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Description of document:	Final Project Reports of Studies of Voting for National Science Foundation (NSF) Awards 1060220, 1060978, 1049730, and 1041085, 2011-2015
Requested date:	19-November-2018
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Source of document:	National Science Foundation Attn: FOIA Officer 2415 Eisenhower Avenue Alexandria, Virginia 22314 Fax: (703) 292-9041 Email: foia@nsf.gov

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NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

2415 Eisenhower Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

SEP 27 2019



OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL

Via email

Case #19-049F

This letter is the final response to your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request that the National Science Foundation (NSF) received on November 19, 2018. In your request, you sought a copy of the final reports from each of the following NSF awards: 1561248; 1550936; 1060220; 1060978; 1049730; and 1041085.

After a thorough search it has been determined that the final reports for 1561248 and 1550936 have not been submitted and are not due. We should have those final reports by February or March 2020.

As for the remaining reports, please find them enclosed. Proprietary information (trade secrets, commercial or financial information, EIN/TID, TIN numbers, pending and non-Federal grants, details of process methods and innovation) has been withheld under the provisions of Exemption (b)(4) of the FOIA. Personal information (Names, SSN, personal email and home address, home phone number, EIN/TID, TIN numbers, date/place of birth, bios, and individual salaries) has been withheld wherever it appears under the privacy protection of Exemption (b)(6) of the FOIA.

Your right of administrative appeal is set forth in Section 612.9 of the NSF FOIA regulation (copy enclosed). Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within 90 days of the date of the response to your request.

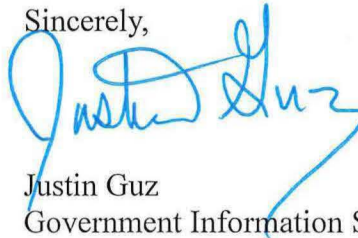
If you need any further assistance or would like to discuss any aspect of your request, please do not hesitate to contact our FOIA Public Liaison at 703-292-8060. Additionally, you may contact the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS) which was created to offer mediation services to resolve disputes between FOIA requesters and Federal agencies as a non-exclusive alternative to litigation. Using OGIS services does not affect your right to pursue litigation. If

you are requesting access to your own records (which is considered a Privacy Act request), you should know that OGIS does not have the authority to handle requests made under the Privacy Act of 1974. You may contact OGIS in any of the following ways:

National Archives and Records Administration
Office of Government Information Services
8601 Adelphi Road - OGIS
College Park, Maryland 20740-6001
E-mail: ogis@nara.gov
Web: <https://ogis.archives.gov>
Telephone: 202-741-5770
Facsimile: 202-741-5769
Toll-free: 1-877-684-6448

There is no fee for FOIA services in this instance in accordance with 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(i) et seq. Thank you for your interest in the National Science Foundation.

Sincerely,



Justin Guz
Government Information Specialist

Enclosures

§ 612.9 Appeals.

- (a) Appeals of denials. You may appeal a denial of your request to the General Counsel, National Science Foundation, 4201 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 1265, Arlington, VA 22230. You must make your appeal in writing and it must be received by the Office of the General Counsel within ninety days of the receipt of the denial (weekends, legal holidays, and the date of receipt excluded). Clearly mark your appeal letter and the envelope "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Your appeal letter must include a copy of your written request and the denial together with any written argument you wish to submit.
- (b) Responses to appeals. A written decision on your appeal will be made by the General Counsel. A decision affirming an adverse determination in whole or in part will contain a statement of the reason(s) for the affirmance, including any FOIA exemption(s) applied, and will inform you of the FOIA provisions for court review of the decision. If the adverse determination is reversed or modified on appeal, in whole or in part, you will be notified in a written decision and your request will be reprocessed in accordance with that appeal decision.
- (c) When appeal is required. If you wish to seek review by a court of any denial, you must first appeal it under this section.

