

**Elections and Democracy**  
Elective MA course, Winter 2020  
4 CEU credits, 8 ECTS

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**Classes:** time slots and venue are announced at <http://politicalscience.ceu.hu/course-schedules>

**Office hours:** appointments can be arranged via <http://gabortoka.youcanbook.me/>

**Reading lists:** see below, but note that the list may change throughout the semester as the course evolves. Mandatory readings will always be limited in length to the equivalent of 40-60 pages with a conventional layout for scholarly works (plus illustrations and appendices) a week, and made available at least a week in advance so that you can engage with them in depth. Updated versions of the syllabus will be posted on the e-learning site of the course.

**Table of contents**

Course description .....	3
Learning outcomes .....	4
Requirements.....	4
Guide to readings and topics.....	5
Recommended general readings.....	5
Advocacy websites .....	6
Recommended data sets .....	6
Part I: The role of elections.....	8
1. The shifting meaning of democracy and voting in centuries of political thought. Imperfect natural selection, priors and path dependence in the evolution of democratic institutions. Public choice theory's justification for collective choices.....	8
2. The performance of elections in forging responsiveness, accountability, legitimacy and engagement. The stability of democracies and other regimes .....	9
3. What are elections for and what are their key consequences in authoritarian systems? Political system typologies. Legitimacy and responsiveness in democratic and authoritarian regimes .....	10
Part II: Designing democratic elections .....	12
4. Controversies about participation as a right. Voting rights of foreigners, expats, military, prisoners, minors, and people living with disabilities. Voter registration and id laws .....	12

5. Roots and remedies of vote buying. Arguments for open and secret ballots .....	13
Further topic for independent study: Who can run in elections? Ballot access, nomination rules, term limits and party bans .....	14
6. Broader and narrower concepts of an electoral system. Voting procedures from unanimity to plurality. The Condorcet paradox, the May, and the Gibbard–Satterthwaite theorems. The normative appeal of majority rule and arguments against majoritarianism .....	14
7. Social choice theory and empirical findings about the likely consequences of voting methods. Heresthetics and permanent disequilibrium. Reasons for (not) getting obsessed with the Arrow theorem and the never-ending search for perfection.....	15
Further topic for independent study: Parties and party systems as solutions to preference aggregation, recruitment, policy adjudication and agency problems, and as problems on their own .....	15
8. The origin, popularity, modern justifications and technical alternatives of majoritarian electoral systems. Agency loss versus horizontal accountability. Representing communities of interest vs. individual voters. Choice architectures, Duverger’s Law, and the value of diversity. Can preference aggregation be nudged towards centripetal competition? Why do electoral systems ignore negative preferences? .....	16
9. Normative and technical problems in the delimitation of electoral district boundaries. Malapportionment, packing, cracking, kidnapping; pro-incumbent, partisan and affirmative gerrymander. Minority vote dilution under single-member district systems .....	17
10. Proportional electoral systems and Duverger’s proposition. Notions and indices of proportionality. The stability and horizontal versus vertical accountability of governments. The value of diversity and conciliation. The relative significance of choices regarding district and assembly size, formula, thresholds, ballot format, and bonus seats.....	18
11. Mixed electoral rules: Multi-segment, additional member and parallel systems. Excessive fragmentation and concealed majoritarianism or best of both worlds? Constitutional and practical issues with overhang seats.....	19
Further topic for independent study: Within-party choices. Candidate selection and nomination with primary elections and otherwise. Intra-party preference voting systems. The endurance and electoral accountability of individual representatives and parties.....	20
12. Special arrangements for minority representation and women’s representation via reserved seats, quotas, placement mandates, and nomination rules .....	20
Further topic for independent study: Ballot architecture from partisan to non-partisan, neutral versus nudging, and traditional to voter-friendly. The alphabet effect. Voting technology. Electronic and online voting and cyber security .....	21
Further topic for independent study: Reasons, opportunities, methods and obstacles to democratize electoral system choice. Deliberative assemblies and referendums on electoral system choice .....	22
13. Participation as a duty. Compulsory voting and other turnout-enhancing measures. The impact of turnout on election outcomes .....	23

