

RESEARCH IN DEMOCRATIC AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

GOV 355M (37420) | Spring 2024

Classroom: PAR 201

Class time: F 12:00-3:00pm

Office hours: W 10:00am-1:00pm (or by appointment)

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Democracies today face an increasingly complex landscape. They must build and maintain responsive, accountable governance as always, but do so amid dramatic rises in inequality, polarization, disinformation, climate stress, forced migration, and a host of other pressures. This course analyzes the structures of democratic and constitutional development, the drivers of democratic change, and the practice of actively promoting these factors through democracy assistance—all with a focus on preparing students to apply this information in the field.

This course analyzes a range of issues in democratic and constitutional development, exploring many of the same questions studied by national and international actors in the field: What are current democracy and constitutional trends globally? What stimulates and sustains democratic change? How can democratic assistance support these factors to help consolidate democracy and prevent backsliding? What are the goals and tools of democracy promotion in key areas of constitutional design? How do these vary across contexts? How can we assess progress in each area?

The course also provides training in research methods related to democratic and constitutional development. Students will conduct research on varied challenges democracies face and receive training on a range of research methods, including comparative analysis, primary and secondary research, and legal and constitutional analysis. Students will present research in varied formats useful in professional settings in this field, including oral presentations, literature reviews, research memos, and research reports.

Following the spring semester, students in good standing will participate in UT's Embedded Scholars fellowship in Democratic Institutional Development in Latin America in Summer 2024. In this fellowship, students work for the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) on democracy assistance in Panama and work with the Comparative Constitutions Project (CCP) on constitutional research in Latin America.

OBJECTIVES

The course aims for students to: (1) understand varied approaches to designing institutions and processes in each area of democratic constitutional design, (2) analyze democratic and constitutional trends in Panama (the internship location), in the Americas, and globally, (3) gain familiarity with the goals and tools of democracy promotion, (4) build research and analytical skills used in the practice of democratic and constitutional development, and (5) build professional skills related to team collaboration and cultural competence.

CLASS STRUCTURE

Each class will focus on a core issue in the study and practice of democratic and constitutional development, as outlined in the schedule. This includes lecture and discussion examining the issue in the Americas and globally. For classes in the section on Democratic Constitutional Development, it also includes student issue presentations exploring the Panamanian context of the issues under study that week.

Each class will also include a methods discussion delving into research and professional skills applicable in our course and in work in the field. These topics are noted in the schedule, with the exception of three topics that will be determined and presented by the graduate students in the course.

ASSIGNMENTS

Coursework includes the following components, weighted as noted. Additional instructions will be provided for each assignment (except class participation), including formatting guidance and examples for each product (reading/literature review, oral presentation, research memo, research report, and team agreement).

- 20%** **Class participation:** Much of the class will center around structured discussion and applied learning. Students should be prepared to discuss key points from the readings, make insightful arguments or counterarguments, and respond to points raised by others in class. Regular attendance, a high level of preparation, and consistent contributions in class discussions are required.
- 15%** **Reading review:** Undergraduate students will each prepare an analytical synthesis of one week's required and background readings. The review is structured as a mini-literature review, analyzing key themes, insights, and areas of agreement and disagreement in the readings that week. Students will identify weeks when they'd prefer to review readings, then the schedule will be distributed. Students must send their reading review to the full class through Canvas on their assigned Thursday by 12pm.
- 15%** **Issue presentation:** Students will each give an oral presentation during class one week. Each presentation will be 15 minutes and will explain the Panamanian context of issues under study that week. The presenter will then ask at least two questions to initiate class discussion. Students will identify weeks when they'd prefer to present, then the schedule will be distributed. Students must send their presentation outline/slides and bibliography to the full class through Canvas on their assigned Thursday by 12pm and present on their assigned Friday in class.
- 25%** **Research memos:** Students will each write two research memos related to their team research project. The memos will explore relevant literature and legal frameworks, present initial findings, and identify research challenges and next steps. These use a concise format to communicate findings for an internal audience, as one often does during the research process. Students must submit their research memos on Canvas, with the first due by Thursday, February 22 at 12pm and the second due by Thursday, March 7 at 12pm.
- 25%** **Team research project:** Students will work in groups to research a challenge to democratic development. This project has three collective products:
- Each group will submit a **team agreement** that defines the project objectives, the research activities and timeline, the roles and responsibilities of each member of the team, and the channels of communication among members of the team. This is due on Canvas by Friday, February 9 at 5pm.
- Each group will deliver a **team presentation** that explains the issue, shares its research findings, and answers questions from the class. The conflict and violence teams will present on Friday, April 12 in class, the disinformation and fake news teams will present on Friday, April 19 in class, and the marginalization team will present on Friday, April 26 in class.
- Each group will write a **team research report** summarizing its research for delivery to International IDEA. The research report uses a longer format to contextualize the research and present findings for an external audience, as one often does at the end of a research process. The draft research report is due on Canvas by Thursday, April 4 at 12pm, and the final research report is due on Canvas by Thursday, May 2 at 12pm.