Project Report Printer Friendly Version

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Preview of Award 1060220 - Final Project Report

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Cover

Federal Agency and Organization Element to Which Report is Submitted:	4900
Federal Grant or Other Identifying Number Assigned by Agency:	1060220
Project Title:	Collaborative Research: Causes and Consequences of the American Ballot
PD/PI Name:	Erik J Engstrom, Principal Investigator
Recipient Organization:	University of California-Davis
Project/Grant Period:	09/15/2011 - 08/31/2014
Reporting Period:	09/01/2013 - 08/31/2014
Submitting Official (if other than PD\PI):	Erik J Engstrom Principal Investigator
Submission Date:	03/12/2015
Signature of Submitting Official (signature shall be submitted in accordance with agency specific instructions)	Erik J Engstrom

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Accomplishments

* What are the major goals of the project?

The major goal of the project is to create a database of ballot formats in the United States from 1888 to the present. Where possible we will also collect state legislative roll-call information on changes in ballot rules.

* What was accomplished under these goals (you must provide information for at least one of the 4 categories below)?

Major

Activities: We have collected a database of state-level ballot formats from 1888 to the present. We have also collected state legislative roll calls for a sample of states. In addition, we have combined our ballot database with data on state legislative partisanship and a large range of congressional behaviors. The latter include bill sponsorship and roll-call voting.

Specific Objectives: Our specific objective in compiling this database was to analyze both the causes and consequences of ballot laws. We have produced two empirical research projects based on the data.

Significant Results: We have found that ballot formats substantially influence congressional behavior. Specifically, we have found that legislators elected under office bloc ballots --- where candidates are listed office-by-office --- sponsor much more legislation and are more sensitive to local district opinion.

With regard to the causes of ballot changes, we have found that state legislators act strategically in deciding when to alter ballot formats. State legislators worried about adverse national political tides appear much more likely to adopt an office bloc ballot. This ballot induces greater split-ticket voting and therefore offers a better opportunity for partisan legislators to shield themselves from adverse political forces. The party column format, by contrast, appears more likely to be chosen by legislators who favor the current national electoral climate.

Key outcomes or Other achievements:

*** What opportunities for training and professional development has the project provided?**

The project has provided a number of opportunities for support of graduate students at UC Davis. The grant allowed me to fund three graduate students over the course of three summers. The students were intimately involved in the collection and construction of our database.

*** How have the results been disseminated to communities of interest?**

The results have been disseminated at a number of academic conferences. Most recently, we presented a paper on the impact of ballot laws at the 2014 Midwestern Political Science Meetings in Chicago, Illinois.

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Products

Books**Book Chapters****Inventions****Journals or Juried Conference Papers****Licenses****Other Conference Presentations / Papers**

Erik J. Engstrom and Jason M. Roberts (). *The Effect of Ballot Type on Congressional Behavior*.
Midwestern Political Science Association Conference. Chicago, IL. Status = OTHER; Acknowledgement
of Federal Support = Yes

Other Products**Other Publications****Patents****Technologies or Techniques****Thesis/Dissertations****Websites**

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Participants/Organizations

What individuals have worked on the project?

Name	Most Senior Project Role	Nearest Person Month Worked
Engstrom, Erik	PD/PI	(b)(4), (b)(6)
(b) (6)	Graduate Student (research assistant)	
	Graduate Student (research assistant)	

Full details of individuals who have worked on the project:

<p>Erik J Engstrom Email: ejengstrom@ucdavis.edu Most Senior Project Role: PD/PI Nearest Person Month Worked: (b)(4), (b)(6) Contribution to the Project: PI Funding Support: None International Collaboration: No International Travel: No</p>
<p>(b) (4)</p> <p>Most Senior Project Role: Graduate Student (research assistant) Nearest Person Month Worked: (b)(4), (b)(6) Contribution to the Project: Collection of data. Formatting of data and preliminary analysis. Funding Support: Funding came from the award only. International Collaboration: No International Travel: No</p>
<p>(b) (4)</p> <p>Most Senior Project Role: Graduate Student (research assistant) Nearest Person Month Worked: (b)(4), (b)(6) Contribution to the Project: Data collection and analysis Funding Support: N/A International Collaboration: No International Travel: No</p>

What other organizations have been involved as partners?

Nothing to report.

What other collaborators or contacts have been involved?

NO

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Impacts

What is the impact on the development of the principal discipline(s) of the project?

The NSF grant has allowed us to construct an important new database to be used by the scholarly community. The database, along with the empirical results, will enhance our understanding of how democratic institutions are created and how they affect the practical workings of elections and representation. This data will facilitate new innovations in the study of elections and legislative representation.

