administrative Data to Look Inside Elections.” *Public Administration Review* 77(3): 354–364. (in file `burden.etal.PAR2017.pdf`)
- Andrew C. Eggers, Haritz Garro, and Justin Grimmer. 2021. No evidence for systematic voter fraud: A guide to statistical claims about the 2020 election. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 118 (45): e2103619118.
<https://www.pnas.org/content/pnas/118/45/e2103619118.full.pdf> (in file `e2103619118.full.pdf`)

4. the US in 2004 and 2012 (Sep 26–28)

- Diane Feldman and Cornell Belcher. 2005. “DNC Voting Experience Survey.” Section III of *Democracy at Risk: The 2004 Election in Ohio*. Democratic National Committee, Voting Rights Institute, June 22, 2005.
<http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/Ohio2004/OhioReportCover2Cover.pdf>
- Diane Feldman and Cornell Belcher. 2005. “DNC Provisional Ballot Survey.” Section IV of *Democracy at Risk: The 2004 Election in Ohio*. Democratic National Committee, Voting Rights Institute, June 22, 2005.
<http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/Ohio2004/OhioReportCover2Cover.pdf>
- Tanner, John. 2005. Letter to Nick A. Soulas, Jr., Assistant Prosecuting Attorney, Franklin County, Ohio. June 29, 2005. (in file `franklin_oh.pdf`)
- Mebane. 2005. “Voting Machine Allocation in Franklin County, Ohio, 2004: Response to U.S. Department of Justice Letter of June 29, 2005.”
<http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/franklin2.pdf>
- William A. Edelstein and Arthur D. Edelstein. 2010. “Queuing and Elections: Long Lines, DREs and Paper Ballots.” 2010 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections, Washington, August 9–10.
http://www.usenix.org/event/evt2010/tech/full_papers/Edelstein.pdf (in file `Edelstein.pdf`)

- Presidential Commission on Election Administration. 2014. “The American Voting Experience: Report and Recommendations of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration.” January 2014. Sections II and III.B.2 (pp. 9–21 and 36–44). https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/eac_assets/1/6/Amer-Voting-Exper-final-draft-01-09-14-508.pdf. (in file [Amer-Voting-Exper-final-draft-01-09-14-508.pdf](#))
- Charles Stewart III and Stephen Ansolabehere. “Waiting in Line to Vote.” 2013. In “Appendix N, Long Lines and Wait Times” of Presidential Commission on Election Administration. 2014. “The American Voting Experience: Report and Recommendations of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration.” January 2014. (in file [Waiting-in-Line-to-Vote-White-Paper-Stewart-Ansolabehere.pdf](#) and at <https://www.eac.gov/documents/2017/02/24/waiting-in-line-to-vote-white-paper-stewart-ansolabehere/>).
- Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2016. “Precinct Resources and Voter Wait Times,” *Electoral Studies* 42: 249–263. (in file [herron.smith2016.pdf](#))
- Sharad Goel, Marc Meredith, Michael Morse, David Rothschild and Houshmand Shirani-Mehr. 2019. “One Person, One Vote: Estimating the Prevalence of Double Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections.” (in file [1p1v.pdf](#))

Presidential Commission on Election Administration. 2014. “VTP Toolkit.” (at <http://web.mit.edu/vtp/>).

Presidential Commission on Election Administration. 2014. “The American Voting Experience: Report and Recommendations of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration. Materials and Research Archive” (at <https://www.eac.gov/election-officials/pcea/materials-research-archive>).

Jeh Johnson. 2017. “Statement by Secretary Jeh Johnson on the Designation of Election Infrastructure as a Critical Infrastructure Subsector” (at <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2017/01/06/statement-secretary-johnson-designation-election-infrastructure-critical>).

U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2017. “U.S. Election Systems as Critical Infrastructure” (at https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/eac_assets/1/6/starting_point_us_election_systems_as_Critical_Infrastructure.pdf).