DUE DATES

Below is a summary of the due dates for assignments described above.

Assigned Thursday, 12pm:	Reading review
Assigned Thursday, 12pm:	Issue presentation outline/slides and bibliography
Assigned Friday, 12pm:	Issue presentation and questions
Feb 9, 5pm	Team agreement
Feb 22, 12pm	Research memo 1
Mar 7, 12pm	Research memo 2
Apr 4, 12pm	Draft team research report
Apr 12, 19, & 26, 12pm:	Team presentations
May 2, 12pm:	Final team research report

COURSE POLICIES

Academic environment: Our classroom provides an open space for the civil exchange of ideas. It is my intent to ensure that students from diverse backgrounds and viewpoints are well served by this course, that all students' learning needs are addressed, and that the diversity students bring to this class can be comfortably expressed and viewed as a resource, strength, and benefit for all students. I ask students to help create an atmosphere of mutual respect for, and interest in, others' views and experiences.

Academic integrity: Students must abide by the university's honor code and standards of academic integrity. Students who violate university rules on academic integrity are subject to disciplinary penalties, including the possibility of failure in the course and/or dismissal from the university. The university's policies on this topic are available on the Office of the Dean of Students website on [Standards of Conduct](#). I highly encourage you to also review UT's very helpful resources on [avoiding academic misconduct](#) and [avoiding plagiarism](#).

Attendance: Attendance includes being on time, being fully present (meaning, not on phones or checking email), and staying for the full class. Students may miss two classes for any reason without the absences affecting class participation grades. Students wishing to have an absence excused must submit the reason and any needed documentation to the professor within one week of returning to class. A one-day absence due to illness may be counted as excused without a note. A multi-day absence due to illness requires a note from the university or a medical professional to be counted as excused.

Citation standards: In this course, you are welcome to use APA, Chicago, or MLA citation styles.

Communication: Your success in this course and at UT is important to me. If there are aspects of this course or other challenges that prevent you from learning, please let me know as soon as possible. Together we'll develop strategies to meet both your needs and the requirements of the course. I also encourage you to reach out as any questions come up or just to chat. You can talk with me after class, drop by office hours, schedule a time to meet, or email me anytime.

Disabilities: The university is committed to creating an accessible and inclusive learning environment consistent with university policy and federal and state law. Please let me know if you experience any barriers to learning so I can work with you to ensure you have equal opportunity to participate fully in this course. If you are a student with a disability, or think you may have a disability, and need accommodations, please contact the [Disability and Access Services](#) (D&A) in the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement. If you are already registered with D&A, please deliver your Accommodation Letter to me as early as possible in the semester so we can discuss your approved accommodations and needs in this course.

Grading: All assignments will be graded on a 100-point scale. The final course grade will be the weighted average of these grades, rounded to the nearest whole number, on the following UT scale: A = 94-100, A- = 90-93, B+ = 87-89, B = 83-86, B- = 80-82, C+ = 77-79, C = 73-76, C- = 70-72, D+ = 67-69, D = 63-66, D- = 60-62, F = 0-59.

