

On the Electoral Integrity and the 2020 elections:

Many people have asked me to evaluate the claims that there was widespread electoral fraud in the recent presidential elections, and good citizens want to know that claims of fraud are false. Perhaps the best resource is the [Electoral Integrity Project](#) out of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. Since 2012, I have participated in fellow political scientist Pippa Norris' assessment of electoral integrity in the U.S. election. This year, I was one of 789 political scientists from throughout the country whose experience and observations of the process of elections in the state where they were registered to vote was measured. A minimum of 20 experts on American elections, parties and state politics were invited to participate from each state and D.C., and Qualtrics was used to administer the survey online between Nov. 6, 2020 and Nov. 12, 2020. The EIP has monitored and evaluated more than 300 presidential and parliamentary elections in 166 nations worldwide, as well as elections in all 50 states, since 2012. For those who are interested in a research-oriented, non-partisan academic assessment of electoral integrity, I urge you to [read the report](#). I have included the Executive Summary at the bottom of this document.

The [Joint Statement from Elections and Infrastructure Government Coordinating Council & The Election Infrastructure Sector Coordinating Executive Committees](#): "The November 3rd election was the most secure in American history... While we know there are many unfounded claims and opportunities for misinformation about the process of our elections, we can assure you we have the utmost confidence in the security and integrity of our elections, and you should too. When you have questions, turn to elections officials as trusted voices as they administer elections."

[The 2020 Election Litigation Tracker](#), a joint project of Election Law at Ohio State and SCOTUSblog tracks election law cases as they wend their way through the courts, including the cases alleging voter fraud. The site also hosts a great foundation on fundamentals of election law, including the

democracy canon, a description of the principles and impact of the Voting Rights Act, and explanations of the *Purcell principle* (the presumption against last-minute changes to election procedures, and its implication in an election in the time of COVID), and the *Anderson-Burdick doctrine*, which seeks a balance between the benefits and burdens of voting restrictions.

On What's Next:

Barton Gellman. "[America's Second-Worst Scenario](#)," in *The Atlantic*, Jan. 16, 2021. "So far, cumulative acts of civic virtue have saved the republic. But the constitutional order is still in danger."

Levine, Peter. *We Are the Ones We Have Been Waiting For: The Promise of Civic Renewal in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. Levine offers a theory of active citizenship, in which he argues that the problems the United States faces can be addressed by individuals engaged in civic activism in their communities.

Meacham, Jon. *The Soul of America: The Battle for Our Better Angels*. New York: Random House, 2018. This uplifting work by the Pulitzer Prize-winning Meacham looks back at troubled times in our nation's history and reminds us that hope has the power to overcome division and fear.

Schneier, Edward. *Putting the People Back in Politics: The Revival of American Democracy*. AuthorHouse, 2019. This book shows why a new politics of interpersonal engagement can help renew our democratic system.

Publications About Electoral Integrity:

[The Unclassified Version of the Intelligence Report on Russian Hacking during the 2016 Election](#). This report says Russian President Vladimir Putin "ordered" effort to influence the U.S. presidential election in 2016.

Clinton, Hillary Rodham. *What Happened*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2017. In Time magazine's best book of the year, Clinton describes the unique

experience of becoming the first woman nominated to the presidency by a major party in one of the most controversial and unpredictable presidential elections in history.

Comey, James. *A Higher Loyalty: Truth, Lies, and Leadership*. New York: Flatiron Books, 2018. Former FBI director Comey, who learned that he was fired by President Trump by television, shares his thoughts on leadership and an insider's view on Washington's inner workings.

Norris, Pippa. *Why Electoral Integrity Matters*. NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Norris, Pippa. "Do perceptions of electoral malpractice undermine democratic satisfaction? The US in comparative perspective." *International Political Science Review*. 40(1): 5-22, 2019.

Norris, Pippa, Sarah Cameron and Thomas Wynter, eds *Electoral Integrity in America*. New York: Oxford, 2019.

Proposed Reforms Seeking to Improve Democracy in the United States:

H.R. 1: [The For The People Act](#) would dramatically strengthen our democracy by making it easier to vote, ending gerrymandering, fixing our campaign finance system, and more.

Back to Basics:

All of the above sources assume a fundamental principle: that representative democracies matter, that self-government, embodied by the people's ability to select representatives based on a free, fair, secret, and impartial system of balloting matters. The roots of the intellectual argument in favor of ideals of representative democracy can be found in our foundational documents:

[The Declaration of Independence](#) - It's nice to review what the colonists were fighting against.

[The Constitution](#) - The embodiment of the structure that creates a republic with checks and balances overlaid upon a federalist structure. I have an annotated Constitution that explains, in modern language, each facet of the Constitution, and asks students critical thinking questions about modern interpretations of the document. If you would like to have access to this, please email me (harrison@montclair.edu).

[The Federalist Papers](#) - Federalist #10 in which James Madison defends republicanism by grappling with the notion of majority rule versus the rights of the minority is the granddaddy of these series of essays arguing for ratification of the Constitution, but one of my favorites, particularly appropriate to these times, is Alexander Hamilton's #9, The Utility of the Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection, which explains how structures of government can protect against tyranny and insurrection.