U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2017. “ELECTIONS - CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE” (at <https://www.eac.gov/election-officials/elections-critical-infrastructure/>).

Mark Lindeman. 2006. “Beyond Exit Poll Fundamentalism: Surveying the 2004 Election Debate.” Paper prepared for presentation at the 61st Annual Conference of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Montreal, Canada, May 18-21, 2006. (in file [beyond-epf.pdf](#))

Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International. 2005. “Evaluation of Edison/Mitofsky Election System 2004.” (in file [EvaluationJan192005.pdf](#))

House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff. 2005. *Preserving Democracy: What Went Wrong in Ohio*. (in file [final_status_report.pdf](#)).

Mebane. 2005. “Inferences from the DNC Provisional Ballot Voter Survey.” Section V of *Democracy at Risk: The 2004 Election in Ohio*. Democratic National Committee, Voting Rights Institute, June 22, 2005.

Walter R. Mebane, Jr., and Michael C. Herron. 2005. “Ohio 2004 Election: Turnout, Residual Votes and Votes in Precincts and Wards” and “Ohio 2004 Election: New Registrants, Provisional Ballots, Voting Machines, Turnout and Polls Open Elapsed Times in Franklin County Precincts.” Section VI of *Democracy at Risk: The 2004 Election in Ohio*. Democratic National Committee, Voting Rights Institute, June 22, 2005.

<http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/Ohio2004/OhioReportCover2Cover.pdf>

Bob Fittrakis, Steve Rosenfeld and Harvey Wasserman. 2006. *What Happened in Ohio: A Documentary Record of Theft and Fraud in the 2004 Election*.

Mark Crispin Miller. 2008. *Loser Take All: Election Fraud and The Subversion of Democracy, 2000 - 2008*.

5. voting technology (Oct 3)

- Ariel J. Feldman, J. Alex Halderman and Edward W. Felten. 2007. “Security Analysis of the Diebold AccuVote-TS Voting Machine.” 2007 USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop, Boston, August 6. (in file `feldman.pdf` and at http://www.usenix.org/event/evt07/tech/full_papers/feldman/feldman.pdf). See also the video `ts-voting.wmv` in the `Readings/ts-video` Canvas folder, available via Canvas Media Gallery.
- J. Alex Halderman, Eric Rescorla, Hovav Shacham and David Wagner. 2008. “You Go to Elections with the Voting System You Have: Stop-Gap Mitigations for Deployed Voting Systems.” 2008 USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop, San Jose, July 28–29. (in file `halderman.pdf` and at http://www.usenix.org/event/evt08/tech/full_papers/halderman/halderman.pdf)
- J. Alex Halderman. 2021. “Analysis of the Antrim County, Michigan November 2020 Election Incident.” March 26, 2021. https://www.michigan.gov/documents/sos/Antrim_720623_7.pdf. (in file `Antrim_720623_7.pdf`)
- Brennan Center Task Force on Voting System Security. 2006. *The Machinery of Democracy: Protecting Elections in an Electronic World*. http://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/d/download_file_36343.pdf
- Matthew Bernhard, Josh Benaloh, J. Alex Halderman, Ronald L. Rivest, Peter Y. A. Ryan, Philip B. Stark, Vanessa Teague, Poorvi L. Vora and Dan S. Wallach. 2017. “Public Evidence from Secret Ballots.” arXiv:1707.08619v2 [cs.CR] (in file `1707.08619.pdf`) and at <https://arxiv.org/abs/1707.08619>

VerifiedVoting. 2020. “Voting Equipment Database.”

<https://verifiedvoting.org/voting-equipment-search/>.

Matt Blaze, Harri Hursti, Margaret Macalpine, Mary Hanley, Jeff Moss, Rachel Wehr, Kendall Spencer, Christopher Ferris. 2019. “DEF CON 27 Voting Machine Hacking Village, August 2019.”

