

INTL 4780: Electioneering Around the World

Spring 2020
T-Th 2:00-3:15pm
Joe Brown Hall 241

Course Instructor: Dr. Mollie Cohen
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Course Description:

Free and fair elections are the cornerstone of democracy. When elections are free and fair, ordinary citizens are able express their preferences over policies and to hold their leaders to account. Citizen participation in elections also confers political legitimacy to political processes and actors. However, political actors have many tools, both legal and extralegal, through which they can make elections more or less free and fair. In using these tools, political elites manipulate expression of the public will.

This course explores how elections are conducted, with a focus on the ways that political actors in both democracies and non-democracies attempt to manipulate elections. By the end of the semester, students who successfully complete this course will:

- Understand how social scientific methods are applied in the study of elections
- Be familiar with various strategies for electioneering used in democracies and non-democracies
- Learn to collect and analyze data related to election results and election quality
- Produce and present a report assessing electoral integrity in a particular country case

Required Readings:

There is no textbook for this course. Readings will include articles from academic journals, which are available to you for free online or through the university library, and occasional book excerpts, which will be made available online.

Course Requirements:

Reading: This is a small class, and we will discuss course material at length. You are responsible for reading all assigned material for each class period. Some of the academic articles we will read are dense. You are not expected to understand all of the technical aspects of these articles. However, you are expected to make a good faith effort to identify the argument, evidence, and conclusions presented by the authors. You are not

required to read optional readings. In rare cases, readings may be adjusted during the semester.

Practical Exercises: Many weeks include a “Practical Day,” which is usually scheduled on Thursday. Practical exercises are a chance for you to dig into data and think through ways to answer pressing questions about electoral quality. They are also an opportunity for you to make headway on your final projects. You are expected to participate actively in all practical exercises, and to turn in any associated work at the designated time.

Class Participation: Both the quantity and quality of your participation in class discussion and activities will be considered. Your participation in class is not just an important part of your grade, but also a sign of respect to the instructor and your peers. The academic enterprise is founded on the open exchange of ideas; to that end, we will hold regular in-class discussions. You may hold strong opinions about the topics we read about and discuss in this class. I expect you to follow the golden rule during in-class discussions and treat your classmates and their ideas with the same respect you would like to receive.

Election Report: The final project for this course is an election report, which you will prepare with a group of your peers. You will work on this report over the course of the semester. Course **Assignments** are all components of the final report and are graded “completed” or “not completed”. You will receive more specific guidance about the tone, length, and content of this report during the semester.

Final Presentation: With your groupmates, you will present the findings from your election report to your fellow classmates, as well as members of the International Affairs faculty. You will receive more specific guidance about the tone, length, and expected content of these presentations during the semester.

Course Grade:

20% Class participation/ Practical Exercises

30% Assignments

40% Election Report

10% Final Presentation

Laptops, Tablets, and Smartphones:

Laptops, tablets, and other electronic devices are not allowed in this course on reading days without instructor permission. If permission is granted, you may use the equipment for the sole purpose of taking notes. All requests regarding technology must be made in person, and non-compliance with the policy will result in a failing participation grade.

On Practical Exercise days, please bring your technology to class!

Late or Missed Assignments:

If you do not complete the assignments, you will receive a zero for the assignment unless you have a medical excuse, religious obligation, or family emergency.

Academic Honesty Policy:

The academic honesty policy of the university is supplemented (not replaced) by an Honor Code which was adopted by the Student Government Association and approved by the University Council May 1, 1997, and provides: "I will be academically honest in all of my academic work and will not tolerate academic dishonesty of others." All students agree to abide by this code by signing the UGA Admissions Application.

Course Schedule

Week 1.

January 7. Introductions

- No reading

January 9. On inference, social science, and elections

- Reading:
 - Imai, Kosuke. 2018. *Quantitative Social Science: An Introduction*, pp. 46-69

Week 2.

January 14. Defining the problem

What even is electoral integrity?