Other works analyze, interpret and chronicle those ideals:

De Tocqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America*- this outsider's observer of the importance of equality, also explores his observations of the American character, how liberty manifests itself in a democracy.

McCollough, David - *John Adams; 1776; Spirit of America: Who We Are and What We Stand For*. Simon and Schuster. These works explore fundamental values in American democracy through these various prisms.

Contemporary Works on the Foundational Values and the US Constitution:

Beeman, Richard. *The Penguin Guide to the United States Constitution*. New York: Penguin Books, 2010. This book has a fully annotated Declaration of

Independence, a fully annotated U.S. Constitution, selections from The Federalist Papers, chapters presenting the history of the making and the initial enactment of the Constitution, and brief overviews of several landmark Supreme Court decisions.

Hall, David (1988) "The Constitution and Race: A Critical Perspective," NYLS Journal of Human Rights: Vol. 5 : Iss. 2 , Article 2. Available at: https://digitalcommons.nyls.edu/journal_of_human_rights/vol5/iss2/2 The proceedings of a conference concerning with the U.S. Constitution and its ideals, in light of the difficult legacy and consequences of slavery, segregation, discrimination, and racial oppression.

Roberts, Cokie. *Founding Mothers: The Women Who Raised Our Nation*. New York: Perennial Press, 2004. An examination of the Revolution and its aftermath, focusing on how women contributed to the war effort and to wider discussions about how the new government should be structured and what goals it should advance.

Sabato, Larry. *A More Perfect Constitution: 23 Proposals to Revitalize Our Constitution and Make America a Fairer Country*. New York: Walker Publishing, 2007. An exploration by political scientist Larry Sabato into why a constitutional convention is needed. The book includes proposals for 23 amendments—many of which citizens support, according to a poll commissioned by the author—that Sabato argues will perfect the Constitution. His real goal in writing the book was to kindle a national conversation on what he perceives as the deficiencies in U.S. representative democracy.

Tribe, Laurence, and Joshua Matz. *Uncertain Justice: The Roberts Court and the Constitution*. New York: Picador, 2014. The authors show how the Supreme Court has (re)interpreted the Constitution, specifically civil liberties and rights, since Chief Justice Roberts joined the Court in 2005.

Wittes, Benjamin, and Pietro S. Nivola. *What Would Madison Do? The Father of the Constitution Meets Modern American Politics*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2015. The collection of papers in this book addresses two

questions. First, how well is the system of government constructed by Madison and his colleagues working? Second, would Madison be pleased or dissatisfied with contemporary policy processes and policies?

Online Resources:

Constitutional Center's Interactive Constitution

www.constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution This site presents constitutional experts who discuss their differing perspectives on the Constitution's history and the (re)interpretations of constitutional language.

FindLaw

www.findlaw.com This site offers links to news regarding current cases before the U.S. Supreme Court as well as access to decisions of all federal and state appellate courts.

Library of Congress Memory Project

www.ourdocuments.gov/content.php?page=milestone This comprehensive website provides links to 100 milestone documents, compiled by the National Archives and Records Administration, that chronicle U.S. history, from Lee's Resolution calling for independence in 1776 through the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Democracy, Democratic Theory, and Threats to Democracy:

Albright, Madeleine, *Fascism: A Warning* Harper Collins, 2018. - The former Secretary of State traces the rise of fascism in Europe and parallels it to United States today.

Appiah, K. Anthony and Amy Gutmann. *Color Conscious: the Political Morality of Race*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. Highly accessible assessment of the historical concepts of race as contextualized within various cultures.

Applebaum, Anne . 2020. *Twilight of Democracy: The Seductive Lure of Authoritarianism*. New York: Doubleday.

Bishop, Bill. *The Big Sort: Why the Clustering of Like-Minded America is Tearing Us Apart*. Mariner Books, 2009. Bishop argues that Americans' "sorting themselves" into increasingly homogeneous groups results in the rise in intolerance.

Callen, Zachary, and Philip Rocco, eds. *American Political Development and the Trump Presidency*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020.

Deneen, Patrick J. 2019, *Why Liberalism Failed*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dudziak, Mary L. "Telling Stories about Race and Democracy." *In Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, 47-78. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Ginsburg, Tom and Aziz Z. Huq. 2020. *How To Save a Constitutional Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hanchard, Michael G. "Society and Polity, Difference and Inequality." *In The Spectre of Race: How Discrimination Haunts Western Democracy*, 65-111. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Kimball, Roger, ed.. 2020. *Who Rules? Sovereignty, Nationalism, and the Fate of Freedom in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Encounter Books.

Levitsky, Steven and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018, *How Democracies Die*, New York : Broadway Books.

Lewis, Sinclair *It Can't Happen Here*. New York: Penguin, 1935. A cautionary tale about the fragility of democracy, it is an alarming, eerily timeless look at how fascism could take hold in America.

Losurdo, Domenico 2014. *Liberalism: A Counter-History*. Brooklyn: Verso.
Rancière, 2006. *Hatred of Democracy*. Brooklyn: Verso. Translated by Steve Corcoran.