<https://media.defcon.org/DEF%20CON%2027/voting-village-report-defcon27.pdf> (in file `voting-village-report-defcon27.pdf`)

Andrew Appel. 2018. “Design flaw in Dominion ImageCast Evolution voting machine.” <https://freedom-to-tinker.com/2018/10/16/design-flaw-in-dominion-imagecast-evolution-voting-machine/>

Eric L. Lazarus, David L. Dill, Jeremy Epstein and Joseph Lorenzo Hall. 2011. “Applying a Reusable Election Threat Model at the County Level.” 2011 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections, San Francisco, August 8–9. (in file `Lazarus.pdf` and at http://www.usenix.org/event/evtwote11/tech/final_files/Lazarus.pdf)

EVEREST team. 2007. “EVEREST: Evaluation and Validation of Election-Related Equipment, Standards and Testing: Final Report.” (in file `everest.pdf` and at <http://www.patrickmcdaniel.org/pubs/everest.pdf>)

Ohio Secretary of State Jennifer Brunner. 2007. “Project E V E R E S T: Evaluation and Validation of Election Related Equipment, Standards and Testing: Report of Findings.” (in file `Everest.pdf`)

Debra Bowen, California Secretary of State. 2007. “Top-to-Bottom Review.” <https://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ovsta/frequently-requested-information/top-bottom-review/>

Presidential Commission on Election Administration. 2014. “Materials & Research.” See papers under heading “Voting Technology” at <https://www.eac.gov/election-officials/pcea/materials-research-archive>

Douglas W. Jones and Barbara Simons. 2012. *Broken Ballots: Will Your Vote Count?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Paul S. Herrnson, Richard G. Niemi, Michael J. Hanmer, Benjamin B. Bederson, Frederick G. Conrad and Michael W. Traugott. 2008. *Voting Technology: The Not-So-Simple Act of Casting a Ballot*. Washington: Brookings.

The Brennan Center for Justice Voting Technology Assessment Project. 2006. *The Machinery of Democracy: Voting System Security, Accessibility, Usability, and Cost*. https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/publications/Machinery_Democracy.pdf

Saltman, Roy G. 1988. “Accuracy, Integrity, and Security in Computerized Vote-Tallying.” NBS Special Publication 500-158. <http://nvlpubs.nist.gov/nistpubs/Legacy/SP/nbsspecialpublication500-158.pdf>

Michael C. Herron, Walter R. Mebane, Jr., and Jonathan N. Wand. 2008 “Voting Technology and the 2008 New Hampshire Primary.” *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, 17 (December): 351–374. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/NH2008HMW.pdf>

6. Sarasota 2006: electronic voting machines (Oct 5)

- Arlene Ash and John Lamperti. 2008. “Florida 2006: Can Statistics Tell Us Who Won Congressional District-13?” (with discussion by Hall and Mebane). *Chance* 21 (2): 18–27. (in file `ash.lamperti.chance2008.pdf`).
- Lawrence Norden, David Kimball, Whitney Quesenbery, and Margaret Chen. 2008. *Better Ballots*. Brennan Center for Justice. <https://www.brennancenter.org/publication/better-ballots>

- Frisina, Laurin, Michael C. Herron, James Honaker and Jeffrey B. Lewis. 2008. “Ballot Formats, Touchscreens, and Undervotes: A Study of the 2006 Midterm Elections in Florida.” *Election Law Journal* 7(1):25–47. (in file `frisina.etal.elj2008.pdf`).
- Mebane. 2008. “Machine Errors and Undervotes in Florida 2006 Revisited.” *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, 17 (December): 375–396.
<http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/howpaper2.pdf>

Adam Aviv, Pavol Cerný, Sandy Clark, Eric Cronin, Gaurav Shah, Micah Sherr and Matt Blaze. 2008. “Security Evaluation of ES&S Voting Machines and Election Management System.” 2008 USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop, San Jose, July 28–29. (in file `aviv.pdf` and at http://www.usenix.org/event/evt08/tech/full_papers/aviv/aviv.pdf)

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.