- Reading:
 - Chapter 2, "The Concept of Electoral Integrity." In Norris, Pippa. 2014. *Why Electoral Integrity Matters*. Cambridge University Press.
 - Schedler, Andreas. 2002. "Elections without democracy: The menu of manipulation." *Journal of democracy* 13(2): 36-50.

January 16. Electoral Systems:

How do people vote for legislators and executives?

- Reading:
 - Excerpt from Chapter 13 in Clarke, Golder and Golder. "Elections and Electoral Systems." (pp. 534-577)
- Recommended:
 - Hix, Simon, Rafael Hortala-Vallve, and Guillem Riambau-Armet. 2017. "The effects of district magnitude on voting behavior." *The Journal of Politics* 79(1): 356-361.
 - Muraoka, Taishi. 2019. "The electoral implications of politically irrelevant cues under demanding electoral systems." *Political Science Research and Methods*: 1-15.

Week 3.

January 21. Party Systems

How are parties arranged?

- Reading:
 - Lupu, Noam. 2015. "Political Parties and Party Systems." *Routledge Handbook*.
 - Excerpt from Chapter 14 in Clarke, Golder and Golder. "Social Cleavages and Party Systems." (pp. 592-613; 624-633)

January 23. Group Meeting 1

Meet your groupmates, pick your countries.

Week 4.

January 28. Enfranchisement

Costs and benefits of voting, voluntary vs. mandatory voting, felon disenfranchisement

- Reading:
 - Birch, Sarah. 2009. "The case for compulsory voting." *Public Policy Research* 21-27.
 - <https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/voter-turnout/compulsory-voting>
 - <https://www.sentencingproject.org/publications/6-million-lost-voters-state-level-estimates-felony-disenfranchisement-2016/>
 - <https://felonvoting.procon.org/view.resource.php?resourceID=000289>
- Recommended
 - Sheppard, Jill. 2015. "Compulsory voting and political knowledge: Testing a 'compelled engagement' hypothesis." *Electoral Studies* 40: 300-307.
 - Singh, Shane P. 2018. "Compulsory voting and dissatisfaction with democracy." *British Journal of Political Science* 48(3): 843-854.
 - Carreras, Miguel. 2016. "Compulsory voting and political engagement (beyond the ballot box): A multilevel analysis." *Electoral Studies* 43: 158-168.
 - Manza, Jeff, and Christopher Uggen. 2004. "Punishment and democracy: Disenfranchisement of nonincarcerated felons in the United States." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(3): 491-505.

January 30. Practical day

Design a study: Party systems, electoral systems, and outcomes.

Week 5.

February 4. Ballot Design

What do ballots look like? How does ballot design affect voters' ability to vote?

- Reading:
 - Reynolds, Andrew, and Marco Steenbergen. 2006. "How the world votes: the political consequences of ballot design, innovation and manipulation." *Electoral Studies* 25(3): 570-598.

- Moehler, Devra, and Jeffrey Conroy-Krutz. 2016. "Eyes on the ballot: Priming effects and ethnic voting in the developing world." *Electoral Studies* 42: 99-113.
- Recommended:
 - Kimball, David C., and Martha Kropf. 2005. "Ballot design and unrecorded votes on paper-based ballots." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 69(4): 508-529.

February 6. Practical Day

Find images of ballots from your country. Design a study to test the effects of ballot features on election outcomes.

Week 6.

February 11. Enfranchisement II

Polling station access, voter ID laws

- Reading:
 - Brady, Henry E., and John E. McNulty. 2011. "Turning out to vote: The costs of finding and getting to the polling place." *American Political Science Review* 105(1): 115-134.
 - <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/1151216-wang-carter-center-report.html>
 - <https://www.politifact.com/georgia/article/2018/oct/19/georgias-exact-match-law-and-its-impact-voters-gov/>
- Recommended:
 - Hajnal, Zoltan, Nazita Lajevardi, and Lindsay Nielson. 2017. "Voter identification laws and the suppression of minority votes." *The Journal of Politics* 79(2): 363-379.
 - Grimmer, Justin, et al. 2018. "Obstacles to estimating voter ID laws' effect on turnout." *The Journal of Politics* 80(3): 1045-1051.
 - Hansen, Jonas Hedegaard. 2016. "Residential Mobility and Turnout: The Relevance of Social Costs, Timing and Education." *Political Behavior* 38(4): 769-791.
 - Haspel, Moshe, and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2005. "Location, location, location: Precinct placement and the costs of voting." *The Journal of Politics* 67(2): 560-573.