Mouffe, Chantal. *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically*. Vero: 2013.

Przeworski, Adam. 2019. *Crises of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Riley, Padraig. *Slavery and the Democratic Conscience: Political Life in Jeffersonian America*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

Runciman, David. 2018. *How Democracy Ends*, New York: Basic Books.

Snyder, Timothy. 2019 *The Road to Unfreedom: Russia, Europe, America*, New York: Tim Duggan Books.

Wilkins, David B. "Introduction: The Context of Race." In *Color Conscious: The Political Morality of Race*, by Appiah K. Anthony and Gutmann Amy, 3-29. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Writers of the Atlantic, 2020. *The American Crisis: What Went Wrong. How We Recover*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Yuval Levin. 2020. *A Time to Build: From Family and Community to Congress and the Campus, How Recommitting to Our Institutions Can Revive the American Dream*. New York: Basic Books.

Themes Within Democracy:

Deliberative Democracy:

Andre Bächtiger, John S. Dryzek, Jane Mansbridge, and Mark Warren.
"Deliberative Democracy: An Introduction" (2018) In: *The Oxford Handbook of Deliberative Democracy*. Overview of Deliberative Democracy, defined by the authors as a democratic system that incorporates deliberation which "take(s) place in contexts of equal recognition, respect, reciprocity, and sufficiently equal power for communicative influence to function."

Online Resources:

Stanford Center for Deliberative Democracy.

<https://cdd.stanford.edu/briefing-materials/>

(See also: Recent Symposium [here](#))

Representation:

Pitkin, Hanna. *The Concept of Representation*. University of California Press, 1967. Very influential account that differentiates between four different kinds of political representation.

Urbinati, Nadia. *Representative Democracy: Principles and Genealogy*, University of Chicago Press, 2008. Traces the idea of representative democracy throughout the history of political thought and claims that representation and participation are not antithetical (as is often assumed) but complementary.

Participation and Civic Engagement:

Abramson, Paul R., John H. Aldrich, and David W. Rohde. *Change and Continuity in the 2016 and 2018 Elections*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2020. The latest in this classic series of election analysis examines the tactics employed in the 2016 presidential election.

Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003. Explores the differences in political participation between men and women.

Ehrenhalt, Alan. *The United States of Ambition: Politicians, Power and the Pursuit of Office*. New York: Times Books, 1991. Interesting account of the importance of personal drive and ambition in catapulting would-be presidents to the White House.

Gainous, Jason, and Kevin M. Wagner. *Tweeting to Power: The Social Media Revolution in American Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Describes the rise of social media in campaigns and elections.

Herrnson, Paul S., Richard G. Niemi, Michael J. Hanmer, Benjamin B. Bederson, and Frederick C. Conrad. *Voting Technology: The Not-So-Simple Act of Casting a Ballot*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008. Explains the intricacies of voting technology, including the electoral implications of how votes are cast.

Landemore, Hélène. *Open Democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2020. A discussion of what popular rule can mean in the 21st century. Discusses different forms of strengthening the participation of the public and of finding non-electoral forms of representation.

Lessig, Lawrence. *Republic, Lost 2.0*. New York: Hachette Book Group, 2015. Lessig describes how the U.S. democracy has been co-opted by outside interests, corporate money, and lobbying. He presents solutions, including a call for a constitutional convention.

Pateman, Carole. *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge University Press 1970. Challenges the idea that democracy is simply the freedom to choose between different elites and suggests various ways of meaningful ways citizens can participate in the political process.

Plouffe, David. *The Audacity to Win: The Inside Story and Lessons of Barack Obama's Historic Victory*. New York: Viking Press, 2009. A captivating political memoir of the 2008 campaign, written by Barack Obama's campaign manager

Putnam, Robert D. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Touchstone, 2000. A classic volume demonstrating the decline in traditional forms of civic participation.

Rather, Dan, and Elliot Kirschner. *What Unites Us*. New York: Algonquin Books, 2017. Written by iconic veteran newscaster Rather, this book discusses the common core of political values that unite Americans.

West, Darrell M. *Divided Politics, Divided Nation: Hyperconflict in the Trump Era*. Brookings, 2019. West analyzes the economic, cultural, and political aspects of polarization,

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995. An analysis of how people come to be activists in their communities, what issues they raise when they participate, and how activists from various demographic groups differ.

Vergara, Camila. *Systemic Corruption: Constitutional Ideas for an Anti-Oligarchic Republic*. Princeton University Press, 2020. Discusses the increasingly elite-driven, oligarchic tendencies of current liberal democracies and proposes institutional ideas to hold political elites accountable through a network of local assemblies.

Zukin, Cliff, Scott Keeter, Molly Andolina, Krista Jenkins, and Michael X. Delli Carpini. *A New Engagement? Political Participation, Civic Life, and the Changing American Citizen*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Describes the changing ways in which Americans are participating in the political life of their country and communities

OnLine Resources:

The Living Room Candidate

www.livingroomcandidate.org This site, maintained by the Museum of the Moving Image, provides videos of television commercials run by presidential campaigns from 1952 to 2016.

Project Vote Smart

www.votesmart.org This nonpartisan website provides independent, factual information on election procedures in each state.