R. Michael Alvarez and Thad E. Hall. 2008. *Electronic Elections: The Perils and Promises of Digital Democracy*.

Marcia Lausen. 2007. *Design for Democracy: Ballot and Election Design*.

Mebane, Walter R., Jr., and David L. Dill. 2007. “Factors Associated with the Excessive CD-13 Undervote in the 2006 General Election in Sarasota County, Florida.” MS.
<http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/smachines1.pdf>

GAO. 2007. “ELECTIONS: Further Testing Could Provide Increased but Not Absolute Assurance That Voting Systems Did Not Cause Undervotes in Florida’s 13th Congressional District,” Statement before the Task Force on Florida-13, Committee on House Administration, House of Representatives. (in file `d0897t.pdf`).

Yasinsac, Alec, David Wagner, Matt Bishop, Ted Baker, Breno de Medeiros, Gary Tyson, Michael Shamos and Mike Burmester. 2007. “Software Review and Security Analysis of the ES&S iVotronic 8.0.1.2 Voting Machine Firmware.” Report. Security and Assurance in Information Technology Laboratory, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida, February 23, 2007. (in file `FinalAudRepSAIT.pdf`)

GAO. 2008. “ELECTIONS: Results of GAO’s Testing of Voting Systems Used in Sarasota County in Florida’s 13th Congressional District,” Statement before the Task Force on Florida-13, Committee on House Administration, House of Representatives. (in file `d08425t.pdf`).

D. A. Buell, E. Hare, F. Heindel, C. Moore and B. Zia. “Auditing a DRE-Based Election in South Carolina.” 2011 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections, San Francisco, August 8–9. (in file `Buell.pdf` and at http://www.usenix.org/event/evtwote11/tech/final_files/Buell.pdf)

7. post-election audits (Oct 10)

- Philip B. Stark and David A. Wagner. 2012. “Evidence-Based Elections.” *IEEE Security and Privacy* 10, 33–41. (in file `evidenceVote12.pdf` and at <http://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/evidenceVote12.pdf>)
- Mark Lindeman and Philip B. Stark. 2012. “A Gentle Introduction to Risk-Limiting Audits.” *IEEE Security and Privacy* 10, 42–49. (in file `gentle12.pdf` and at <http://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/gentle12.pdf>)

- Jennifer Morrell. 2019. “Knowing It’s Right, Part One: A Practical Guide to Risk-Limiting Audits.” (in file `2019_RLA_Part1_vFINAL.pdf`)
- Georgia Secretary of State. 2021. “Historic First Statewide Audit Of Paper Ballots Upholds Result Of Presidential Race.”
https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/elections/historic_first_statewide_audit_of_paper_ballots_upholds_result_of_presidential_race (in file `Historic First Statewide Audit Of Paper Ballots Upholds Result Of Presidential Race - Elections.pdf`)
- Joseph Lorenzo Hall, Philip B. Stark, Luke W. Miratrix, Melvin Briones, Elaine Ginnold, Freddie Oakley, Martin Peaden, Gail Pellerin, Tom Stanionis and Tricia Webber. 2009. “Implementing Risk-Limiting Post-Election Audits in California.” 2009 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections, Montreal, August 10–11. (in file `hall.pdf` and at http://www.usenix.org/event/evtwote09/tech/full_papers/hall.pdf)

Jennifer Morrell. 2019. “Knowing It’s Right, Part Two: Risk-Limiting Audit Implementation Workbook.” (in file `2019_RLA_Part2_vFINAL.pdf`)