Further topic for independent study: Direct democratic initiatives and authoritarian plebiscites: what is their use and impact? .....	23
Further topic for independent study: Campaigns and informed electorates. The impact of media pluralism, advertisements, leader debates, manifesto costing, fact-checking organizations, opinion polls, vote advice applications, get-out-the-vote drives and their absence .....	24
Further topic for independent study: The funding and costs of elections: can we tell apart worthy spending and waste? The clash of egalitarian, free speech, and citizen engagement considerations. The impact of small vs. large donations.....	25
Part III: Beyond free and fair elections .....	26
14. The concept, measurement and impact of election integrity.....	26
15. Do elections in authoritarian states advance or hinder democratization? How often do authoritarian leaders lose office because of elections? Case studies and statistical evidence ..	27
16. Election fraud and possibilities for its detection. Fraudulent, unsubstantiated and rightful claims of fraud and their impact on the political process.....	28
Further topic for independent study: Exposing fraud: actors, processes, results. Methods and limitations for watchdog media, citizen activists, independent election commissions and appeals to courts .....	29
17. The know-how and impact of election observation missions, norm diffusion, democratic conditionality and international sanctions.....	30
Further topic for independent study: Election boycotts and electoral protest: how often and to what extent do they reach their manifest goals, and how often are they just a rejection of accepting defeat? .....	32
Further topic for independent study: How elections induce the consent of the losers and when they fail to do so? How do elections trigger or avoid political violence?.....	32

### **Course description**

Elections are central to the political process in all contemporary political systems save a handful of traditional monarchies and dictatorships. Their importance for legitimating office-holders is second to none in democracies, but is non-negligible and sometimes decisive in authoritarian regimes too. The course first investigates why elections acquired this important place in modern societies and what impact they actually have or lack in the political process. Then we move on to survey all major aspects of election architecture and see their effects as well as the normative dilemmas they raise. We will pay particular attention to the last decade's burgeoning literature on elections with some competition but low integrity.

While the course's main goal is to assist evidence-based, normatively informed analytical thinking about institutions, it also introduces a wide range of technical and comparativist knowledge regarding democratic and authoritarian ways of organizing elections, and how the effectiveness of various tools can be undermined in practice by regime opponents. The course also surveys when and why elections have effects that run against their manifest function, i.e. undermine popular sovereignty in democracies, or lead to a defeat of authoritarian governments

in non-democratic regimes. The course prepares participants to analyze, discuss and shape electoral institutions in various professional roles in the media, politics, education and civil society.

### **Learning outcomes**

- Familiarity with theories, concepts, empirical regularities and research strategies regarding rules for elections. By the end of the course, participants should be able to give informed advice to advocacy groups, government agencies, political parties, write informed analysis about elections for news media and NGOs regarding electoral rules, and distinguish likely charlatanry from solid evidence-based knowledge on the topic
- Ability to propose, elaborate and persuasively argue for specific electoral rules tools in response to real world electoral system debates, with reference to the results of scholarly analyses and relevant normative concerns
- Reason analytically, apply abstract models to complex empirical situations and engage with different intellectual traditions, subfields, research designs and methodologies in the social sciences
- Improved ability to design high-quality academic or applied research in a rigorous and consistent manner
- Ability for effective oral presentation of scholarly thoughts, developing listening and discussion skills with initiative and autonomy in various professional contexts
- Improved understanding of the potential and limits of statistical analyses, case studies and experimental research especially with respect to the establishment of causality; improved appreciation of the potential of qualitative research and rigorous description

### **Requirements**

The classes will always require active participation and careful preparation via reading the required materials and occasional online research. The meetings will typically be of the seminar-type, with multiple shorter presentations, including some by the instructor, followed and/or interrupted by Q&A and with discussion about the readings. The first meeting of most weeks will start with a quick written quiz based on the readings. This will ask you to build on what you read and answer questions that will require a little bit of thinking about the implications of what you read, rather than recall of trivia. A good response will show that you covered the assigned readings, can apply the concepts they use, and are able to engage critically with their central arguments, but need not demonstrate that you remember technical details by heart. We will then promptly discuss what could have been good and less good answers. Occasionally we may have some group exercises with in-class preparation too but these will not be graded to avoid collective responsibility for individual's grades. Instead, 10% of the final grade will be based on the quality of in-class contributions to the discussions, 30% on quiz results, 20% on individual presentations, and 40% on a max. 5,000-word long term paper. The topic of the term paper has to be closely related to the topics covered in the course and needs to be agreed upon with the instructor by 20 February. Your paper will address in a novel way a theoretically relevant research question about formal or informal rules regulating elections in one or more countries. It can, for instance, be an original case study of an electoral system feature in terms of the actors' motivation for its adaptation, and/or its (unintended) effects; a focused and structured literature review on an aspect of one of the topics covered in the syllabus; an in-depth and evidence based

analysis about the political impact of a particular election; or your own novel analysis of a related issue using an appropriate data set or theoretical reasoning. Regarding plagiarism and attendance, the departmental policies will apply.

