

INTL 4318: Electioneering Around the World

Spring 2021

M: 9:10am-12:10pm

International Affairs Building, 214

Course Instructor: Dr. Mollie Cohen

Office: International Affairs 311

Office Hours: Th: 3:00-5pm [on Zoom]

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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 Exercise.” These exercises are a chance for you to dig into data and think through ways to answer pressing questions about electoral integrity. 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. Each Practical Exercise is worth 4 points, for a total of 36 points. You will receive 4 additional points for successfully incorporating feedback from the Exercises in your final election report.

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.

Attendance: I will not enforce an attendance policy for this class. However, because this class is entirely discussion based, it will be conducted synchronously (in real-time). If you choose not to attend class, you will not receive participation points, which will directly affect your final grade.

If you choose to attend class in person, note that UGA requires all students, faculty, and staff to wear face coverings over the nose and mouth while indoors and maintain social distance (at least six feet) whenever possible. If you come to class without a face covering, you will be asked to find one or to leave and participate virtually.

Special Considerations for Covid-19: I would like nothing more than to be in the classroom with all of you this semester; however, the Covid-19 pandemic has made this unsafe for us and for the larger Athens community.

1. If you experience symptoms consistent with Covid-19, or are exposed to someone who has tested positive for Covid-19, **DO NOT ATTEND CLASS.** Report your exposure and any symptoms immediately through the Dawg Check app and seek a test as soon as possible.

It is necessary to meet assignment deadlines in this class. However, if you are ill, you might find yourself physically unable to complete your work on time. If this happens, **DO NOT PANIC.** Do reach out to me as soon as possible, so we can find a solution and ensure you get credit for your work as you are able to complete it.

2. The first class will be conducted online; you will receive a link via email in the week prior to the first class session. **You will not be punished in any way for exclusively participating in this class online.**

Course Grade:

20% Class participation

40% Practical Exercises/ Assignments

30% Election Report

10% Final Presentation

Laptops, Tablets, and Smartphones:

Laptops, tablets, and other electronic devices will be used to complete practical exercises, and to communicate with your classmates over Zoom. Please, bring your technology to class!

Late or Missed Assignments:

If you do not complete an assignment, 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.

Mental Health and Wellness Resources:

- *If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or*

visit <https://sco.uga.edu>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.

- UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>).
- If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.
- Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.

Course Schedule

January 25. Introductions; 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.
- Recommended:
 - Imai, Kosuke. 2018. *Quantitative Social Science: An Introduction*, pp. 46-69

February 1. Electoral Rules and Party Systems

Part I. 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 Rimbaut-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.

Part II. 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)

February 8. Party Systems

Group Meeting 1

Meet your groupmates, pick your countries.

Practical Exercise 1

*Write a brief memo (1-2 pages, single spaced) giving a general overview of the election you plan to examine. What were the general contours of the election? How were officials elected in that contest? How are parties arranged in that political system? **Due by 9am, February 15th***

February 15. 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.

Practical Exercise 2

*Write a memo (1-2 pages, single spaced) describing mandatory voting and felon enfranchisement in your election. Do you think that (dis)enfranchisement might have affected election results? Why or why not? How would you assess the effects of voter registration and enfranchisement on election outcomes? **Due by February 22 at 9am.***

February 22. 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.

Practical Exercise 3

Write a memo (1-2 pages, single spaced) describing images of ballots from your country, especially from the election you are studying. Make sure to include the images in an appendix to the memo. Do you think that the ballots used could have affected election outcomes? Why or why not? How would you assess the effects of ballot features on election outcomes? **Due by March 1 at 9am.**

March 1. 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.

Practical Exercise 4

Polling station location and accessibility in Georgia. Directions will be provided in class. Individual reflection memo (~1 page, single-spaced) **due by March 8, at 9am.**

March 8. 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.

Check-in: Group projects

March 15. Our Brand is Crisis

Practical Exercise 5

Write a memo (1-2 pages, single spaced) describing campaign advertisements from your country, especially from the election you are studying. Make sure to include images or videos in an appendix to the memo. Do you think that the advertisements used could have affected election outcomes? Why or why not? How would you assess the effects of campaign advertising on election outcomes? **Due by March 22 at 9am.**

March 22. International and Nonpartisan 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.
 - Enikolopov, Ruben, Vasily Korovkin, Maria Petrova, Konstantin Sonin, and Alexei Zakharov. 2013. "Field experiment estimate of electoral fraud in Russian parliamentary elections." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 110(2), 448-452.
- 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.

Practical Exercise 6

Write a memo (1-2 pages, single spaced) detailing the presence or absence of international election observers in your country, especially during the election you are studying. Make sure to include links to observers' reports summarizing the elections. What did the observers find? Do you think that their presence could have affected election outcomes? Why or why not? How would you assess the effect of election observation on election outcomes? **Due by March 29 at 9am.**

March 29. Partisan Election Observation

- Reading:
 - Ascencio, Sergio J., and Miguel R. Rueda. 2019. "Partisan Poll Watchers and Electoral Manipulation." *American Political Science Review* 113(3): 727-742.
- Recommended:

- Casas, Agustín, Guillermo Díaz, and André Trindade. 2017. "Who Monitors the Monitor? Effect of Party Observers on Electoral Outcomes." *Journal of Public Economics* 145: 136-149.

Practical Exercise 7

Partisan observation in the U.S./ Peru. Directions will be provided in class. Individual reflection memo (~1 page, single-spaced) due by April 5, at 9am.

April 5. 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.

Practical Exercise 8

*Write a memo (1-2 pages, single spaced) detailing reports of vote buying in your country, especially during the election you are studying. Make sure to include links to news sources or observer reports describing these events. Was vote buying widespread, or is there no evidence that vote buying occurred? Do you think that vote buying could have affected election outcomes? Why or why not? How would you assess the effect of vote buying on election outcomes? **Due by March 29 at 9am.***

April 12. 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.
- Skim to refresh:
 - Enikolopov, Ruben, Vasily Korovkin, Maria Petrova, Konstantin Sonin, and Alexei Zakharov. 2013. "Field experiment estimate of electoral fraud in Russian parliamentary elections." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 110(2), 448-452.

Check-in: Group projects

April 19. Election Forensics

- Reading:
 - Curiel, John, and Jack R. Williams. ["Bolivia dismissed its October elections as fraudulent. Our research found no reason to suspect fraud."](#) (Also skim the [OAS report](#) and the authors' [study](#)).
- Skim:
 - Hicken and Mebane. 2017. [A Guide to Election Forensics](#).

- Recommended:
 - Eggers, Andrew C., Haritz Garro, and Justin Grimmer. 2021. [“Comment on: “A Simple Test for the Extent of Voter Fraud with Absentee Ballots in the 2020 Presidential Election.””](#)

Practical Exercise 9

*Reviewing official election documents from the 2019 Bolivian election. Directions will be provided in class. Individual reflection memo (~1 page, single-spaced) **due by April 26, at 9am.***

April 26. 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.

Check-in: Group projects

May 3. Final paper presentations

Final paper due electronically, May 11, by 12pm (noon)