February 13. Practical Day

Polling station location and accessibility in Georgia

Week 7.

February 18. Advertising, Disinformation, and Media Control

- Reading:
 - [Huawei Technicians Helped African Governments Spy on Political Opponents](#)
 - [How Digital Disinformation Spread Through the 2018 Latin American Elections](#)
 - [Russia wants more influence in Africa. It's using disinformation to get there.](#)
 - Chapter 7, "Supporting Independent Media." pp. 187-211 in Norris, Pippa. 2017. *Strengthening Electoral Integrity*.

- Recommended:
 - Boas, Taylor C., and F. Daniel Hidalgo. 2011. "Controlling the airwaves: Incumbency advantage and community radio in Brazil." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(4): 869-885.

February 20. Practical Day.

Check-ins: Group projects and Georgia data

Week 8.

February 25. Our Brand is Crisis (part 1)

February 27. Our Brand is Crisis (part 2)

Practical exercise: campaign advertising in your country; group check-in

Week 9.

March 3. Electronic voting

- Reading:
 - [Explainer](#) on voting technology in the US
 - Barnes, Tiffany D., Carolina Tchintian, and Santiago Alles. 2017. "Assessing ballot structure and split ticket voting: Evidence from a quasi-experiment." *The Journal of Politics* 79(2): 439-456.
- Skim:
 - Alvarez, R. Michael, Ines Levin, and Yimeng Li. 2018. "Fraud, convenience, and e-voting: how voting experience shapes opinions about voting technology." *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* 15(2): 94-105.

March 5. Gerrymandering

- Film: *Slay the Dragon / Gerrymandering*

March 9-13: Spring Break!

Week 10.

March 17. Vote Buying

- Reading:
 - Mares, I., & Young, L. (2016). Buying, expropriating, and stealing votes. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 267-288.
 - Schedler, Andreas, and Frederic Charles Schaffer. 2007. "What is vote buying." *Elections for sale: The causes and consequences of vote buying*: 17-30.

March 19. Group Meeting 3

Week 11.

March 24. Ballot box stuffing

- Reading:
 - [Malawians await ruling on contested presidential poll](#)
 - Cantú, Francisco. 2014. "Identifying irregularities in Mexican local elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 936-951.

March 26. Practical Day

Suspiciously high turnout

Week 12.

March 31. Election Observation

- Reading:
 - Ichino, Nahomi, and Matthias Schündeln. 2012. "Deterring or displacing electoral irregularities? Spillover effects of observers in a randomized field experiment in Ghana." *The Journal of Politics* 74(1): 292-307.
 - Ascencio, Sergio J., and Miguel R. Rueda. 2019. "Partisan Poll Watchers and Electoral Manipulation." *American Political Science Review* 113(3): 727-742.
- Recommended:
 - Beaulieu, Emily, and Susan D. Hyde. 2009. "In the shadow of democracy promotion: Strategic manipulation, international observers, and election boycotts." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(3): 392-415.

April 2. Practical Day

Design a study. Look for observer reports for your country.

Week 12.

April 7. Election forensics

- Reading:
 - Hicken and Mebane. 2017. [A Guide to Election Forensics](#).

April 9. Practical day

2011 Russian Duma elections

Week 13.

April 14. Election violence

- Reading:
 - Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Susan D. Hyde, and Ryan S. Jablonski. 2014. "When do governments resort to election violence?." *British Journal of Political Science* 44(1): 149-179.

- Kuhn, Patrick M. 2015. "Do contentious elections trigger violence?." *Contentious Elections*. Routledge. 103-124.

April 16. No class; final group meetings

Week 14.

April 21. Final Project Presentations

April 23. Final Project Presentations