Ready to Run

www.cawp.rutgers.edu/education_training/ReadytoRun/ This nonpartisan campaign training program encourages and trains women to run for elective office, position themselves for appointive office, or work on a campaign.

Vote, Run, Lead

www.voterunlead.org This is the website for an organization that encourages the civic engagement of young women as voters, activists, and candidates for political office.

American Political Science Association

www.apsanet.org The professional association for political scientists offers many resources on research about civic engagement, education, and participation.

CIRCLE: The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement

www.civicyouth.org Tufts University's Circle is the premier clearinghouse for research and analysis on civic engagement.

Films:

Ides of March (2011) George Clooney and Ryan Gosling star in this film about the drama of the primary election trail. An adaptation of the play *Farragut North*, the story is loosely based on the failed 2004 Democratic primary run of Howard Dean.

Knock Down the House (2019) This documentary tells the campaign stories of four progressive women—including Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez—who decide in 2018 to challenge powerful congressional incumbents.

Recount (2008) This dramatization of the 2000 presidential election shows the 36-day stalemate that comes in the wake of the irregularities in the Florida vote count.

Demographic Groups and Representative Democracy:

Grinspan, Jon. *The Virgin Vote: How Young Americans Made Democracy Social, Politics Personal, and Voting Popular in the Nineteenth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Grinspan explores the idea of generational politics, examining the specific role that young people play in shaping American democracy.

Henríquez, Cristina. *The Book of Unknown Americans*. New York: Knopf, 2015. This poignant fictional account of immigration is told from various perspectives, including a young woman from Mexico and a first-generation American teenager, whose parents immigrated from Panama.

Howe, Neil, and William Strauss. *Millennials Rising: The Next Great Generation*. New York: Vintage, 2000. A pre-September 11, 2001, examination of the unique characteristics of the Millennial generation.

Viola, Julianne K. *Young People's Civic Identity in the Digital Age*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020. This book examines how young people rely on digital technologies to structure their political learning and civic participation.

Zack, Naomi. *Thinking about Race*. (Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth, 1998). Accessible text covering the concepts of race and racism, mixed race, ethnicity, racial and ethnic identity, the intersections of race, gender, and class, and the role of identity in informing opinions and behaviors.

Zukin, Cliff, Scott Keeter, Molly Andolina, Krista Jenkins, and Michael X. Delli Carpini. *A New Engagement? Political Participation, Civic Life and the Changing American Citizen*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. A study of participation and political viewpoints across generations.

Films:

I Learn America (2013) This documentary film by Jean-Michel Dissard and Gitte Peng tells the story of five immigrant teenagers studying at the International High School as they strive to learn the values and culture of their new country.

The Media, Freedom of the Press, Media Accuracy and Accountability, and the Media's Role in Democracy:

Berry, Jeffrey M., and Sarah Sobieraj. *The Outrage Industry: Political Opinion Media and the New Incivility*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. The book examines "outrage rhetoric," the incendiary talk common on many talk radio and cable news programs, and evaluates its impact.

Crouse, Timothy. *The Boys on the Bus*. New York: Random House, 1973. A classic tale of the presidential campaign press corps.

Graber, Doris. *Media Power and Politics*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2010. Analyzes the influence of the media on opinions, elections, and policies, as well as efforts to shape the content and impact of media coverage.

Iyengar, Shanto. *Media Politics: A Citizen's Guide*, 3rd ed. New York: Norton, 2015. Surveys how politicians use the media to get elected, wield power in office, and achieve policy goals.

Jamieson, Kathleen Hall, and Paul Waldman. *The Press Effect: Politicians, Journalists, and the Stories That Shape the Political World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. Demonstrates how the national press molds the news through its reporting, using the examples of the 2000 presidential election, the Supreme Court's decision on the Florida vote that year, and the press's response to national politics after September 11.

Wolfsfeld, Gadi. *Making Sense of Media and Politics: Five Principles in Political Communication*. New York: Taylor and Francis, 2014. Describes the relationship between the impact of politics on the news media and how the media influence politics.

Online Resources:

Factcheck www.factcheck.org Factcheck is a project of the Annenberg Center for Public Policy. It provides a mechanism for individuals to debunk "fake news" by flagging inaccurate content.

PolitiFact www.polifact.com Polifact's Truth-O-Meter evaluates the claims made by political leaders to test for accuracy.

Snopes www.snopes.com Snopes is a useful resource in determining the accuracy of information.

State of the Media www.stateofthemedial.org - Run by the Project for Excellence in Journalism, this site features an annual report on the media and tracks trends in media usage and confidence in the media.

The Pew Research Center for People and the Press <http://people-press.org> This site provides independent research, surveys, data sets, and commentary on the media and issues of media interest.

Media Watch www.mediawatch.com Visit this site to learn about the initiatives of an activist group that monitors media content and seeks to combat stereotypes and violence in the media.

Films:

The Post (2018) The story of Katharine Graham, the first female publisher of a major American newspaper, The Washington Post, who, with editor Ben Bradlee, competes with The New York Times to expose a massive cover-up of government secrets that would come to be known as the Pentagon Papers.