Jennie Bretschneider, Sean Flaherty, Susannah Goodman, Mark Halvorson, Roger Johnston, Mark Lindeman, Ronald L. Rivest, Pam Smith and Philip B. Stark. 2012. “Risk-Limiting Post-Election Audits: Why and How” working paper draft. (in file `RLAWG12.pdf` and at <http://people.csail.mit.edu/rivest/pubs.html#RLAWG12>)

Mark Lindeman, Philip B. Stark and Vincent S. Yates. 2012. “BRAVO: Ballot-polling Risk-Limiting Audits to Verify Outcomes.” 2012 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections. (in file `evtwote12-final27.pdf` and at <https://www.usenix.org/system/files/conference/evtwote12/evtwote12-final27.pdf>)

Philip B. Stark. 2010. “Super-Simple Simultaneous Single-Ballot Risk-Limiting Audits.” 2010 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections, Washington, August 9–10. (in file `Stark.pdf` and at http://www.usenix.org/event/evtwote10/tech/full_papers/Stark.pdf)

U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2017. “POST ELECTION: AUDITS & RECOUNTS” (at <https://www.eac.gov/election-officials/post-election-audits-recounts/>).

Ronald L. Rivest. 2017. “Bayesian Post-Election Tabulation Audits Explained and Extended,” working paper draft. (in file `bayesx.pdf`)

Andrew W. Appel, Richard A. DeMillo, and Philip B. Stark. 2020. “Ballot-Marking Devices Cannot Ensure the Will of the Voters.” *Election Law Journal* 19 (3):432–450. (in file `e1j.2019.0619.pdf`)

8. strategic behavior I (Oct 12)

- Riker, William H. 1982. “The Two-Party System and Duverger’s Law: An Essay on the History of Political Science.” *American Political Science Review*, 76 (Dec.): 753–766. (in file `riker.apsr1982.pdf`)

- Gary W. Cox. 1994. Strategic Voting Equilibria Under the Single Nontransferable Vote. *American Political Science Review* 88 (Sep): 608–621. (in file `cox.apsr1994.pdf`)
- Craven, John. 1992. *Social Choice: A Framework for Collective Decisions and Individual Judgements*. Cambridge UP. Chapters 2 and 3 and pages 67-74 (sections 5.1–5.2). (in file `Craven23.pdf`)
- Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland. Chapter 5 and sections 6A, 6B, 6F. (in file `Riker56.pdf`)

Cox, Gary. 1996. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral System*. Cambridge.

Riker, William H. 1986. *The Art of Political Manipulation*. Yale UP.

Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland.

Saari, Donald. 2001. *Decisions and elections: explaining the unexpected*. Cambridge.

9. strategic behavior II (Oct 19)

- Alesina, Alberto, and Howard Rosenthal. 1995. *Partisan Politics, Divided Government, and the Economy*. New York: Cambridge UP. Chapter 3. (in file `AlesinaRosenthal3.pdf`)
- Mebane, Walter R., Jr. 2000. “Coordination, Moderation, and Institutional Balancing in American Presidential and House Elections.” *American Political Science Review* 94 (March): 37–57. MS version available at <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/covote.pdf>
- Walter R. Mebane, Jr., Samuel Baltz and Fabricio Vasselai. 2019. “Using Agent-Based Models to Simulate Strategic Behavior in Elections.” (in file `pm19.pdf`).

Alesina, Alberto, and Howard Rosenthal. 1995. *Partisan Politics, Divided Government, and the Economy*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Alberto Alesina, John Londregan and Howard Rosenthal. 1993. A Model of the Political Economy of the United States *American Political Science Review* 87 (Mar): 12–33.