### **Guide to readings and topics**

Below you find a list of readings and online resources that can prove useful throughout the course, and then a separate list of readings for our individual topics. Some of the topics will be dealt with in one, others in two sessions. Therefore **the number of topics** is not equal to the number of either weeks or classes in the semester. For each topic, I present a list of readings. This list may change as the course unfolds – an up to date syllabus will always be available on our e-learning site, so it is a good idea to check that each week before you start your reading sessions. “**Required readings**” will always be marked by a # sign, and are expected to be read by all course participants before the respective class. Their length is generally kept below 50 pages per week except when the document layout or extensive use of illustration massively reduces the amount of text contained. For some topics, everyone will read different things and in that sense there are no required readings. It would be unreasonable, however, for you to expect that you do not have to allocate at least a few hours to preparing for this class every week during the term.

The classes early on shall be devoted to a comprehensive overview of what elections do in democratic settings. **Part I** of the course concludes with a brief look at what elections do in authoritarian systems and how that helps us understand democratic elections better. **Part II** reviews design issues regarding free and fair elections. **Part III** reviews issues, tools and arenas in fights about electoral norms and outcomes in authoritarian regimes.

Inevitably, time constraints will force us to skip over or leave some highly relevant questions regarding elections and democracy for other courses (Political Theory, Parties and Party Systems, Political Communication, Voting Behavior, to name a few). You may, however, wish to explore these via independent study or in your term paper, and can of course discuss them with me during office hours. Some such topics appear below as unnumbered “**further topics for independent study**” with a set of recommended readings that can serve as starting points for your research into them.

### **Recommended general readings**

- Przeworski, Adam. 2018. *Why Bother With Elections?* Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Herron, Erik S., Robert J. Pekkanen, and Matthew S. Shugart, eds. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism against Populism: A Confrontation between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Dummett, Michael. 1984. *Voting Procedures*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Katz, Richard S. 1997. *Democracy and Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reynolds, Andrew, Ben Reilly, and Andrew Ellis, eds. 2005. *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*. Stockholm: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. Available from <http://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/electoral-system-design-new-international-idea-handbook>

- Farrell, David M. 2001. *Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1994. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies 1945-90*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend, and Bernard Grofman, eds. 1984. *Choosing an Electoral System: Issues and Alternatives*. New York: Praeger.
- Grofman, Bernard, and Arend Lijphart, eds. 1986. *Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences*. New York: Agathon
- Norris, Pippa. 2014. *Why Electoral Integrity Matters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2015. *Why Elections Fail?* New York: Cambridge University Press
- Norris, Pippa. 2017. *Strengthening Electoral Integrity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, Richard, ed. 2000. *International Encyclopedia of Elections*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Goodwin-Gill, Guy S. 2006. *Free and Fair Elections: International Law and Practice*. Expanded ed. Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union. Available from <http://archive.ipu.org/PDF/publications/Free&Fair06-e.pdf>.
- Morton, Rebecca B. 2006. *Analyzing Elections: The New Institutionalism in American Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.
- LeDuc, Lawrence, Richard Niemi, and Pippa Norris, eds. 2014. *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*. London: Sage.

### **Advocacy websites**

There is such a large number of organizations dedicated to election law advocacy that this collection of web addresses where you find often challenging, interesting or at least bemusing material cannot even illustrate the range of issues, methods and perspectives that their pages offer. But you will find well worth exploring this scene on the internet during the course. Let me know if you find something that particularly grabs your thoughts about elections and democracy!