Good Night and Good Luck (2005) Directed by George Clooney, this film tells the story of famed CBS newsman Edward R. Murrow, who takes on Senator Joseph McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee's communist witch hunt during the 1950s, despite pressure from corporate sponsors and from McCarthy himself.

Live from Baghdad (2002) This movie demonstrates the differences in tactics between 24-hour news channels and network news shows, telling the story of CNN's coverage of the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 1990.

Network (1976) Faye Dunaway, Peter Finch, William Holden, and Robert Duvall star in this classic satirizing the nature of newscasting in the 1970s.

Citizen Kane (1941) This classic, directed by and starring Orson Welles, is Welles's fictionalized version of newspaper scion William Randolph Hearst, who purportedly attempted to halt release of the film.

Participation: Political Parties:

Berlatsky, Noah. *Does the U.S. Two-Party System Still Work?* Belmont, CA: Greenhaven Press, 2010. Part of the At Issue series, this work examines the effectiveness of the U.S. party system.

Flammang, Janet. *Women's Political Voice*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997. A well-researched account of women's political participation in general and women's participation in political parties in particular.

Hershey, Marjorie Random. *Party Politics in America*, 17th ed. New York: Longman, 2017. A classic work on American political parties, analyzing the changing roles of parties in the 20th century and the impact of the campaign finance system on political parties.

Hetherington, Marc J., and Thomas J. Rudolph. *Why Washington Won't Work: Polarization, Political Trust, and the Governing Crisis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014. The authors assert that the increasing polarization of the American electorate has resulted in decreasing trust, creating a dysfunctional governmental dynamic.

Lijphart, Arend. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945–1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. An exploration of the nature of party systems in many industrialized democracies, both historically and in modern times.

Schattschneider, E. E. *Party Government*. New York: Rinehart, 1942. A classic work that explains the nature of political parties and their influence on party government.

Films:

The Ides of March (2011) George Clooney and Ryan Gosling star in this story of the final days of a competitive primary for the Democratic nomination for president.

Primary Colors (1998) Starring John Travolta, and based on the anonymously written book of the same name, this popular movie—a fictionalized account of Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign—provides insight into the primary election season of a presidential nominee.

Chicago 1968 (1996) This is an episode of *The American Experience*, an award-winning PBS documentary, that examines the chaotic events of the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago using interviews with historians, convention participants, and protesters along with actual news footage of the events.

City Hall (1996) This film, starring Al Pacino and John Cusack, shows the workings of a corrupt political machine—and the consequences of that corruption.

The War Room (1993) This is a behind-the-scenes documentary that looks at Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign from the first primaries and caucuses through to the national convention and his ultimate election win. *The Best Man* (1964) This classic film shows the drama of an old-style convention where backroom deals determine a party's nominee.

All the King's Men (1950) This winner of the 1950 Oscar for best picture follows Willie Stark (Broderick Crawford), who starts out in politics for the right reasons, but then sees first hand its corrupting influence.

Participation: Social Movements, Pressure Groups and Interest Groups

Cigler, Alan J., and Burnett A. Loomis. *Interest Group Politics*, 9th ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2015. A classic analysis, first published in 1983, detailing the effects of interest groups in modern American politics.

Cullen, David. *Parkland: Birth of a Movement*. New York: HarperCollins, 2019. The author of *Columbine* chronicles the birth of the March For Our Lives movement, as Cullen embeds with the survivors-turned-activists at the center of the Marjorie Stoneman Douglas school shooting.

Dennis, James. *Beyond Slacktivism: Political Participation on Social Media* (Interest Groups, Advocacy, and Democracy Series). New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. Examines how routine use of social media shapes political participation. Dennis examines the role of “slacktivism”—low-level online political engagement—and offers a framework that helps explain why citizens use social networking sites to get news, connect with others, and engage in politics.

Hays, Richard A. *Who Speaks for the Poor? National Interest Groups and Social Policy*. New York: Routledge, 2001. An examination of how the poor gain political representation in the policy process through the efforts of interest groups.

Herrnson, Paul S., Ronald G. Shaiko, and Clyde J. Wilcox. *The Interest Group Connection: Electioneering, Lobbying, and Policymaking in Washington*, 2nd ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2004. A collection of essays describing the role of interest groups on the federal level. The essays focus on elections, Congress, the president, and the judiciary.

Holsaert, Faith S, Martha Prescod Norman Noonan, Judy Richardson, Betty Garmon Robinson, Jean Smith Young & Dorothy M. Zellner. *Hands on the Freedom Plow: Personal Accounts by Women in SNCC*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010. This book presents the personal stories of a diversity of women organizers of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

Holyoke, Thomas T. *Interest Groups and Lobbying*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2014. Examines why interest groups form and how they are able to gain influence, as well as why their adversarial nature often makes voters uncomfortable with their role in the political process.

Kantor, Jodi, and Megan Twohey. *She Said: Breaking the Sexual Harassment Story That Helped Ignite a Movement*. New York: Penguin, 2019. Written by the Pulitzer Prize-winning reporters who broke the news of Harvey Weinstein's sexual harassment and abuse for The New York Times, this tells the story of their investigation and its consequences for the #MeToo movement.