Individual work: The assignments are an opportunity to engage with democratic and constitutional development issues that defy singular or simple answers. I am thus interested in your individual analysis and perspective on these issues. Group collaboration on assignments is not allowed, except on the team research project. Use of artificial intelligence tools is not allowed on any assignments.

Office hours: Regular office hours will be held on Wednesdays from 10:00am-1:00pm on the class Zoom line. Students can drop in, email me to reserve a time, or book an appointment time in the Zoom tab of our class Canvas page. I'm also happy to schedule a time to meet outside these office hours.

Prohibition on sharing course materials: No materials used in this class—including but not limited to readings, handouts, lectures, assignments, research, and other course materials—may be shared online or with anyone outside of the class without explicit, written permission of the professor. Lecture recordings are reserved only for students in this class for educational purposes and are protected under FERPA. The recordings should not be shared outside the class in any form.

Readings: Keeping up with the reading is essential to your success in class discussions and assignments. Readings listed as “required” are, of course, required. Readings listed as “background” are meant to be a resource for you in this class and beyond; they provide more nuance, cases, or historical background on topics raised in or related to the required reading. If you have interest in a particular area, you might want to read one or skim all of the background readings in that area.

MATERIALS

Course materials are posted on the class Canvas site. This includes the syllabus, readings, lectures, announcements, assignments, and grades. All lectures are recorded using the UT Lectures Online recording system. This records the audio and video material presented in class so you can review it after class or if you miss class. Recording links will appear in the Lectures Online tab in the left-side navigation on our class Canvas page.

SCHEDULE

Conceptual Foundations

Jan 19 | Democratic Transition and Consolidation

Issue discussion: What are democratic trends globally? Does democracy ‘matter’? What are its essential components? Are there standard models for democratic transition and consolidation?

Methods discussion: Surveying literature and writing a good literature review

Required:

- J. Linz and A. Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 3-15.
- T. Carothers. 2002. The End of the Transition Paradigm. *Journal of Democracy* 13 (1): 5-21.
- D. Becker. 1999. Latin America: Beyond “Democratic Consolidation.” *Journal of Democracy* 10 (2): 138-151.

Background:

- G. O'Donnell and P. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- S. Huntington. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 3-108.

- S. Mainwaring and F. Bizzarro. 2019. The Fates of Third-Wave Democracies. *Journal of Democracy* 30 (1): 99-113.

Jan 26 | Drivers of Democratization and Backsliding

Issue discussion: What drives democratization? What contributes to democratic backsliding? What are ‘countervailing institutions’? How can democratic assistance help consolidate democracy and prevent backsliding?

Methods discussion: Making effective oral presentations alone and in groups

Required:

- J. Teorell. 2010. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972-2006*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 16-28.
- IDEA Internacional. 2023. *El Estado de la Democracia en el Mundo y Las Américas 2023*. Elstocolmo: IDEA Internacional, 13-67.
- T. Carothers. 2020. Rejuvenating Democracy Promotion. *Journal of Democracy* 31 (2): 114-23.

Background:

- V. Williamson. 2023. *Understanding Democratic Decline in the United States*. Washington: Brookings Institution.
- T. Piccone. 2019. *Latin America's Struggle with Democratic Backsliding*. Washington: Brookings Institution.
- R. Gisselquist, M. Niño-Zarazúa, and M. Samarin. 2021. Does Aid Support Democracy? A Systematic Review of the Literature. *WIDER Working Paper No. 2021/14*. Helsinki: UN University Institute for Development Economics Research, 1-7, 20-21.

Democratic Constitutional Development

Feb 1 - Apr 4 | Reading review due on Thursdays by 12pm for assigned students

Feb 1 - Apr 4 | Issue presentation outline/slides and bibliography due on Thursdays by 12pm for assigned students

Feb 2 - Apr 5 | Issue presentation and questions due on Fridays by 12pm for assigned students

Feb 2 | Elections and Political Parties

Issue discussion: What role do elections and political parties play in democratization? What are varied approaches to election system design? What are the implications of each approach? What are the goals and tools of democracy promotion related to elections and political parties?