Mebane, Walter R., Jr., and Jasjeet S. Sekhon. 2002. “Coordination and Policy Moderation at Midterm.” *American Political Science Review* 96 (March): 141–157. MS version available at <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/midterm.pdf>

10. using `eforensics` to measure election frauds (Oct 24–Nov 2)

- Walter R. Mebane, Jr., Diogo Ferrari, Kevin McAlister, and Patrick Y. Wu. 2022. “Measuring Elections Frauds.” (in file `measfrauds.pdf`)
- Walter R. Mebane, Jr. 2021. “`eforensics` Analysis of the Peru 2021 Presidential Election.” <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/Peru2021.pdf>

- Mebane. 2022. “eforensics Analysis of the Philippines 2022 Presidential and Vice Presidential Election.” (in file `Philippines2022.pdf`) and at <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/Philippines2022.pdf>
- Mebane. 2022. “eforensics Analysis of the Kenya 2022 Presidential Election.” (in file `Kenya2022.pdf`) and at <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/Kenya2022.pdf>

Diogo Ferrari, Kevin McAlister, Walter R. Mebane, Jr., and Patrick Y. Wu. 2019. `eforensics` R package. https://github.com/UMeforensics/eforensics_public.git (also in file `eforensics_0.0.4.tar.gz`)

Klimek, Peter, Yuri Yegorov, Rudolf Hanel, and Stefan Thurner. 2012. Statistical detection of systematic election irregularities. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 109 (41): 16469–16473. <http://www.pnas.org/content/109/41/16469.full> (in file `PNAS-2012-Klimek-16469-73.pdf`)

Electoral Complaints Commission. 2010. “Electoral Complaints Commission Final Report: 2009 Presidential and Provincial Council Elections.” (in file `ECC Final Report 2009.pdf`)

Electoral Complaints Commission, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. 2009. “Annex a: Audit Results By Polling Station.” Annex for 18 October 2019 Letter to Azizullah Ludin, Chairman, Independent Election Commission of Afghanistan. (in file `ECC2009_October18ANNEXADecisionAuditandRecount_20091018.pdf`)

11. Election Forensics Toolkit (Nov 7–9)

- Allen Hicken and Walter R. Mebane, Jr. 2015. “A Guide to Election Forensics.” Working paper. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/USAID15/guide.pdf>
- Walter R. Mebane, Jr. 2015. “Election Forensics Toolkit DRG Center Working Paper.” <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/USAID15/report.pdf>
- Walter R. Mebane, Jr., and Kirill Kalinin 2015. “Election Forensics Toolkit.” <http://electionforensics.ddns.net:3838/test/> ; see also <https://electionforensics.cps.isr.umich.edu/>
- Walter R. Mebane, Jr. 2019. “Evidence Against Fraudulent Votes Being Decisive in the Bolivia 2019 Election.” <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/Bolivia2019.pdf> (in file `Bolivia2019.pdf`)

Francisco Cantu and Sebastian M. Saleigh. 2011. “Fraudulent Democracy? An Analysis of Argentina’s *Infamous Decade* using Supervised Machine Learning.” *Political Analysis* 19 (4): 409–433. (in file `Political Analysis-2011-Cantú-409-33.pdf`)

Rundlett, Ashlea and Milan W. Svolic. 2016. “Deliver the Vote! Micromotives and Macrobehavior in Electoral Fraud.” *American Political Science Review* 110 (1): 180-197. (in file `rundlett.svolic.apsr2016.pdf`)

12. digit tests (Nov 14–16)

- Arturas Rozenas. 2017. “Detecting Election Fraud from Irregularities in Vote-Share Distributions.” *Political Analysis* 25 (1): 41–56. (in file `fraud_detectionPA2017.pdf`)

