

Election Violence

Fall 2023

INTL 8200

Department of International Affairs
University of Georgia

Class Meetings: Tuesdays, 3:55-6:45pm, IA Building 115

Instructor: Dr. Megan Turnbull

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Office hours: Tuesdays, 12-2pm, IA Building 312

Course Description

The overarching goal of this graduate seminar is to introduce students to a rapidly growing political science literature on election violence. Some questions we will explore are: What is election violence? How is it different from other forms of political violence? Who perpetrates election violence and why? What can be done to prevent election violence?

By the end of the course, students should have a firm understanding of key debates, different theoretical perspectives, and notable arguments and the evidence for them.

Readings & Course Material

We will read several journal articles this semester. Students are responsible for searching for and downloading the articles to read (the instructor will not upload the readings to eLC). We will also read selections from the books listed below. Most, if not all, of these books are available as e-books or hard copies with the library.

Arias, Enrique Desmond. 2017. *Criminal Enterprises and Governance in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Cambridge University Press.

Birch, Sarah. 2020. *Electoral Violence, Corruption, and Political Order*. Princeton University Press.

Klaus, Kathleen. 2020. *Political Violence in Kenya: Land, Elections, and Claim-Making*. Cambridge University Press.

Morse, Yonatan L. 2019. *How Autocrats Compete: Parties, Patrons, and Unfair Elections in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

- Rosenzweig, Steven C. 2023. *Voter Backlash and Elite Misperception: The Logic of Violence in Electoral Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Siddiqui, Niloufer. 2022. *Under the Gun: Political Parties and Violence in Pakistan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trejo, Guillermo, and Sandra Ley. 2020. *Votes, Drugs, and Violence: The Political Logic of Criminal Wars in Mexico*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vaishnav, Milan. 2017. *When Crime Pays: Money and Muscle in Indian Politics*. 1st edition. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2003. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. 2nd ed. Yale University Press.
- von Borzyskowski, Inken. 2019. *The Credibility Challenge: How Democracy Aid Influences Election Violence*. Cornell University Press.
- Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Requirements

Assignment	Description	% of Final Grade	Due Date
Participation	Active and regular contributions to the class discussion	25	-
Concept Essay	6-8 pages double spaced essay on conceptualizing and measuring election violence	15	September 19
Book Review	Critical review of one of the course readings	20	-
Final paper	Research paper, critical literature review, or prospectus/pre-analysis plan	40	December 11

Participation

Attendance is mandatory and you are expected to be on time. Points will be docked from your participation grade if you are late (even once). However, nobody should come to class if they are sick. Students are allowed one unexcused absence. Beyond that, students will have to submit documentation (for example, a doctor's note), to avoid losing participation points.

Participation is more than showing up to class on time. This is a graduate seminar, and actively participating in class is important for keeping the class interesting, fun, and most importantly, helping each other learn. Put otherwise, the quality of this class will rise and fall with the quality of your participation, and we all have an obligation to come to each class prepared and ready to engage with one another. When you come to class unprepared (i.e., not having done the readings) or do not participate, you are doing a disservice not only to yourself but to your classmates as well.

Active and high quality participation does not mean that you are expected to know everything. Coming to class with clarification questions, voicing uncertainties about argument and evidence, and asking for help to better understand an argument all count as participation; indeed, these kind of questions often result from careful reading. Additionally, you might also come to class with more critical questions that challenge the readings' arguments, assumptions, and evidence.

Concept Essay

You will write a 6-8 pages, double spaced, essay on different conceptualizations and operationalizations of election violence, and make an argument for one of these approaches. In this essay, you will also distinguish election violence from other forms of political violence, such as civil war, ethnic riots, or genocide. More information will be provided separately.

Book Review

You will sign up to write a review of one of the books we will read this semester. As a reviewer, you are expected to read the book in its entirety, and provide a brief presentation (~10 minutes, powerpoint is not necessary) to class on the day it is assigned to help kickstart discussion. Book reviews are due at the start of the class on the day the book is assigned. More information will be provided separately.

Final Paper

For the final paper, you have the option of writing (1) an original research paper on election violence and manipulation with the aim of submitting it to a peer-reviewed journal; (2) a critical overview and assessment of the democratic erosion literature, along the lines of a review that would appear in the *Annual Review of Political Science*; or (3) a prospectus or pre-analysis plan. More information will be provided separately.