<https://www.brennancenter.org/>

<https://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/>

<http://www.fairvote.org/>

<http://aceproject.org/>

<http://ifes.org/>

<https://www.idea.int/>

<http://electoralreformaustralia.org/>

<https://participedia.net/>

<https://www.electology.org/>

<https://ballot-access.org/>

### **Recommended data sets**

Some entries below may have been updated between the completion of the syllabus and the time you check, therefore I just give general direction rather than precise citation of specific versions of the data set as it would be expected in a scholarly publication relying on the data:

Nils-Christian Bormann, and Matt Golder. 2013. "Democratic Electoral Systems Around the World, 1946-2011." *Electoral Studies* 32: 360-369. Dataset available from

<http://mattgolder.com/elections>

- Coppedge, Michael, et al. [regularly updated]. "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset." Available from the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. <https://www.v-dem.net/en/>
- Teorell, Jan, et al. 2018. "The Quality of Government Standard Dataset." Available from the University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute, <https://qog.pol.gu.se/data/datadownloads/qogstandarddata>
- Pilet, Jean-Benoit, and Alan Renwick. [no date]. "Electoral System Change in Europe since 1945." Available from <http://www.electoralsystemchanges.eu>
- International IDEA. [no date]. "IDEA Data Bases (Direct Democracy, Electoral Justice, Electoral Management Design, Electoral System Design, Gender Quotas, Political Finance, Voter Turnout, Voting from Abroad data bases)." Available from <http://www.idea.int/data-tools>
- Administration and Cost of Elections Project - Electoral Knowledge Network. [no date]. "Administration and Cost of Elections Project - Electoral Knowledge Network Comparative Data." Available from <http://aceproject.org/epic-en>
- Hyde, Susan, and Nikolay Marinov. [no date]. "National Elections Across Democracy and Autocracy." Available from <http://www.nelda.co>
- Gallagher, Michael. 2018. "Election Indices." Available from [https://www.tcd.ie/Political\\_Science/people/michael\\_gallagher/EISystems/](https://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/people/michael_gallagher/EISystems/)
- Norris, Pippa, et al. [regularly updated]. "Perceptions of Electoral Integrity." Available from <https://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/data/>
- Joel, W. Johnson, and S. Wallack Jessica. 2012. "Electoral Systems and the Personal Vote." Available from <http://hdl.handle.net/1902.1/17901>
- Kelley, Judith. 2014. "Data on International Election Monitoring: Three Global Datasets on Election Quality, Election Events and International Election Observation." Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) [distributor], 2014-08-29. <https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR31461.v2>
- Kollman, Ken, Allen Hicken, Daniele Caramani, David Backer, and David Lublin. 2016. "Constituency-Level Elections Archive." Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan. Available from <http://www.electiondataarchive.org/>
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2013. "Democratic Accountability and Linkages Project." Available from <https://sites.duke.edu/democracylinkage/data/>
- Popescu, Marina, et al. 2010, 2013, 2017. "Expert Survey on European Media Systems." Data set. Available from <http://www.mediasystemsineurope.org>
- Comparative Study of Electoral Systems. [n.d.]. "Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Modules 1-4 and Macro Data." Available from [ceses.org](http://ceses.org)
- Center for Research on Direct Democracy. N.d. [The C2D Database on Direct Democracy.] Available from <http://c2d.ch/>
- Strøm, Kaare W., Scott Gates, Benjamin A. T. Graham, and Håvard Strand. 2017. "Inclusion, Dispersion, and Constraint: Powersharing in the World's States, 1975–2010." *British Journal of Political Science* 47 (1): 165-185.
- Elgie, Robert. -2019. [various datasets on presidential and semi-presidential systems compiled by Robert Elgie before he passed away.] "The Semi-Presidential One" blog. URL: <http://www.semipresidentialism.com/>
- Hofstede, Geert. 2015. "Dimension Data Matrix (for Cultures and Organizations 3rd edition, 2010)." Data set. Available from <http://geerthofstede.com/research-and-vsm/dimension-data-matrix/>



- Geddes, Barbara, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. 2014. "Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions: A New Data Set." *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (2): 313-331.
- Boix, Carles, Michael Miller, and Sebastian Rosato. 2013. "A Complete Data Set of Political Regimes, 1800–2007." *Comparative Political Studies* 46 (12): 1523-1554.
- Cheibub, José Antonio, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2010. "Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited." *Public Choice* 143 (1/2): 67-101.
- Cingranelli, David L., David L. Richards, and K. Chad Clay. 2014. "The CIRI Human Rights Dataset." Available from <http://www.humanrightsdata.com>
- Birch, Sarah, and David Muchlinski. 2017. "The Dataset of Countries at Risk of Electoral Violence." *Terrorism and Political Violence*: 1-20.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2018-. "New Parline: the IPU's Open Data Platform (beta). Your one-stop-shop for information about national parliaments." Available from <https://data.ipu.org/>