Methods discussion: Designing social science research

Required:

- M. Gallagher. 2014. Electoral Institutions and Representation. In *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in a Changing World, 4th Ed.*, edited by L. LeDuc, R. Niemi, and P. Norris. Los Angeles: Sage Publications Ltd., 11-31.
- R. Moser. 2009. Electoral Engineering in New Democracies: Can Preferred Electoral Outcomes Be Engineered? In *Is Democracy Exportable?*, edited by Z. Barany and R. Moser, 131-54.
- Global Commission on Elections, Democracy, and Security. 2012. *Profundizando la Democracia: Una Estrategia para Mejorar la Integridad Electoral en el Mundo*. Geneva: Kofi Annan Foundation, 43-65.

Background:

- T. Carothers. 2007. How Democracies Emerge: The “Sequencing” Fallacy. *Journal of Democracy* 18 (1): 12-27
- E. Mansfield and J. Snyder. 2007. Exchange: The Sequencing “Fallacy.” *Journal of Democracy* 18 (3): 5-9.
- P. Burnell and A. Gerrits. 2010. Promoting Party Politics in Emerging Democracies. *Democratization* 17 (6): 1065-84.
- W. Trochim and J. Donnelly. 2008. *Research Methods Knowledge Base, 3rd Ed.* Mason: Cengage Learning, Chapter 1 (Foundations).

Feb 9 | Team agreement due by 5pm

Feb 9 | Executive

Issue discussion: Which features of the executive branch shape democratization? What are varied ways the executive and executive-legislative relations can be structured? What are the implications of each approach? What are current trends globally? What are the goals and tools of democracy promotion related to executives?

Methods discussion: Conducting comparative research

Required:

- M. Böckenförde, N. Hedling, and W. Wahiu. 2022. *Guía Práctica para la Elaboración Constitucional*. Estocolmo: IDEA Internacional, Capítulo 4 (Diseño del Poder Ejecutivo).
- Z. Elkins. 2021. [How Powerful is the U.S. President?](#) *Constitute*, February 14.
- J. Botelho and R. Silva. 2021. Presidential Powers in Latin America Beyond Constitutions. *Iberoamericana – Nordic Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 50 (1): 28-39.

Background:

- A. Reynolds. 2011. *Designing Democracy in a Dangerous World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 139-151.
- J. Cheibub, Z. Elkins, and T. Ginsburg. 2013. Beyond Presidentialism and Parliamentarism. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-30.
- A. George and A. Bennett. 2005. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: MIT Press, Chapter 4 (Designing Case Study Research).

Feb 16 | Legislature

Issue discussion: What are varied ways legislatures can be designed? How do these features contribute to democracy? What are current trends globally? What are the goals and tools of democracy promotion related to legislatures?

Methods discussion: Topic TBD

Required:

- M. Böckenförde, N. Hedling, and W. Wahiu. 2022. *Guía Práctica para la Elaboración Constitucional*. Estocolmo: IDEA Internacional, Capítulo 5 (Diseño del Poder Legislativo).
- M. Fish. 2006. Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies. *Journal of Democracy* 17 (1): 5-20.
- S. Morris. 2021. *Mecanismos Constitucionales para Posibilitar la Representación, la Participación, y la Consulta de los Pueblos Indígenas*. Estocolmo: IDEA Internacional, 14-44.

Background:

- A. Reynolds. 2011. *Designing Democracy in a Dangerous World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 89-118.

- A. Moran. 2022. [Engineered Majorities: U.S. Senate Malapportionment in Comparative Context](#). *Balkinization*, September 25.
- F. Carrillo-Flórez and D. Petri. 2009. *Quality of Democracy and Parliamentary Reform in Latin America: How Europe Can Help*. Stockholm: International IDEA.
- Research methods reading TBD based on methods discussion topic

Feb 22 | Research memo 1 due by 12pm

Feb 23 | Judiciary

Issue discussion: What are the key features of courts in constitutional democracies? How is judicial autonomy best guaranteed? What are the goals and tools of democracy promotion related to courts and the rule of law?