What is the impact on other disciplines?

The database and results of this project have important implications beyond political science. Most notably, the results should help inform legal scholars and others who work in the field of election law. By providing the first, and most comprehensive, database of ballot formats legal scholars will have a better foundation from which to assess the causes and consequences of changes in electoral statutes.

What is the impact on the development of human resources?

The grant supported the training of graduate students at UC Davis. These students were able to develop essential skills in data collection, data management, and statistical analysis. Each of these skills will be foundational for their future career prospects as researchers and educators.

What is the impact on physical resources that form infrastructure?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on institutional resources that form infrastructure?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on information resources that form infrastructure?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on technology transfer?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on society beyond science and technology?

It is our hope that this research will be of much interest to those working in the electoral law community such as state legislators and their staff, election administrators, legal scholars, and lawyers.

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Changes/Problems

Changes in approach and reason for change

Nothing to report.

Actual or Anticipated problems or delays and actions or plans to resolve them

Nothing to report.

Changes that have a significant impact on expenditures

Nothing to report.

Significant changes in use or care of human subjects

Nothing to report.

Significant changes in use or care of vertebrate animals

Nothing to report.

Significant changes in use or care of biohazards

Nothing to report.

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Project Report Printer Friendly Version

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Preview of Award 1060978 - Final Project Report

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Cover

Federal Agency and Organization Element to Which Report is Submitted:	4900
Federal Grant or Other Identifying Number Assigned by Agency:	1060978
Project Title:	Collaborative Research: Causes and Consequences of the American Ballot
PD/PI Name:	Jason M Roberts, Principal Investigator
Recipient Organization:	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Project/Grant Period:	09/15/2011 - 06/30/2014
Reporting Period:	09/01/2013 - 06/30/2014
Submitting Official (if other than PD\PI):	Jason M Roberts Principal Investigator
Submission Date:	09/29/2014
Signature of Submitting Official (signature shall be submitted in accordance with agency specific instructions)	Jason M Roberts

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Accomplishments

* What are the major goals of the project?

The major goal of this project is to construct an original dataset of state level ballot law changes from the 1880s to the present. With this dataset the major goal is to assess the effects of ballot law changes on election outcomes, electoral competition, and behavior within state legislatures and the U.S. Congress.

* What was accomplished under these goals (you must provide information for at least one of the 4 categories below)?

Major Activities: We have collected a database of state-level ballot formats from 1888 to the present. We have also collected state legislative roll calls for a sample of states. In addition, we have combined our ballot database with data on state legislative partisanship and a large range of congressional behaviors. The latter include bill sponsorship and roll-call voting.

Specific Objectives: Our specific objective in compiling this database was to analyze both the causes and consequences of ballot laws. We have produced two empirical research projects based on the data.

Significant Results: We have found that ballot formats substantially influence congressional behavior. Specifically, we have found that legislators elected under office bloc ballots --- where candidates are listed office-by-office --- sponsor much more legislation and are more sensitive to local district opinion.

With regard to the causes of ballot changes, we have found that state legislators act strategically in deciding when to alter ballot formats. State legislators worried about adverse national political tides appear much more likely to adopt an office bloc ballot. This ballot induces greater split-ticket voting and therefore offers a better opportunity for partisan legislators to shield themselves from adverse political forces. The party column format, by contrast, appears more likely to be chosen by legislators who favor the current national electoral climate.

Key outcomes or Other achievements:

*** What opportunities for training and professional development has the project provided?**

The project has provided a number of opportunities for support of a graduate student at UNC. The grant allowed me to fund one graduate students over the course of two academic years. The student was intimately involved in the collection and construction of our database.

*** How have the results been disseminated to communities of interest?**

The results have been disseminated at a number of academic conferences. Most recently, we presented a paper on the impact of ballot laws at the 2014 Midwestern Political Science Meetings in Chicago, Illinois. We are working to publish these in peer reviewed outlets.

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Products

Books

Nothing to report.

Book Chapters

Nothing to report.

Inventions

Nothing to report.

Journals or Juried Conference Papers

Nothing to report.

Licenses

Nothing to report.

Other Conference Presentations / Papers

Nothing to report.

