

POLI 138D: How to Steal an Election

Tuesdays/Thursdays 9:30 – 10:50
Robinson Building Complex (IRPS) 3201

Professor Clark Gibson
Office: Social Science Building 386
Telephone: 822-5140
E-Mail: ccgibson@ucsd.edu
Office Hours: Monday 8:30-9:30 a.m.

Teaching assistant:
Alex Verink
E-mail: averink@ucsd.edu
Office hours: SSB 332, Tuesday 1-3 p.m

Overview:

Many former democracies are turning into “electoral dictatorships.” This course seeks to introduce students to the politics of electoral fraud in the contemporary world. It covers topics such as the logic of elections in authoritarian states, vote buying, electoral violence, institutional design and rigging, and election monitoring.

The Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza once said to his electoral opponent who claimed to have defeated him at the polls: “You may have won the voting, but I won the counting.”

Course Requirements and Grading:

The course will have a midterm (30%), final (30%), reading quizzes (30%), and in-class discussion (10%)

- Exams will be comprised mainly of short answers.
- Reading Quizzes occur frequently. Read the assignment before the day on which they are to be discussed. You may drop two quizzes without reason – use this power judiciously. There are no make-up quizzes.
- Discussion is graded on your command of the reading material and your presentation of ideas.

Nota Bene: This course focuses heavily on in-class activities. If you prefer courses which require less attendance and allow you to “catch up” with the readings, do not take this course.

POLI 138D Schedule of Topics and Reading Assignments

January 8

Susan Hyde - Table 12-1 “Examples of Unambiguous Signs of Election Manipulation” and Table 12-2 “Examples of Election Irregularities When Intention to Manipulate is Unclear” in R.M. Alvarez, T.E. Hall, and S. Hyde eds. *Election Fraud*, Brookings 2008.

Daniel Calingaert “Election Rigging and How to Fight It” *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 17, Number 3, July 2006, pp. 138-151.

Andreas Schedler “The Menu of Manipulation” *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 13, Number 2, April 2002: 36-50.

January 13

Andreas Schedler “The Nested Game of Democratization,” *International Political Science Review* Vol.23, No. 1, (Jan., 2002), pp. 103-122.

Barbara Geddes “Why Parties and Elections in Authoritarian Regimes?” Department of Political Science UCLA, manuscript March 2006.

January 15

Alberto Simpser “Cheating Big: On the Logic of Electoral Corruption in Developing Countries” manuscript April 27, 2008.

Clark Gibson, Barak Hoffman, Ryan Jabolonski 2013 “Did Aid Promote Democracy in Africa? The Role of Technical Assistance in Africa’s Transitions” submitted to *World Development*.

January 20

Kai Ostwald “How to Win a Lost Election: Malapportionment and Malaysia’s 2013 General Election” manuscript.

Kenneth McElwain “Manipulating Electoral Rules to Manufacture Single-Party Dominance” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 52, No. 1, January 2008, pp. 32–47.

January 22

Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Beatriz Magaloni “Party Dominance and the Logic of Electoral Design in Mexico’s Transition to Democracy” 2001 *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 13(3): 271–293.

Andy Harris “Bring Out Your Dead!” How the Accumulation of Dead Voters Affects the Quality of Electoral Rolls in Kenya” manuscript 2013.

Sasha Abramsky “A Growing Gap in American Democracy” *New York Times* July 27, 2002.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/07/27/opinion/a-growing-gap-in-american-democracy.html>

January 27

Ellen Lust-Okar “Elections under authoritarianism: Preliminary lessons from Jordan” *Democratization*, 13:3, 456-471, 2006.

Lisa Blaydes “Authoritarian Elections and Elite Management: Theory and Evidence from Egypt” Paper prepared for delivery at the Princeton U. Conference on Dictatorships, April 2008.

January 29

Leonardo Arriola “Patronage and Political Stability in Africa” *Comparative Political Studies* Vol 42 Number 10 October 2009: 1339-1362.

Wonik Kim and Jennifer Ghandi “Coopting Workers under Dictatorship” *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 72, No. 3, July 2010, Pp. 646–658.