Klein, Ezra. *Why We're Polarized* Hardcover, Simon and Schuster, 2020. Klein explains the structural roots of political polarization in the United States, and analyzes its impact.

Loomis, Burdett A. (ed.) *Guide to Interest Groups and Lobbying in the United States*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011. Examines how interest groups have grown in scope and size and which tactics they have relied on that have made them an essential part of the U.S. political system.

Miller, Norman. *Environmental Politics: Interest Groups, the Media, and the Making of Policy*. New York: Taylor and Francis, 2017. Miller explores environmental policy making through the prism of interests and interest groups, including the various fronts on which these battles occur: in legislative chambers, in the media, and online.

Piven, Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. Vintage, 1978. In analyzing four movements, the authors ask "Have the poor fared best by participating in conventional electoral politics or by engaging in mass defiance and disruption?"

Films:

Casino Jack (2010) - Kevin Spacey stars as a K-Street lobbyist (the character was based loosely on Jack Abramoff, a lobbyist who was convicted on multiple federal charges) whose unethical tactics lead to murder.

Thank You for Smoking (2005) -Aaron Eckhart stars as a lobbyist in this satirical comedy about the big tobacco lobby.

Erin Brockovich (2000) - Starring Julia Roberts, this film is based on the true story of Erin Brockovich, an activist fighting for the rights of a community whose water supply has been contaminated.

Institutions (Congress):

Ahuja, Sunil. *Congress Behaving Badly: The Rise of Partisanship and Incivility and the Death of Public Trust*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2008. This analysis examines the causes and the results of increased party cleavages in Congress.

Bordewich, Fergus M. *The First Congress*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016. The story of the first federal Congress of 1789–1791 and how, in just two years, the founding fathers created the Constitution of the United States and laid the framework for our modern Congress.

Corning, Trevor, Reema Dodin, and Kyle W. Nevins. *Inside Congress: A Guide for Navigating the Politics of the House and Senate Floors*. Washington, DC: Brookings, 2017. Written by congressional insiders, this volume sheds light on the structures, procedures, and politics that rule each chamber.

Dodd, Lawrence C., and Bruce J. Oppenheimer. *Congress Reconsidered*, 11th ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2016. The most recent edition of a classic series providing comprehensive coverage of the evolution of the American Congress.

Fenno, Richard F., Jr. *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts*. New York: Longman, 2009. Fenno traveled the United States observing members of Congress at home in their districts and explains how constituent interaction affects congressional decision making.

Forman, Sean D., and Marcia Godwin. *The Roads to Congress 2018*. This work examines the processes and issues associated with key mid-term elections in 2018.

Kaiser, Robert G. *Act of Congress: How America's Essential Institution Works, and How It Doesn't*. New York: Vintage Books, 2014. A look at the inner workings of Congress and the financial reform bill in a post-crash America.

Loomis, Burdett, and Wendy J. Schiller. *The Contemporary Congress*, 7th ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018. A concise yet comprehensive analysis of Congress, particularly the legislative context that influences the legislative process.

O'Neill, Thomas P. *Man of the House: The Life and Political Memoirs of Speaker Tip O'Neill*. New York: Random House, 1987. The political memoir of a long-term Speaker of the House of Representatives provides a fascinating glimpse into the "real world" of Capitol Hill politics from the 1960s through the 1980s.

Thomas, Sue. *How Women Legislate*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. Groundbreaking analysis of the differences and similarities between how men and women approach the task of legislating.

Online Resources:

C-Span

www.c-span.org The cable television network C-Span provides a large amount of information on Congress, including Internet video, audio, and podcast programs of congressional hearings, committee meetings, C-Span video series, and a variety of public affairs information.
www.loc.gov The website for the Library of Congress, the most important clearinghouse for information about Congress, legislation, hearings, votes, and other federal matters.

Roll Call

www.rollcall.com This website for Roll Call, the "source for news on Capitol Hill since 1955," offers an insider's look at the world of Capitol Hill, including issue analysis, politics, and opinions.
The Congress (1988) This Ken Burns documentary provides a fine introduction to the U.S. Congress (both the institution and the Capitol building). Burns traces the history of the institution and the people who have served in it, including 19th-century statesmen Henry Clay and Daniel Webster and continuing to Congress's modern leaders.

Films:

Mr. Smith Goes to Washington (1939) This classic Frank Capra movie features Jimmy Stewart as Jefferson Smith, who, after the death of a senator, is appointed to serve in the U.S. Senate despite his political naiveté. Stewart's depiction of a filibuster informs most Americans' perception of this political maneuver.

Institutions (The Presidency):

Borrelli, MaryAnne. *The President's Cabinet: Gender, Power, and Representation*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002. Analysis of the evolution of presidential cabinets in terms of gender representation.

Halberstam, David. *The Best and the Brightest*. New York: Fawcett Books, 1993. Riveting analysis of how the Kennedy and Johnson administrations entrenched the United States in the war in Vietnam.

Milkis, Sidney M. *The American Presidency: Origins and Development, 1776–2011*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011. This volume describes the constitutional foundations as well as the social, economic, political, and international factors that have shaped the Constitution's expansion through its origins to the Obama presidency.