Other Products

Nothing to report.

Other Publications

Nothing to report.

Patents

Nothing to report.

Technologies or Techniques

Nothing to report.

Thesis/Dissertations

Nothing to report.

Websites

Nothing to report.

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Participants/Organizations

What individuals have worked on the project?

Name	Most Senior Project Role	Nearest Person Month Worked
Roberts, Jason	PD/PI	(b)(4), (b)(6)

Full details of individuals who have worked on the project:

Jason M Roberts
Email: jroberts@unc.edu
Most Senior Project Role: PD/PI
Nearest Person Month Worked: (b)(4), (b)(6)
Contribution to the Project: Database management, analysis, and writing papers.
Funding Support: n/a
International Collaboration: No
International Travel: No

What other organizations have been involved as partners?

Nothing to report.

What other collaborators or contacts have been involved?

YES

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Impacts

What is the impact on the development of the principal discipline(s) of the project?

The NSF grant has allowed us to construct an important new database to be used by the scholarly community. The database, along with the empirical results, will enhance our understanding of how democratic institutions are created and how they affect the practical workings of elections and representation. This data will facilitate new innovations in the study of elections and legislative representation.

What is the impact on other disciplines?

The database and results of this project have important implications beyond political science. Most notably, the results should help inform legal scholars and others who work in the field of election law. By providing the first, and most comprehensive, database of ballot formats legal scholars will have a better foundation from which to assess the causes and consequences of changes in electoral statutes.

What is the impact on the development of human resources?

The grant supported the training of a graduate student at UNC. This student was able to develop essential skills in data collection, data management, and statistical analysis. Each of these skills will be foundational for their future career prospects as researchers and educators.

What is the impact on physical resources that form infrastructure?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on institutional resources that form infrastructure?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on information resources that form infrastructure?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on technology transfer?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on society beyond science and technology?

It is our hope that this research will be of much interest to those working in the electoral law community such as state legislators and their staff, election administrators, legal scholars, and lawyers.

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Changes/Problems

Changes in approach and reason for change

Nothing to report.

Actual or Anticipated problems or delays and actions or plans to resolve them

Nothing to report.

Changes that have a significant impact on expenditures

Nothing to report.

Significant changes in use or care of human subjects

Nothing to report.

Significant changes in use or care of vertebrate animals

Nothing to report.

Significant changes in use or care of biohazards

Nothing to report.

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Project Report Printer Friendly Version[Click here to print](#)**Preview of Award 1049730 - Final Project Report**[Cover](#) | [Accomplishments](#) | [Products](#) | [Participants/Organizations](#) | [Impacts](#) | [Changes/Problems](#)**Cover**

Federal Agency and Organization Element to Which Report is Submitted:	4900
Federal Grant or Other Identifying Number Assigned by Agency:	1049730
Project Title:	Reconciling Post-Election Auditing with the Secret Ballot
PD/PI Name:	Edward W Felten, Principal Investigator
Recipient Organization:	Princeton University
Project/Grant Period:	09/01/2010 - 08/31/2012
Reporting Period:	09/01/2011 - 08/31/2012
Submitting Official (if other than PD/PI):	Edward W Felten Principal Investigator
Submission Date:	06/28/2013
Signature of Submitting Official (signature shall be submitted in accordance with agency specific instructions)	Edward W Felten

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Accomplishments*** What are the major goals of the project?**

See the Changes section below.

*** What was accomplished under these goals (you must provide information for at least one of the 4 categories below)?**

Major
Activities: See the Changes section below.

Specific
Objectives:

Significant
Results:

Key
outcomes
or
Other
achievements:

*** What opportunities for training and professional development has the project provided?**

Nothing to report.

*** How have the results been disseminated to communities of interest?**

Nothing to report.

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Products

Books

Nothing to report.

Book Chapters

Nothing to report.

Inventions

Nothing to report.

Journals or Juried Conference Papers

Nothing to report.

Licenses

Nothing to report.

Other Conference Presentations / Papers

Nothing to report.

Other Products

Nothing to report.

Other Publications

Nothing to report.

Patents

Nothing to report.

Technologies or Techniques

Nothing to report.

Thesis/Dissertations

Nothing to report.

Websites

Nothing to report.