## Part I: The role of elections

### 1. The shifting meaning of democracy and voting in centuries of political thought. Imperfect natural selection, priors and path dependence in the evolution of democratic institutions. Public choice theory's justification for collective choices

#### *Readings* (# marks required):

- # Przeworski, Adam. 2018. *Why Bother With Elections?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1-74.
- Giebler, Heiko, Saskia P. Ruth, and Dag Tanneberg, eds. 2018. *Why Choice Matters: Revisiting and Comparing Measures of Democracy (Politics and Governance, Vol. 6, Issue 1)*. URL: <https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/issue/viewIssue/82/79>
- Munck, Gerardo L. 2016. "What is Democracy? A Reconceptualization of the Quality of Democracy." *Democratization* 23 (1): 1-26.
- Fishman, Robert M. 2016. "Rethinking Dimensions of Democracy for Empirical Analysis: Authenticity, Quality, Depth, and Consolidation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19 (1): 289-309.
- Teorell, Jan, Michael Coppedge, Staffan Lindberg, and Svend-Erik Skaaning. 2018. "Measuring Polyarchy Across the Globe, 1900–2017." *Studies in Comparative International Development* (FirstView).
- Katz, Richard S. 1997. *Democracy and Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 10-99.
- Manin, Bernard. 1997. *The Principles of Representative Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1956. *Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1990. *After the Revolution? Authority in a Good Society*. Revised ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Mulgan, Richard G. 1984. "Lot as a Democratic Device of Selection." *Review of Politics* 46 (4): 539–60.
- Balderacchi, Claudio. 2017. "Participatory Mechanisms in Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela: Deepening or Undermining Democracy?" *Government and Opposition* 52 (1): 131-161.
- Benstead, Lindsay J. 2015. "Why Do Some Arab Citizens see Democracy as Unsuitable for their Country?" *Democratization* 22 (7): 1183-1208.



- Omelicheva, Mariya. 2015. "Competing Perspectives on Democracy and Democratization: Assessing Alternative Models of Democracy Promoted in Central Asian States." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 28 (1): 75-94.
- LeDuc, Lawrence, Richard Niemi, and Pippa Norris. 2014. "Introduction: Democracy and Autocracy." In *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris. London: Sage, pp. 1-10.
- Mueller, Dennis C. 2003. *Public Choice III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 9-63.

## **2. The performance of elections in forging responsiveness, accountability, legitimacy and engagement. The stability of democracies and other regimes**

### **Readings** (# marks required):

- # Przeworski, Adam. 2018. *Why Bother With Elections?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 77-134.
- Bernauer, Julian, and Adrian Vatter. 2019. *Power Diffusion and Democracy: Institutions, Deliberation and Outcomes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mueller, Dennis C. 2003. *Public Choice III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 406-426.
- Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2012. *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*. New York: Crown Business.
- Holmberg, Sören, Bo Rothstein, and Naghmeh Nasiritousi. 2009. "Quality of Government: What You Get." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12 (1): 135-161.
- Bartels, Larry M., and Christopher H. Achen. 2016. *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Brennan, Jason. 2016. *Against Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 2012. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six States*. 2nd updated and expanded ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Powell, G. Bingham Jr. 2014. "Conclusion: Why Elections Matter." In *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris. London: Sage, pp. 187-204.
- Corazzini, Luca, Sebastian Kube, Michel André Maréchal, and Antonio Nicolò. 2014. "Elections and Deceptions: An Experimental Study on the Behavioral Effects of Democracy." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (3): 579-592.
- Ferraz, Claudio, and Frederico Finan. 2011. "Electoral Accountability and Corruption: Evidence from the Audits of Local Governments." *American Economic Review* 101 (4): 1274-1311.
- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2015. "Do Elections Matter for Economic Performance?" *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics* 77 (1): 1-21.
- Svolik, Milan. 2008. "Authoritarian Reversals and Democratic Consolidation." *American Political Science Review* 102 (2): 153-168.
- Svolik, Milan W. 2015. "Which Democracies Will Last? Coups, Incumbent Takeovers, and the Dynamic of Democratic Consolidation." *British Journal of Political Science* 45 (4): 715-738.
- Slater, Dan. 2008. "Can Leviathan be Democratic? Competitive Elections, Robust Mass Politics, and State Infrastructural Power." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 43 (3-4): 252-272.