Office Hours

Office hours are the time that professors specifically designate to meet with students for help with assignments, questions about the lecture or reading, answer questions, or just to chat. In other words, office hours are **your** time. You are encouraged to come to office hours with questions about the class, comparative politics, political science, or just to introduce yourself. Professor Clare Brock provides a more thorough description of office hours if you would like more information: <http://www.clarebrock.com/blog/office-hours>

Assessment and Grading

Grades are assigned on the following basis:

A: 93-100 A-: 90-92 B+: 87-89 B: 83-86 B-: 80-82 C+: 77-79
C: 73-76 C-: 70-72 D+: 67-69 D: 60-66 F: <60

Class Recordings

In the absence of written authorization from the UGA Disability Resource Center, students may not make a visual or audio recording of any aspect of this course or share any other material, including but not limited to readings, assignments, handouts, class activities, and emails. The syllabus is considered a public document, is available on SPIA's website, and may be shared publicly.

There may be instances where the lecture portion of this course is recorded under Section 504 and Title II of the ADA ACT. Students who have a recording accommodation with the UGA Disability Resource Center agree in writing that they:

- a) Will use the records only for personal academic use during the specific course;
- b) Understand that faculty members have copyright interest in their class lectures and that they agree not to infringe on this right in any way;
- c) Understand that the faculty member and students in the class have privacy rights and agree not to violate those rights by using recordings for any reason other than their own personal study;
- d) Will not release, digitally upload, broadcast, transcribe, or otherwise share all or any part of the recordings. They also agree that they will not profit financially and will not allow others to benefit personally or financially from lecture recordings or other course materials;
- e) Will erase/delete all recordings at the end of the semester; and

f) Understand that violation of these terms may subject them to discipline under the Student Code of Conduct or subject them to liability under copyright laws.

If you have questions or concerns about recordings under Section 504 and Title II of the ADA ACT, please contact the Director of the Disability Resource Center at eeew@uga.edu.

Students will lose a full letter grade on their final grade for each instance that they share course material outside of class or violate any of the above terms.

University Honor Code and Academic Honesty Policy

As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University's academic honesty policy, "A Culture of Honesty," and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in "A Culture of Honesty" found at: <https://honesty.uga.edu/Academic-Honesty-Policy/>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to the instructor.

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

The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

August 22: Introductions and syllabus review

August 29: What is election violence? What is the relationship between democracy and violence?

- Required readings:

- Daxecker, Ursula, and Alexander Jung. 2018. “Mixing Votes with Violence: Election Violence around the World.” *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 38 (1): 53–64. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sais.2018.0005>.
- Harish, S. P., and Andrew T. Little. 2017. “The Political Violence Cycle.” *American Political Science Review* 111 (2): 237–55. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055416000733>.
- Mares, Isabela, and Lauren Young. 2016. “Buying, Expropriating, and Stealing Votes.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 19 (1): 267–88. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-060514-120923>.
- Moore, Barrington. 1968. “Thoughts on Violence and Democracy.” *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 29 (1): 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3700902>.
- Musgrave, Paul. 2021. “Political Scientists Turned a Blind Eye to America’s Democratic Failures.” *Foreign Policy*, January 18, 2021, at <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/01/18/political-scientists-turned-a-blind-eye-to-americas-democratic-failures/>
- Rosenzweig, Steven C., and Niloufer Siddiqui. 2023. “Conceptualizing Election-Related Violence.” Unpublished manuscript. Available at: <https://www.dropbox.com/s/0yb4e5901tv4xzh/Conceptualizing%20Election-Related%20Violence%20-%20Jan%2027%202023.pdf?dl=0>.
- Borzyskowski, Inken von, and Michael Wahman. 2021. “Systematic Measurement Error in Election Violence Data: Causes and Consequences.” *British Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 230–52. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123418000509>.
- Review the following codebooks, paying special attention to how they define and operationalize election violence:
 - Deadly Electoral Conflict Dataset (DECO) Codebook, available at: https://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/deco/DECO_codebook_1.0.pdf
 - Electoral Contention and Violence (ECAV) Codebook, available at: https://ecavdata.files.wordpress.com/2020/11/electoral-contention-and-violence-ecav-codebook_version-1.1.pdf
- Recommended readings:
 - Birch, Sarah, Ursula Daxecker, and Kristine Höglund. 2020. “Electoral Violence: An Introduction.” *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (1): 3–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319889657>.
 - Dunning, Thad. 2011. “Fighting and Voting: Violent Conflict and Electoral Politics.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (3): 327–39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002711400861>.
 - Mares, Isabela, and Lauren Young. 2019. *Conditionality & Coercion: Electoral Clientelism in Eastern Europe*. First edition. Oxford Studies in Democratization. Oxford University Press.
 - Söderberg Kovacs, Mimmi. 2018. “Introduction: The Everyday Politics of Electoral Violence in Africa.” In *Violence in African Elections: Between Democracy and Big Man Politics*, edited by Mimmi Söderberg Kovacs and Jesper Bjarnesen, 1–26. London: Zed Books/Nordic Africa Institute.