Neustadt, Richard E. *Presidential Power and the Modern President*. New York: The Free Press, 1990. Update of the author's classic 1960 volumes, explaining the evolution of power in the modern presidency and probing, in particular, presidents' ability to persuade.

Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. *The Imperial Presidency*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973. Classic volume describing how the presidency has become a rarely checked, "imperial" institution (introduction updated in the 2004 edition).

Woodward, Bob, and Carl Bernstein. *All the President's Men*, 2nd ed. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994. Classic work that launched investigative journalism,

particularly concerning the presidency, in which the authors describe their investigation of the Watergate scandal that led to President Richard Nixon's resignation.

Online Resources:

The American Presidency Project

www.presidency.ucsb.edu/platforms.php - The American Presidency Project website at the University of California–Santa Barbara provides the party platforms of every party whose presidential candidate received electoral votes.

Democratic National Committee

www.democrats.org - The Democrats' website contains hotlinks for state and local party websites and opportunities for volunteering, internships, and employment, as well as party position papers and platforms and candidate information.

Republican National Committee

www.gop.com - The Republicans' site has links for state and local party sites and opportunities for volunteering, internships, and employment, as well as party position papers and platforms and candidate information.

270 to Win

www.270towin.com This interactive website demonstrates how the Electoral College outcome is determined; users can experiment with altering the results of elections. It also contains past voting information for all states.

Center for the Study of the Presidency

www.thepresidency.org This research center analyzes presidential leadership and offers seminars and symposia for presidential researchers, including the Center Fellows program for undergraduate students.

Voter Study Group

www.voterstudygroup.org The Democracy Fund Voter Study Group brings together analysts and scholars from across the political spectrum to examine and glean insights from the evolving views of the electorate.

Films:

Mark Felt: The Man Who Brought Down the White House (2017) Liam Neeson stars as Mark Felt (also known as “Deep Throat”), the anonymous source who helped journalists Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein uncover the Watergate scandal in 1972.

Lincoln (2012) Daniel Day-Lewis stars in the title role in a film depicting the later days of Lincoln’s presidency as he seeks to end the Civil War and secure ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery.

John Adams (2008) This television mini-series stars Paul Giamatti and Stephen Dillane in a chronicle of the first 50 years of the U.S. presidency.

Recount (2008) This movie chronicles the 2000 presidential election, focusing on the controversy surrounding ballot counting in Florida that culminated in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Bush v. Gore*.

All the President’s Men (1976) In this 1976 film adaptation of the book by the same name, Robert Redford and Dustin Hoffman star as Washington Post reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein (respectively), who uncover the details of the Watergate scandal that led to President Nixon’s resignation.

ELECTORAL INTEGRITY IN THE 2020 U.S.ELECTIONS

Executive Summary

There is widespread concern that disputes over the 2020 U.S.elections have generated a legitimacy crisis for American democracy. For weeks after Election Day, President Trump denied the outcome,refused to concede, and claimed he had won if the count took account of alleged voting irregularities. His team filed at least three dozen lawsuits around the country, challenging legal ballots cast in majority-Black cities in several swing states, and attempted to delay recounts in Wisconsin and block vote certification in Michigan, Nevada, and Pennsylvania. In defeat after defeat, judges dismissed the lawsuits and appeals for lack of credible proof.

Despite pressures and personal threats, state and local Republican electoral officials testified that the balloting and vote count process was carried out in strict accordance with the law, with the certified vote outcome reflecting the will of the people. The protracted challenges to the election for President Trump and his allies are likely to have important consequences. Not surprisingly, confidence in American elections tumbled and a series of polls suggest that millions of Republicans falsely believe that Trump won. For example, YouGov report that by late-November, following weeks of right wing misinformation and conspiracy theories, around 78% of Trump voters expressed little or no confidence that the 2020 presidential election was held fairly, 79% thought that Trump should not concede, while 85% believe that Biden did not legitimately win the election.¹

To a certain extent, some dissatisfaction reflects a common reaction among ‘sore losers’.² If doubts about the legitimacy of American elections persist and even deeper among citizens, however, comparative evidence suggests that these have the capacity to corrode civic engagement and undermine public faith in the principles and practices of liberal democracy.³ The fruitless quest to overturn the results also matters for public policy by initially delayed the presidential transition, as well as exacerbating Us-Them party polarization in Congress, and reducing prospects for bipartisan cooperation designed to tackle the urgent challenges facing America ranging from COVID-19 to the economy, racial justice, and climate change.

Performance evaluation of elections across America by 800+ election experts

Most media coverage after Election Day has focused on the results and litigation over alleged fraud cases in several swing states—but how did the 2020 election perform more generally across America? Did other serious problems commonly arise, such as voter suppression for communities of color, barriers facing women seeking elected office, difficulties in safely voting during the pandemic, or lack of transparency in campaign finance? This report, the first to address these sorts of broader concerns, presents new systematic evidence concerning three questions:

1. Did experts detect evidence of incidents of widespread voting fraud in their state during the election?

2. More generally, beyond fraud, what are the overall strengths—and weaknesses—of elections in all 50 states across America?