February 3

“Whole Lotta Clucking Going On Over Chicken-Dinner Votes,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 5, 1999.

<http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/matier-ross/article/Whole-Lotta-Clucking-Going-On-Over-Chicken-Dinner-3329400.php>

“In Philadelphia, it's get out the money: Candidates usually pay their foot soldiers -- a tradition that could cost Obama support” *Los Angeles Times*, April 11, 2008.

<http://articles.latimes.com/2008/apr/11/nation/na-streetmoney11>

Fabrice Lehoucq “When Does a Market for Votes Emerge?” in Allen Hicken in Frederic C. Shaffer eds. *Elections for Sale: The Causes And Consequences of Vote Buying*, Lynne Rienner 2007, pp. 23-46.

Allen Hicken “How Rules and Institutions Encourage Vote Buying” in Allen Hicken in Frederic C. Shaffer eds. *Elections for Sale: The Causes And Consequences of Vote Buying*, Lynne Rienner 2007, pp. 47-61.

February 5 Midterm

February 10

Eric Kramon “Vote Buying and Turnout in Kenya’s 2002 Elections” manuscript.

Simeon Nichter “Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot” *American Political Science Review* Vol. 102, No. 1 February 2008.

February 12

Thomas Pepinsky “Autocracy, Elections, and Fiscal Policy: Evidence from Malaysia” *Studies in Comparative International Development* June 2007, Volume 42, Issue 1-2, pp. 136-163.

Steven Block, Karen Ferree, and Smita Singh “Multiparty Competition, Founding Elections and Political Business Cycles in Africa” *Journal of African Economies*, volume 12, Number 3, pp. 444-468.

February 17

Javier Auyero “From the client's point(s) of view”: How poor people perceive and evaluate political clientelism” *Theory and Society* 28: 297-334, 1999.

Frederic Schaffer “How Effective is Voter Education?” Frederic Schaffer ed. *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying* Lynne Rienner 2007.

February 19

Paul Collier and Pedro C. Vicente “Votes and Violence: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Nigeria” manuscript, October 2010.

Kjetil Tronvoll “Voting, violence and violations: peasant voices on the flawed elections in Hadiya, Southern Ethiopia” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* Volume 39 Issue 04 December 2001, pp. 697-716.

Roxana Gutiérrez Romero “An Inquiry into the Use of Illegal Electoral Practices and Effects of Political Violence” manuscript, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona 2012.

February 24

Emilie Hafner-Burton, Susan D. Hyde, and Ryan S. Jablonski “Surviving Elections: Government-Sponsored Election Violence and Leader Tenure” manuscript.

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton., Susan D. Hyde, and Ryan S. Jablonski “When Do Governments Resort to Election Violence?” *British Journal of Political Science* FirstView: 1–31.

February 26

Eric Bjornlund Chapter 3 “Elections and Election Monitoring” in Eric Bjornlund *Beyond Free and Fair: Monitoring Elections and Building Democracy* Woodrow Wilson Center Press 2004.

Eric Bjornlund Chapter 4 “From Non-Governmental to Governmental Organizations.”

March 3

Eric Bjornlund Chapter 5 “Jimmy Carter”, and Eric Bjornlund Chapter 11 “Domestic Monitoring”

March 5

Judith Kelley “D-Minus Elections: The Politics and Norms of International Election” *International Organization* Volume 63 Issue 04 October 2009, pp. 765–787.

Alberto Simpser “Unintended Consequences of Election Monitoring” in Alvarez, Hall, and Hyde eds. *Election Fraud* Brookings 2008.

March 10

Michael Callen, James Long, Danielle Jung and Clark Gibson “Reducing Electoral Fraud with Information and Communications Technology” under submission *The Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*.

Danielle Jung, Karen Ferree, Robert Dowd, and Clark Gibson “Experimental Evidence on the Effects of Electoral Inking on Turnout in a Fragile Democracy” manuscript.

March 12

TBA

Final exam on designated date

Students are expected to follow UCSD’s Student Conduct Code:

<https://students.ucsd.edu/student-life/organizations/student-conduct/regulations/22.00.html>