- Staniland, Paul. 2014. "Violence and Democracy." *Comparative Politics* 47 (1): 99–118. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43664345>.

September 5: Workshop concept essays

September 19: Institutions and Election Violence

- Required readings:
 - Chs. 1, 2, and 5 from Birch, Sarah. 2020. *Electoral Violence, Corruption, and Political Order*. Princeton University Press.
 - Daxecker, Ursula. 2020. "Unequal Votes, Unequal Violence: Malapportionment and Election Violence in India." *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (1): 156–70.
 - Fjelde, Hanne, and Kristine Höglund. 2016. "Electoral Institutions and Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa." *British Journal of Political Science* 46 (2): 297–320.
 - 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): 149–79. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123412000671>.

September 26: Identity Politics and Election Violence

- Required readings:
 - Horowitz, Jeremy, and Kathleen Klaus. 2020. "Can Politicians Exploit Ethnic Grievances? An Experimental Study of Land Appeals in Kenya." *Political Behavior* 42 (1): 35–58. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-018-9485-1>.
 - Kasara, Kimuli. 2014. "Does Local Ethnic Segregation Lead to Violence?: Evidence from Kenya." SSRN Electronic Journal. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2401738>.
 - Nellis, Gareth, Michael Weaver, and Steven Rosenzweig. 2016. "Do Parties Matter for Ethnic Violence? Evidence From India." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 11 (October): 249–77. <https://doi.org/10.1561/100.00015051>.
 - Chs. 1, 2, and 5 from Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

October 3: Political Parties and Election Violence

- Required readings:
 - Collier, Paul, and Pedro C. Vicente. 2012. "Violence, Bribery, and Fraud: The Political Economy of Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Public Choice* 153 (1): 117–47. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-011-9777-z>.
 - Chs. 1 and 2 from Morse, Yonatan L. 2019. *How Autocrats Compete: Parties, Patrons, and Unfair Elections in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
 - Chs. 1, 2, and 4 from Siddiqui, Niloufer. 2022. *Under the Gun: Political Parties and Violence in Pakistan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Recommended readings
 - Fjelde, Hanne. 2020. "Political Party Strength and Electoral Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (1): 140–55. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319885177>.

October 10: Political Elites and Election Violence

- Required readings:
 - Rosenzweig, Steven C. 2023. *Voter Backlash and Elite Misperception: The Logic of Violence in Electoral Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Selections TBD**.
 - Malik, Aditi, and Philip Onguny. 2020. “Elite Strategies, Emphasis Frames, and Mass Perspectives on Electoral Violence in Kenya.” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 38 (4): 560–78. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2020.1801991>.
 - Schedler, Andreas. 2002. “The Menu of Manipulation.” *Journal of Democracy* 13: 36. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/jnlodmcy13&id=223&div=&collection=>.
 - Wahman, Michael, and Edward Goldring. 2020. “Pre-Election Violence and Territorial Control: Political Dominance and Subnational Election Violence in Polarized African Electoral Systems.” *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (1): 93–110. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319884990>.