3. And, finally, has the overall performance of American elections got better—or worse—over time?

For the last eight years, the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP) has gathered evidence about the performance of elections across states in America and among countries around the globe. Based at Harvard University and the University of Sydney, EIP was first established in 2012 by Professor Pippa Norris as a scientific research project involving a team of international scholars. Since then, EIP has evaluated the strengths and flaws of over 300 parliamentary and presidential elections in 166 nations around the world. As part of this research, EIP monitored the performance of American elections across 50 states after the 2014, 2016 and 2018 contests. 4

Extending this series, this report summarizes the results of the new EIP expert survey monitoring the performance of the 2020 U.S. elections. The study (PEI-US-2020) was conducted among political scientists based in American universities and colleges in all 50 states across the country. Experts were selected as knowledgeable about American elections and parties, as demonstrated through their formal qualifications, teaching and research specialization, professional affiliations and publication record (see Part III and the Technical Appendix for details). After the close of polls, participants were invited to complete a questionnaire with 120 items designed to provide a multidimensional assessment

of the electoral performance of the state where they were registered to vote. At least 20 political scientists were invited to participate in each of the 50 U.S. states plus DC. Responses were collected online from 6th to 23rd November 2020. In total, 789 experts completed the survey, generating a 20% response rate, meeting the target of around 15 experts per state. Internal validity tests indicate that performance ratings of electoral integrity in each state were not significantly influenced by the personal characteristics of the experts, including their partisanship, socio-economic and demographic characteristics (except for race), ideological values, and level of familiarity with elections in their state (see Part III).

Key findings and recommendations

The report suggests three key findings:

1. ***Election experts overwhelmingly rejected claims of widespread fraud occurring in their state during the balloting and vote tabulation stages of the 2020 U.S. elections.*** These assessments are fully consistent with evidence from the courts and the series of reports by state officials, federal agencies, and other authoritative sources.
2. ***At the same time, this does not imply that experts believe that the performance of all stages in the 2020 American elections should be given a clean bill of health.*** Many commentators have been too quick to assume that if claims of voter fraud are baseless, and turnout rose, then other stages of the contest are likely to have worked equally well across all states. But election experts identified a series of structural problems undermining American democracy. As repeatedly highlighted in previous EIP reports,⁵ these include: Electoral laws and gerrymandered districts favoring incumbents; campaign coverage by local press and TV news lacking fairness and balance while social media amplified misinformation; campaign finance lacking transparency and equitable access; communities of color experiencing difficulties in registering and voting; women and minorities candidates encountering barriers to elected office; and, the declaration of results generating lengthy disputes. At the same time, several strengths in the electoral process were also identified, namely: the fair and efficient management of electoral procedures and voting processes, and the professional performance of electoral authorities.

3. Finally, expert assessments also indicate that **compared with 2016, the performance of this contest displays several warning flags**, namely worsening confidence in the integrity of American elections and falling public trust, challenges to legitimacy arising from threats of campaign violence, legal disputes about the process and results, and public protests about the outcome, as well as growing attempts at voter suppression. Some of the worst fears of foreign meddling and outright violence did not materialize during the election and its immediate aftermath, although these potential risks persist.

To prevent further deterioration of public confidence in future elections, this report recommends that structural weaknesses should be addressed by a program of comprehensive reforms, thereby restoring feelings of legitimacy in the electoral process.⁶ The incoming Biden-Harris administration should work with Congress, federal and state officials, independent organizations, and academic experts to identify effective ways to strengthen American elections and democracy. This includes passing H.R.1 (2019) "*For the People Act*" which would strengthen democracy by making it easier to vote, limiting partisan gerrymandering, fixing the campaign finance system, and strengthening ethics rules.⁷ To support these recommendations, *Part II* of this report goes on to summarize the background to the 2020 US elections and concerns raised by both Republicans and Democrats about the process and outcome. *Part III* describes the survey methods, evidence and validity tests. *Part IV* highlights the key findings. *Part V* presents the conclusions and recommendations.

1 The Economist/YouGov poll of 1500 registered voters. Nov 21-24 2020. www.yougov.com

2 Christopher J. Anderson et al. 2005. *Loser's Consent*. New York: Oxford University Press.

3 Pippa Norris. 2014. *Why Electoral Integrity Matters*. NY: Cambridge University Press; Pippa Norris. 2019. 'Do perceptions of electoral malpractice undermine democratic satisfaction? The US in comparative perspective.' *International Political Science Review* 40(1): 5-22.

4 See, Pippa Norris, Holly Ann Garnett and Max Gromping. Eds. 2019. *Electoral Integrity in the 2018 American Elections*. Sydney: EIP. www.electoralintegrityproject.com

5 Pippa Norris, Sarah Cameron and Thomas Wynter. Eds. 2019. *Electoral Integrity in America*. New York: Oxford UP.

6 Pippa Norris. 2017. *Why American Elections are Flawed (and How to Fix Them)*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

7 <https://www.brennancenter.org/issues/ensure-every-american-can-vote/voting-reform/hr-1-democracy-reform>