Methods discussion: Presenting data

Required:

- M. Böckenförde, N. Hedling, and W. Wahiu. 2022. *Guía Práctica para la Elaboración Constitucional*. Estocolmo: IDEA Internacional, Capítulo 6 (Diseño del Poder Judicial).
- G. O'Donnell. 2004. The Quality of Democracy: Why the Rule of Law Matters. *Journal of Democracy* 15 (4): 32-46.
- T. Carothers. 1998. The Rule of Law Revival. *Foreign Affairs* 77 (2): 95-106.

Background:

- L. Hambergren. 2008. Twenty-Five Years of Latin American Judicial Reforms: Achievements, Disappointments, and Emerging Issues. *Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* Winter/Spring: 89-104.
- L. Mooney et al. 2010. Promoting the Rule of Law Abroad: A Conversation on Its Evolution, Setbacks, and Future Challenges. *The International Lawyer* 44 (2), particularly 840-8.
- W. Trochim and J. Donnelly. 2008. *Research Methods Knowledge Base*, 3rd Ed. Mason: Cengage Learning, Chapter 12-2 (Data Preparation), 12-3 (Descriptive Statistics), 12-4 (Exploratory Data Analysis and Graphics).

Mar 1 | New Methods for Analyzing Legal Texts

Methods training: How can new text-as-data methods support systematic comparative legal analysis? What are the implications for constitutional analysis and design? How can these tools improve democratic governance? What are the risks of such tools, and can they be addressed?

Methods discussion 1: Conducting legal and constitutional research

Methods discussion 2: Topic TBD

Required:

- A. Cruz et al. 2023. [Measuring Constitutional Preferences: A New Method for Analyzing Public Consultation Data](#). *PLOS ONE* 18 (2).

Background:

- L. Epstein. 2023. Interested in a Great Example of (How to Conduct) Empirical Legal Research? Look No Further than *How Constitutional Rights Matter*. *Jerusalem Review of Legal Studies* 28 (1): 31-9.
- I. Dobinson and F. Johns. 2007. Legal Research as Qualitative Research. In *Research Methods for Law*, edited by M. McConville and W. Chui. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 18-47.
- Research methods reading TBD based on methods discussion topic

Mar 7 | Research memo 2 due by 12pm

Mar 8 | Legal and Constitutional Reform

Issue discussion: What are constitutional trends globally? Why do calls for constitutional reform come about? How do concerns and priorities vary across countries? How can the public be involved in legal and constitutional reform? How does democracy assistance support these processes?

Required:

- R. Uprimny. 2011. Las Transformaciones Constitucionales Recientes en América Latina: Tendencias y Desafíos. *Texas Law Review* 89 (7): 1-22.
- G. Negretto and J. Couso. 2018. *Constitution-Building Processes in Latin America*. Stockholm: International IDEA, skim all of it.
- Z. Elkins, M. Martin, A. Moran, and G. Pérez. 2023. [12 Core Attributes of the Chilean Constitutional Proposal](#). *Constitute*, December 15.
- Delegates of the Democracy Constitution. 2021. [A New Constitution for the United States](#). *Democracy* 61 (Summer).

Background:

- Tom Ginsburg and Aziz Z. Huq. 2016. Assessing Constitutional Performance. In *Assessing Constitutional Performance*, edited by Tom Ginsburg and Aziz Z. Huq, 12-23 only. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- R. Hirschl. 2022. The “Era of the City” as an Emerging Challenge to Liberal Constitutional Democracy. *Ethics and International Affairs* 36 (4): 455-73.
- R. Dixon and D. Landau. 2022. Healing Liberal Democracies: The Role of Restorative Constitutionalism. *Ethics and International Affairs* 36 (4): 427-35.

Mar 22 | State Administration

Issue discussion: What role does state administration play in democratization? What are the key features of an effective state? How does deliberative governance contribute to democracy? Does decentralization advance democracy?

