

POLI 129: How to Steal an Election

Tuesdays/Thursdays 11:00 am – 12:20 pm
Warren Lecture Hall 2113

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Tuesdays 3:30-4:30

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, manipulating institutional design, vote 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 two exams (30% each), final (to be discussed), reading quizzes (30%), and in-class discussion (10%)

- Exams will be comprised mainly of short answers.
- Reading Quizzes occur very 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 that require less attendance and allow you to “catch up” with the readings before an exam, do not take this course.

POLI 129 - Schedule of Topics and Reading Assignments

January 5 Introduction: What has happened to democracy around the world?

Review of syllabus; other sundries.

January 7 Elections = Democracy?

Staffan Lindberg. 2010. It's Our Time to Chop: Do Elections in Africa Feed Neo-Patrimonialism rather than Counter-Act It?" *Democratization*, Vol.10, No.2, Summer 2003, pp.121–140.

Staffan I. Lindberg. 2206. "The Surprising Significance of African Elections" *Journal of Democracy* Volume 17, Number 1: 139-151.

(Not required but a response to Lindberg above.) Matthijs Bogaards, "Reexamining African Elections," *Journal of Democracy* Volume 24, Number 4, 2013.

January 12 Why would an autocrat hold elections at all?

Barbara Geddes "Why Parties and Elections in Authoritarian Regimes?" Department of Political Science UCLA, manuscript March 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 14 What kinds of electoral fraud are committed?

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.

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

January 19 Rigging by electoral institutions

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 21 Vote buying

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.

January 26 Vote buying and turnout buying

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.

January 28 Using violence to manipulate elections I

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.

February 2 Using violence to manipulate elections II

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

Emilie 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 4 Exam 1

February 9 Using fiscal and monetary policy to manipulate elections

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 11 The view from "below"

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* Lienne Reinner 2007.

February 16 The importance of votes

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

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

February 18 Counting fraud

Ruben Enikolopova et al. 2012. “Field experiment estimate of electoral fraud in Russian parliamentary elections” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*: 448-452.

Bernd Beber and Alexandra Scacco. 2009. “The Devil Is in the Digits: Evidence That Iran's Election Was Rigged.” *The Washington Post*, June 20, 2009.

February 23 Workers and journalists

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

VonDoepp and Young. 2013. “Assaults on the Fourth Estate: Explaining Media Harassment in Africa” *Journal of Politics* 75 (1): 36–51.

February 25

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 1

Eric Bjornlund Chapter 5 “Jimmy Carter”

Eric Bjornlund Chapter 11 “Domestic Monitoring”

March 3

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 8

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 10 Exam 2

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>