October 17: The Joint Production of Election Violence

- Required readings:
 - Berenschot, Ward. 2020. “Patterned Pogroms: Patronage Networks as Infrastructure for Electoral Violence in India and Indonesia.” *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (1): 171–84. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319889678>.
 - Christensen, Maya M., and Mats Utas. 2008. “Mercenaries of Democracy: The ‘Politricks’ of Remobilized Combatants in the 2007 General Elections, Sierra Leone.” *African Affairs* 107 (429): 515–39.
 - Ebiede, Tarila Marclint. 2018. “Ex-Militants and Electoral Violence in Nigeria’s Niger Delta.” In *Violence in African Elections: Between Democracy and Big Man Politics*, edited by Mimmi Söderberg Kovacs and Jesper Bjarnesen, 135–55. Uppsala and London: Zed Books/Nordic Africa Institute.
 - Chs. 1, 2, 6, and 7 from Klaus, Kathleen. 2020. *Political Violence in Kenya: Land, Elections, and Claim-Making*. Cambridge University Press.
 - Turnbull, Megan. 2021. “When Armed Groups Refuse to Carry out Election Violence: Evidence from Nigeria.” *World Development* 146: 105573. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2021.105573>.
- Recommended readings:
 - Acemoglu, Daron, James A. Robinson, and Rafael J. Santos. 2013. “The Monopoly of Violence: Evidence from Colombia.” *Journal of the European Economic Association* 11 (suppl_1): 5–44. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1542-4774.2012.01099.x>.
 - Colombo, Andrea, Olivia D’Aoust, and Olivier Sterck. 2019. “From Rebellion to Electoral Violence: Evidence from Burundi.” *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 67 (2): 333–68. <https://doi.org/10.1086/697583>.
 - Sterck, Olivier. 2020. “Fighting for Votes: Theory and Evidence on the Causes of Electoral Violence.” *Economica* 87 (347): 844–83. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ecca.12321>.

October 24: Criminal Politics and Election Violence

- Required readings:
 - Introduction, Chs. 1 and 6 from Arias, Enrique Desmond. 2017. *Criminal Enterprises and Governance in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Cambridge University Press.
 - Trejo, Guillermo, and Sandra Ley. 2020. *Votes, Drugs, and Violence: The Political Logic of Criminal Wars in Mexico*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Selections TBD.**
 - Vaishnav, Milan. 2017. *When Crime Pays: Money and Muscle in Indian Politics*. 1st edition. New Haven:: Yale University Press. **Selections TBD.**

October 31: Final paper workshop

November 7: Election Violence and Political Behavior

- Required readings:
 - Davis, Justine, and Megan Turnbull. 2023. “Political Apathy or ‘Constrained Optimism’: Nigerian Voter Engagement in Violent Electoral Environments.” Working Paper.
 - Daxecker, Ursula, and Hanne Fjelde. 2022. “Electoral Violence, Partisan Identity, and Perceptions of Election Quality: A Survey Experiment in West Bengal, India.” *Comparative Politics* 55 (1): 47–69.
<https://doi.org/10.5129/001041522X16430324169141>.
 - de Kadt, Daniel de de, Ada Johnson-Kanu, and Melissa L. Sands. 2020. “State Violence, Party Formation, and Electoral Accountability: The Political Legacy of the Marikana Massacre.” SocArXiv. <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/5uxzv>.
 - Gutiérrez-Romero, Roxana, and Adrienne LeBas. 2020. “Does Electoral Violence Affect Vote Choice and Willingness to Vote? Conjoint Analysis of a Vignette Experiment.” *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (1): 77–92.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319892677>.
 - Malik, Aditi. 2021. “Hindu–Muslim Violence in Unexpected Places: Theory and Evidence from Rural India.” *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 9 (1): 40–58.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2019.1691020>.

November 14: International Actors and Election Violence

- Required readings:
 - von Borzyskowski, Inken. 2019. *The Credibility Challenge: How Democracy Aid Influences Election Violence*. Cornell University Press. **Selections TBD.**
 - Daxecker, Ursula. 2014. “All Quiet on Election Day? International Election Observation and Incentives for Pre-Election Violence in African Elections.” *Electoral Studies* 34 (June): 232–43.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2013.11.006>.
 - Smidt, Hannah. 2020. “Mitigating Election Violence Locally: UN Peacekeepers’ Election-Education Campaigns in Côte d’Ivoire.” *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (1): 199–216. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319884993>.

November 21: Preventing Election Violence

- Required readings:

- Chs. 6 and 7 from Birch, Sarah. 2020. *Electoral Violence, Corruption, and Political Order*. Princeton University Press.
- Collier, Paul, and Pedro C. Vicente. 2014. "Votes and Violence: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Nigeria." *The Economic Journal* 124 (574): F327–55. <https://doi.org/10.1111/eoj.12109>.
- Malik, Aditi. 2018. "Constitutional Reform and New Patterns of Electoral Violence: Evidence from Kenya's 2013 Elections." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 56 (3): 340–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2017.1421036>.
- Chs. 1, 2, and 5 from Varshney, Ashutosh. 2003. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. 2nd ed. Yale University Press.

November 28: Wrap-up discussion