- Flores, Thomas Edward, and Irfan Nooruddin. 2016. *Elections in Hard Times: Building Stronger Democracies in the 21st Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam, Michael Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ruth-Lovell, Saskia P., Anna Lührmann, and Sandra Grahn. 2019. "Democracy and Populism: Testing a Contentious Relationship." Working Paper Series No. 91. Gothenburg: V-Dem Institute.

### **3. What are elections for and what are their key consequences in authoritarian systems? Political system typologies. Legitimacy and responsiveness in democratic and authoritarian regimes**

#### **Readings** (# marks required):

- # Katz, Richard S. 1997. *Democracy and Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 100-106.
- Brancati, Dawn. 2014. "Democratic Authoritarianism: Origins and Effects." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17 (1): 313-326.
- Svolik, Milan W. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kelsall, Tim. 2014. *Authoritarianism, Democracy and Development*. State of the Art Paper No. 3. Birmingham: Developmental Leadership Program, University of Birmingham. URL: <http://www.gsdr.org/document-library/authoritarianism-democracy-and-development>
- Gerring, John, Allen Hicken, Daniel Weitzel, and Lee Cojocar. 2018. "Electoral Contestation: A Comprehensive Polity-Level Analysis." Working Paper Series No. 73. Gothenburg: V-Dem Institute.
- Chen, Xi. 2013. "The Rising Cost of Stability." *Journal of Democracy* 24 (1): 57-64.
- Bacon, Edwin. 2012. "Electoral Manipulation and the Development of Russia's Political System." *East European Politics* 28 (2): 105-118.
- Besley, Timothy, and Masayuki Kudamatsu. 2007. "Making Autocracy Work." London: The Suntory Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science. URL: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/3764/>
- Luo, Renfu, Linxiu Zhang, Jikun Huang, and Scott Rozelle. 2007. "Elections, Fiscal Reform and Public Goods Provision in Rural China." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 35 (3): 583-611.
- Tsai, Lily L. 2007. *Accountability without Democracy: Solidary Groups and Public Goods Provision in Rural China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Manion, Melanie. 2015. *Information for Autocrats: Representation in Chinese Local Congresses*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dimitrov, Martin K. 2014. "Tracking Public Opinion under Authoritarianism." *Russian History* 41 (3): 329-353.
- Chen, Jidong, and Yiqing Xu. 2017. "Information Manipulation and Reform in Authoritarian Regimes." *Political Science Research and Methods* 5 (1): 163-178.
- Su, Zheng, and Tianguang Meng. 2016. "Selective Responsiveness: Online Public Demands and Government Responsiveness in Authoritarian China." *Social Science Research* 59 (Supplement C): 52-67.

- Truex, Rory. 2016. *Making Autocracy Work: Representation and Responsiveness in Modern China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chen, Jidong, Jennifer Pan, and Yiqing Xu. 2016. "Sources of Authoritarian Responsiveness: A Field Experiment in China." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (2): 383-400.
- Chen, Jidong, and Yiqing Xu. 2017. "Why Do Authoritarian Regimes Allow Citizens to Voice Opinions Publicly?" *The Journal of Politics* 79 (3): 792-803.
- Distelhorst, Greg, and Yue Hou. 2017. "Constituency Service under Nondemocratic Rule: Evidence from China." *The Journal of Politics* 79 (3): 1024-1040.