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Participants/Organizations

What individuals have worked on the project?

Name	Most Senior Project Role	Nearest Person Month Worked
Felten, Edward	PD/PI	0

Full details of individuals who have worked on the project:

Edward W Felten
Email: felten@cs.princeton.edu
Most Senior Project Role: PD/PI
Nearest Person Month Worked: 0
Contribution to the Project: See Changes section below.
Funding Support: None.
International Collaboration: No
International Travel: No

What other organizations have been involved as partners?

Nothing to report.

What other collaborators or contacts have been involved?

NO

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Impacts**What is the impact on the development of the principal discipline(s) of the project?**

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on other disciplines?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on the development of human resources?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on physical resources that form infrastructure?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on institutional resources that form infrastructure?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on information resources that form infrastructure?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on technology transfer?

Nothing to report.

What is the impact on society beyond science and technology?

Nothing to report.

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Changes/Problems

Changes in approach and reason for change

Nothing to report.

Actual or Anticipated problems or delays and actions or plans to resolve them

Nothing to report.

Changes that have a significant impact on expenditures

We were unable to perform the work under this grant due to unexpected changes in personnel. One graduate student died suddenly and another graduate student withdrew unexpectedly. As a result we did not have the necessary personnel to perform all planned projects. Rather than partially perform any project, we thought it best to withdraw from this project entirely.

Accordingly, no work was performed and all funds were returned to NSF.

Significant changes in use or care of human subjects

Nothing to report.

Significant changes in use or care of vertebrate animals

Nothing to report.

Significant changes in use or care of biohazards

Nothing to report.

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Final Report for Period: 08/2010 - 07/2011

Submitted on: 08/11/2011

Principal Investigator: Huber, Gregory A.

Award ID: 1041085

Organization: Yale University

Submitted By:

Huber, Gregory - Principal Investigator

Title:

Social and Psychological Dimensions of Ballot Secrecy

Project Participants

Senior Personnel

Name: Huber, Gregory

Worked for more than 160 Hours: Yes

Contribution to Project:

Name: Gerber, Alan

Worked for more than 160 Hours: Yes

Contribution to Project:

Post-doc

Graduate Student

Undergraduate Student

Technician, Programmer

Other Participant

Research Experience for Undergraduates

Organizational Partners

Other Collaborators or Contacts

Activities and Findings

Research and Education Activities:

The major research activity has been to design and conduct a nationally representative opinion survey after the November 2010 elections in the United States. Doing so is allowing us to investigate (1) the nature of perceptions about ballot secrecy in the United States and (2) the consequences of these perceptions for representation. With NSF support this large (N=3000), nationally representative survey was fielded in December 2010. We have begun to analyze these data. In addition, we are on track to make the data, along with a comprehensive codebook, publicly available 24 months after completing the survey (in December 2012), allowing researchers to replicate our findings and examine additional relationships in this unique dataset. We currently have one paper under review that uses these data and three other working papers. We have presented some of this work at conferences and other institutions (listed below).

Findings:

One preliminary observation is that people who report that they have never voted before are more doubtful that their ballot choices would be kept secret than those who have previously voted.

Training and Development:

This project has provided a great deal of experience to the postdocs who have been involved with it. They:

- (1) gained experience managing survey administration?prepared the questionnaire, worked with the survey organization, monitored survey completion, and in the midst of preparing a comprehensive codebook,
- (2) conducted data analysis,
- (3) prepared conference presentations, and
- (4) co-authored articles suitable for publication.

Outreach Activities:**Journal Publications****Books or Other One-time Publications****Web/Internet Site****Other Specific Products****Contributions****Contributions within Discipline:**

The primary contributions of this research is to demonstrate people's beliefs about the secrecy of their ballot matters for how they participate in politics.

Contributions to Other Disciplines:**Contributions to Human Resource Development:**

This research has provided the opportunity to train postdocs in survey design and administration, statistical analysis, the preparation of conference presentations and research dissemination, and to work with postdocs on scholarly publications.

Contributions to Resources for Research and Education:**Contributions Beyond Science and Engineering:**

This research provides insight into an important social problem ??' why some citizens choose not to participate in politics by voting on Election Day.