Methods discussion: Topic TBD

Required:

- C. Pierson. 2011. *The Modern State*, 3rd Ed. London: Routledge, 5-27.
- Y. Dawood. 2022. Effective Government and the Two Faces of Constitutionalism. In *Constitutionalism and a Right to Effective Government*, edited by V. Jackson and Y. Dawood. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 47-59.
- J. M. Insulza. 2016. *Gobernabilidad Democrática, 2005-2015*. Washington: Organización de los Estados Americanos, 94-8.
- N. Samarasinghe. 2023. [Can Democracy Deliver? Voices](#), September 12.

Background:

- J. Linz and A. Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 16-37.
- J. Dryzek. 2009. Democratization as Deliberative Capacity Building. *Comparative Political Studies* 42 (11), only 1379-84, 1394-7.
- A. Stepan. 1999. Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model. *Journal of Democracy* 10 (4): 19-34.
- Research methods reading TBD based on methods discussion topic

Mar 29 | Civil Society and Rights

Issue discussion: What role does civil society play in democratization? What are trends in civil and political rights globally? What are the goals and tools of democracy promotion related to civil society?

Methods discussion: Writing for different audiences

Required:

- L. Diamond. 1994. Rethinking Civil Society: Toward Democratic Consolidation. *Journal of Democracy* 5 (3): 4-17.
- A. Chilton and M. Versteeg. 2016. Do Constitutional Rights Make a Difference? *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (3): 575-89.
- T. Pogrebinschi. 2021. *Treinta Años de Innovación Democrática en América Latina*. Berlin: WZB Berlin Social Science Center, only 10-13, 20-31, and pick 1-2 countries to read in 34-69.

Background:

- M. Coppedge. 2012. *Democratization and Research Methods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 222-56.
- C. Gershman. 2004. Democracy Promotion: The Relationship of Political Parties and Civil Society. *Democratization* 11 (3): 27-35.
- W. Trochim and J. Donnelly. 2008. *Research Methods Knowledge Base, 3rd Ed.* Mason: Cengage Learning, Chapter 12 (Write-up).

Apr 4 | Draft team research reports due by 12pm

Apr 5 | Political Participation

Issue discussion: What are best practices in designing inclusive political processes? How does inclusion shape democracy? How can we assess public views on the direction of their democratic institutions and constitutional order?

Methods discussion: Assessing public opinion

Required:

- A. Lijphart. 1997. Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma. *American Political Science Review* 91 (1): 1-14.
- A. Clayton. 2021. How Do Electoral Gender Quotas Affect Policy? *Annual Review of Political Science* 24: 235-52.
- S. Bisarya and M. Rogers. 2023. *Designing Resistance: Democratic Institutions and the Threat of Backsliding*. Stockholm: International IDEA, Chapters 1 and 2.

Background:

- R. Dalton. 2017. [Is Citizen Participation Actually Good for Democracy?](#) *Democracy Audit*, August 22.
- W. Trochim and J. Donnelly. 2008. *Research Methods Knowledge Base, 3rd Ed.* Mason: Cengage Learning, Chapter 4 (Survey Research).

Challenges for Democracy

Apr 12 | Conflict and Violence team presentations due by 12pm

Apr 12 | Conflict and Violence

Team presentations: Conflict and Violence

Issue discussion: How do conflict and societal violence impede democratic development? How can democracy shape conflict and violence dynamics? How are democracy assistance programs accounting for conflict stressors and violence targeting particular groups?

Methods discussion: Tracking conflict events

Apr 19 | Disinformation and Fake News team presentations due by 12pm

Apr 19 | Disinformation and Fake News

Team presentations: Disinformation and Fake News

Issue discussion: How do disinformation and fake news affect democracy? How should democracies respond to disinformation and fake news? How are democracy assistance programs responding to such disinformation and fake news?

Methods discussion: Working across cultures

Apr 26 | Marginalization team presentation due by 12pm

Apr 26 | Marginalization

Team presentation: Marginalization

Issue discussion: How does group marginalization affect democracy? How should democracies respond to such marginalization? How are democracy assistance programs responding to marginalization of particular groups?

Methods discussion: Working with trauma-affected populations

May 2 | Final team research report due by 12pm