## Part II: Designing democratic elections

### 4. Controversies about participation as a right. Voting rights of foreigners, expats, military, prisoners, minors, and people living with disabilities. Voter registration and id laws

#### *Readings* (# marks required):

- # López-Guerra, Claudio. 2014. *Democracy and Disenfranchisement: The Morality of Electoral Exclusions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 3 “Disenfranchisement on the Basis of Immaturity and Insanity.” DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198705789.003.0003
- Braconnier, Céline, Jean-Yves Dormagen, and Vincent Pons. 2017. "Voter Registration Costs and Disenfranchisement: Experimental Evidence from France." *American Political Science Review* 111 (3): 584-604.
- Katz, Richard S. 1997. *Democracy and Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 216-245.
- Ann, Wislowski, and Cuellar Norma. 2006. "Voting Rights for Older Americans with Dementia: Implications for Health Care Providers." *Nursing Outlook* 54 (2): 68-73.
- Bell, Dorothy M., Colin McKay, and Kathryn J. Phillips. 2001. "Overcoming the Barriers to Voting Experienced by People with Learning Disabilities." *British Journal of Learning Disabilities* 29 (4): 122-127.
- Thomson-DeVeaux, Amelia. 2016. "One In Six Eligible Voters Has a Disability: And it's harder for them to vote because of it." Available from <http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/one-in-six-eligible-voters-has-a-disability/>
- Aviram, Hadar, Allyson Bragg, and Chelsea Lewis. 2017. "Felon Disenfranchisement." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 13 (1): 295-311.
- 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.
- Braconnier, Céline, Jean-Yves Dormagen, and Vincent Pons. 2017. "Voter Registration Costs and Disenfranchisement: Experimental Evidence from France." *American Political Science Review* 111 (3): 584-604.
- Highton, Benjamin. 2017. "Voter Identification Laws and Turnout in the United States." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (1): 149-167.
- Nickerson, David W. 2015. "Do Voter Registration Drives Increase Participation? For Whom and When?" *The Journal of Politics* 77 (1): 88-101.
- Ewald, Alec C., and Brandon Rottinghaus. eds. 2009. *Criminal Disenfranchisement in an International Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rehfeld, Andrew. 2011. "The Child as Democratic Citizen." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 633 (1): 141-166.
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2010. “The Right to Political Participation of Persons with Mental Health Problems and Person with Intellectual Disabilities.” Vienna: Fundamental Rights Agency. Available from <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2010/right-political-participation-persons-mental-health-problems-and-persons>
- Zysset, Alain. 2019. "Freedom of expression, the right to vote, and proportionality at the European Court of Human Rights: An internal critique." *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 17 (1): 230-251.

## 5. Roots and remedies of vote buying. Arguments for open and secret ballots

### **Readings** (# marks required):

- # Engelen, Bart, and Thomas R V. Nys. 2013. "Against the Secret Ballot: Toward a New Proposal for Open Voting." *Acta Politica* 48 (4): 490-507.
- # Bratton, Michael. 2008. "Vote Buying and Violence in Nigerian Election Campaigns." *Electoral Studies* 27 (4): 621-632.
- Elklit, Jørgen, and Michael Maley. 2019. "Why Ballot Secrecy Still Matters." *Journal of Democracy* 30 (3): 61-75.
- Greene, Kenneth. 2016. "Why Vote Buying Fails: Campaign Effects and the Elusive Swing Voter." Center on the Politics of Development Working Paper 2016/3.
- Muhtadi, Burhanuddin. 2019. *Vote Buying in Indonesia: The Mechanics of Electoral Bribery*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Vicente, Pedro C. 2014. "Is Vote Buying Effective? Evidence from a Field Experiment in West Africa." *The Economic Journal* 124 (574): F356-F387.
- Gutiérrez-Romero, Roxana. 2014. "An Inquiry into the Use of Illegal Electoral Practices and Effects of Political Violence and Vote-buying." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58 (8): 1500-1527.
- Gallego, Jorge, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2012. "Experiments on Clientelism and Vote-Buying." *Research in Experimental Economics* 15: 177-212.
- Schaffer, Frederic Charles, ed. 2007. *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Bertrand, Roman, Jean-Louis Briquet, and Peter Pels, eds. 2007. *Cultures of Voting: The Hidden History of the Secret Ballot*. London: Hurst & Co.
- Campbell, Tracy. 2005. *Deliver the Vote: A History of Election Fraud, an American Political Tradition, 1742-2004*. New York: Carroll & Graf.
- Ziblatt, Daniel. 2017. *Conservative Political Parties and the Birth of Modern Democracy in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gingerich, Daniel W. 2016. *Political Institutions and Party-Directed Corruption in South America: Stealing for the Team*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto, Federico Estévez, and Beatriz Magaloni. 2016. *The Political Logic of Poverty Relief: Electoral Strategies and Social Policy in Mexico*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corstange, Daniel. 2016. *The Price of a Vote in the Middle East: Clientelism and Communal Politics in Lebanon and Yemen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- van Ham, Carolien, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2015. "From Sticks to Carrots: Electoral Manipulation in Africa, 1986–2012." *Government and Opposition* 50 (Special Issue 03): 521-548.
- Frye, Timothy, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2014. "Political Machines at Work Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace." *World Politics* 66 (2): 195-228.
- Thachil, Tariq. 2015. *Elite Parties, Poor Voters: How Social Services Win Votes in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, and Steven I. Wilkinson, eds. 2007. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stokes, Susan C., Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Further topic for independent study: Who can run in elections? Ballot access, nomination rules, term limits and party bans**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- FairVote with Richard Winger. 2015. "The Worst Ballot Access Laws in the United States." Available from <http://www.fairvote.org/the-worst-ballot-access-laws-in-the-united-states>
- Bogaards, Matthijs, Matthias Basedau, and Christof Hartmann. 2010. "Ethnic Party Bans in Africa: An Introduction." *Democratization* 17 (4): 599-617.
- Crook, Malcolm. 1996. *Elections in the French Revolution: Apprenticeship in Democracy, 1789-1799*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Alt, James, Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, and Shanna Rose. 2011. "Disentangling Accountability and Competence in Elections: Evidence from U.S. Term Limits." *The Journal of Politics* 73 (01): 171-186.
- Klasnja, Marko, and Rocio Titiunik. 2017. "The Incumbency Curse: Weak Parties, Term Limits, and Unfulfilled Accountability." *American Political Science Review* 111 (1): 129-148.
- Carey, John M. 1998. *Term Limits and Legislative Representation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Carey, John M., Richard G. Niemi, and Lynda W. Powell. 2000. *Term Limits in State Legislatures*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