Conference Proceedings**Categories for which nothing is reported:**

Organizational Partners

Activities and Findings: Any Outreach Activities

Any Journal

Any Book

Any Web/Internet Site

Any Product

Contributions: To Any Other Disciplines

Contributions: To Any Resources for Research and Education

Any Conference

Award Title: Social and Psychological Dimensions of Ballot Secrecy
Award Number: 1041085
PI/Co-PI Name: Gregory Huber
Final Report

1. PARTICIPANTS

What People Have Worked on the Project?

Participant's Name	Project Role	>160 Hours
Gregory A. Huber	Principal Investigator	Yes
Alan S. Gerber	CoPrincipal Investigator	Yes
Conor M. Dowling	Postdoc	Yes
David Doherty	Postdoc	Yes
Seth J. Hill	Postdoc	Yes

What Other Organizations Have Been Involved as Partners?

Are any organizations other than yours partners in the project, or have they been?
No.

Have You had Other Collaborators or Contacts?

If so, please describe below:
No.

2. ACTIVITIES AND FINDINGS

Project Activities/Findings

*(1) What have been your major **research and education activities** (experiments, observations, simulations, presentations, etc.)?*

The major research activity has been to design and conduct a nationally representative opinion survey after the November 2010 elections in the United States. Doing so is allowing us to investigate (1) the nature of perceptions about ballot secrecy in the United States and (2) the consequences of these perceptions for representation. With NSF support this large (N=3000), nationally representative survey was fielded in December 2010. We have begun to analyze these data. In addition, we are on track to make the data, along with a comprehensive codebook, publicly available 24 months after completing the survey (in December 2012), allowing researchers to replicate our findings and examine additional relationships in this unique dataset. We currently have one paper under review that uses these data and three other working papers. We have presented some of this work at conferences and other institutions (listed below).

*(Last) What are your major **findings** from the activities identified above?*

One preliminary observation is that people who report that they have never voted before are more doubtful that their ballot choices would be kept secret than those who have previously voted.

Project Training/Development

*What **research and teaching skills and experience** has the project helped provide to those who worked on the project?*

This project has provided a great deal of experience to the postdocs who have been involved with it. They:

- (1) gained experience managing survey administration—prepared the questionnaire, worked with the survey organization, monitored survey completion, and in the midst of preparing a comprehensive codebook,
- (2) conducted data analysis,
- (3) prepared conference presentations, and

(4) co-authored articles suitable for publication.

Outreach Activities

*What **outreach activities** have you undertaken to increase public understanding of, and participation in, science and technology?*

None at this point.

3. PUBLICATIONS AND PRODUCTS

What have you published as a result of this work?

Journal publications

One paper currently under review: Alan Gerber, Gregory Huber, David Doherty, Conor Dowling, and Seth Hill. "Do Ballot Secrecy Perceptions Influence Turnout?"

Other projects in progress.

Books or other non-periodical, one-time publications

None.

What Web site or other Internet site have you created?

None.

What other specific products (databases, physical collections, educational aids, software, instruments, or the like) have you developed?

The data, along with a comprehensive codebook, will be made publicly available in December 2012.

4. CONTRIBUTIONS

Now we invite you to explain ways in which your work, your findings, and specific products of your project are significant. Describe the unique contributions, major accomplishments, innovations and successes of your project relative to:

(1) the principal discipline(s) of the project; Contributions within Discipline

The primary contributions of this research is to demonstrate people's beliefs about the secrecy of their ballot matters for how they participate in politics.

(3) the development of human resources; Contributions to Human Resources Development

This research has provided the opportunity to train postdocs in survey design and administration, statistical analysis, the preparation of conference presentations and research dissemination, and to work with postdocs on scholarly publications.

(5) other aspects of public welfare beyond science and engineering, such as commercial technology, the economy, cost-efficient environmental protection, or solutions to social problems.

This research provides insight into an important social problem – why some citizens choose not to participate in politics by voting on Election Day.

5. CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Alan Gerber, Gregory Huber, David Doherty, Conor Dowling, and Seth Hill. "Do Ballot Secrecy Perceptions Influence Turnout?" Presented at the 1st Annual Meeting of the European Political Science Association, Dublin, Ireland, June 16-18, 2011.

Also to be presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, Washington, September 1-4, 2011.