- Pericchi, Luis Raúl and David Torres. 2011. “Quick Anomaly Detection by the Newcomb-Benford Law, with Applications to Electoral Processes Data from the USA, Puerto Rico and Venezuela.” *Statistical Science* 26 (Nov, 4): 502–516. (in file STS0703-006R4A0.pdf).
 - Mebane, Walter R., Jr. 2014. “Can Votes Counts’ Digits and Benford’s Law Diagnose Elections?” In Steven J. Miller, *The Theory and Applications of Benford’s Law*, Princeton UP, 206–216. (in file miller13.pdf).
 - Mebane, Walter R., Jr. 2013. *Election Forensics*, chapters 9, 10 and 12. (in files Chapter9.pdf, Chapter10.pdf and Chapter12.pdf).
 - Mebane. 2007. “Election Forensics: Statistics, Recounts and Fraud,” Presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 12–16. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/mw07.pdf>
 - Beber, Bernd and Alexandra Scacco. 2012. What the Numbers Say: A Digit-Based Test for Election Fraud *Political Analysis* 20 (2): 211–234. (in file Political Analysis-2012-Beber-211-34.pdf)
 - Mebane, Walter R., Jr. 2013. *Election Forensics*, chapter 16. (in file Chapter16.pdf).
 - Kirill Kalinin and Walter R. Mebane, Jr. 2017. “Worst Election Ever in Russia?” Presented at the 2017 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 6–9. (in file mw17C.pdf)
- Wendy K. Tam Cho and Brian J. Gaines. 2007. “Breaking the (Benford) Law: Statistical Fraud Detection in Campaign Finance.” *The American Statistician*, 61 (August): 218–223.
- Mebane. 2008. “Election Forensics: The Second-digit Benford’s Law Test and Recent American Presidential Elections.” In R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall and Susan D. Hyde, eds., *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation*. Washington, DC: Brookings Press, 2008, pp. 162–181. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/fraud06.pdf>
- Mebane. 2006. “Election Forensics: Vote Counts and Benford’s Law,” Presented at at the 2006 Summer Meeting of the Political Methodology Society, UC-Davis, July 20–22. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/pm06.pdf>
- Mebane, Walter R., Jr. 2007. “Evaluating Voting Systems To Improve and Verify Accuracy.” Prepared for presentation at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, San Francisco, CA, February 16, 2007, and at the Bay Area Methods Meeting, Berkeley, March 1, 2007. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/bamm07.pdf>
- European Union. 2001. “Bangladesh Parliamentary Elections: 1 October 2001 European Union Election Observation Mission Final Report.” https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/1412745/625_tmpphpGBRYSw.pdf
- Mebane. 2007. “Election Forensics: Statistical Interventions in Election Controversies,” Presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Aug 30–Sept 2. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/apsa07.pdf>
- Kirill Kalinin. 2017. “The Essays on Election Fraud in Authoritarian Regimes: III. Theory of Loyalty: Signaling Games of Election Frauds,” Ph.D. dissertation. (in file dissc_final_Walter.pdf)

13. FRAUD STATISTICS EXERCISE DUE: Nov 16

14. other statistical methods to try to detect election fraud (Nov 21–30)

- Mebane. 2010. “Fraud in the 2009 Presidential Election in Iran?” *Chance* 23 (Mar.): 6–15. (in file CHANCE 23.1 - Mebane.pdf).
- Hyde, Susan D. 2007. “The Observer Effect in International Politics: Evidence from a Natural Experiment.” *World Politics* 60 (Oct.): 37–63. (in file hyde.wp2007.pdf)
- Enikolopov, Ruben, Vasily Korovkin, Maria Petrova, Konstantin Sonin and Alexei Zakharov. 2013. “Field experiment estimate of electoral fraud in Russian parliamentary elections.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 110 (2): 448–452. <http://www.pnas.org/content/early/2012/12/19/1206770110.full.pdf> or <http://www.pnas.org/content/110/2/448.full> (in file PNAS-2013-Enikolopov-448-52.pdf).
- Klimek, Peter, Ral Jimnez, Manuel Hidalgo, Abraham Hinteregger and Stefan Thurner. 2018. “Forensic Analysis of Turkish Elections in 2017–2018.” *PLOS One* 13(10):e0204975. <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0204975> (in file pone.0204975.pdf).
- Mali Zhang, R. Michael Alvarez and Ines Levin. 2019. “Election Forensics: Using Machine Learning and Synthetic Data for Possible Election Anomaly Detection.” *PLOS ONE* 14(10):e0223950. <http://www.pnas.org/content/early/2012/12/19/1206770110.full.pdf> (in file Election_forensics_Using_machine_learning_and_synt.pdf)
- Inès Levin, Gabe A. Cohn, Peter C. Ordeshook, and R. Michael Alvarez. 2009. “Detecting Voter Fraud in an Electronic Voting Context: An Analysis of the Unlimited Reelection Vote in Venezuela.” 2009 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections, Montreal, August 10–11. (in file levin.pdf and at http://www.usenix.org/event/evtwote09/tech/full_papers/levin.pdf)

Peter Ordeshook, Mikhail Myagkov and Dmitry Shakin. 2009. *The Forensics of Election Fraud*.

Susan D. Hyde and Nikolay Marinov. 2012. “Which Elections Can Be Lost?” *Political Analysis* 20 (2): 191–210. (in file Political Analysis-2012-Hyde-191-210.pdf)

Susan D. Hyde. 2011. *The Pseudo-Democrat’s Dilemma: Why Election Observation Became an International Norm*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP.

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

Judith G. Kelley. 2012. *Monitoring Democracy: When International Election Observation Works, and Why It Often Fails*. Princeton UP.

election monitoring organizations (examples).

<http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/ps485/monitoring.html>

Pippa Norris. 2014. *Why Electoral Integrity Matters*. Cambridge.

Ali Ansari, Daniel Berman and Thomas Rintoul. 2009. *Preliminary Analysis of the Voting Figures in Iran's 2009 Presidential Election*. Chatham House, London. June 21, 2009. (in file 14234_iranelection0609.pdf)

Reza Esfandiari and Yousef Bozorgmehr. 2009. "A Rejoinder to the Chatham House report on Iran's 2009 presidential election offering a new analysis on the results." (in file Iranian_election.pdf)

15. more tests and ambiguities (Dec 5–7)

- Walter R. Mebane, Jr., and Jonathan Wall. 2015. "Election Frauds, Postelection Legal Challenges and Geography in Mexico." Presented at the 2015 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 3–6, 2015. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/apsa15.pdf>
- Mebane, Walter R., Jr. 2013. *Election Forensics*, chapters 11–15. (in files Chapter11.pdf, Chapter12.pdf, Chapter13.pdf and Chapter1415.pdf).
- Herrmann, Michael and Franz Urban Pappi. 2008. Strategic Voting in German Constituencies. *Electoral Studies* 27 (June 2): 228–244. (in file herrmann.pappi.es2008.pdf)
- Shikano, Susumu, Michael Herrmann and Paul W. Thurner. 2009. Strategic Voting under Proportional Representation: Threshold Insurance in German Elections. *West European Politics* 32 (May 3): 634–656. (in file shikano.herrmann.thurner.wep2009.pdf)
- Blais, Andre, Richard Nadeau, Elisabeth Gidengil and Neil Nevitte. 2001. Measuring Strategic Voting in Multiparty Plurality Elections. *Electoral Studies* 20 (May 3): 343–352. (in file blais.nadeau.gidengil.nevitte.es2001.pdf)
- Joseph L. Klesner. 2007. The July 2006 Presidential and Congressional Elections in Mexico. *Electoral Studies* 26 (Dec 4): 803–808. (in file klesner.es2007.pdf)
- McCann, James A. and Jorge I. Domínguez. 1998. Mexicans React to Electoral Fraud and Political Corruption: an Assessment of Public Opinion and Voting Behavior. *Electoral Studies* 17 (Dec 4): 483–503. (in file mccann.dominguez.es1998.pdf)

European Union Election Observation Mission. "Mexico Final Report, Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, 2 July 2006." November 23, 2006. (in file 2006_24_11_final_report_mexico.pdf)