**6. Broader and narrower concepts of an electoral system. Voting procedures from unanimity to plurality. The Condorcet paradox, the May, and the Gibbard–Satterthwaite theorems. The normative appeal of majority rule and arguments against majoritarianism**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- # Katz, Richard S. 1997. *Democracy and Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 107-118.
- # Lagerspetz, Eerik. 2016. *Social Choice and Democratic Values*. New York: Springer, pp. 17-51.
- Kurrild-Klitgaard, Peter. 2001. "An Empirical Example of the Condorcet Paradox of Voting in a Large Electorate." *Public Choice* 107 (1-2): 135-145.
- Hodge, Jonathan K., and Richard E. Klima. 2005. *The Mathematics of Voting and Elections: A Hands-on Approach*. Providence, RI: American Mathematical Society.
- Mueller, Dennis C. 2003. *Public Choice III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 67-206.
- [Wikipedia editors]. no date. "Consensus Decision-making." URL: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Consensus\\_decision-making](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Consensus_decision-making)
- Coppedge, Michael. 2018. "Rethinking Consensus vs. Majoritarian Democracy." Working Paper Series No. 78. Gothenburg: V-Dem Institute.

## **7. Social choice theory and empirical findings about the likely consequences of voting methods. Heresthetics and permanent disequilibrium. Reasons for (not) getting obsessed with the Arrow theorem and the never-ending search for perfection**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- # Condorcet Internet Voting Service, 2003-. "Proportional Representation in CIVS." URL: <https://civs.cs.cornell.edu/proportional.html>
- Miller, Nicholas R. 2019. "Reflections on Arrow's Theorem and Voting Rules." *Public Choice* 179 (1): 113-124.
- Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Lagerspetz, Eerik. 2016. *Social Choice and Democratic Values*. New York: Springer, pp. 53-245.
- Dummett, Michael. 1984. *Voting Procedures*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Saari, Donald G. 2001. *Decisions and Elections: Explaining the Unexpected*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, Alan D. 2005. *Social Choice and the Mathematics of Manipulation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Roemer, John E. 2001. *Political Competition: Theory and Applications*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. 1991. *Models of Multiparty Electoral Competition*. Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Calvo, Ernesto, and Timothy Hellwig. 2011. "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives under Different Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (1): 27-41.
- Cox, Gary W. 1990. "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 34 (4): 903-935.
- Goodin, Robert E., and Christian List. 2006. "A Conditional Defense of Plurality Rule: Generalizing May's Theorem in a Restricted Informational Environment." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (4): 940-949.
- Golder, Matt, and Benjamin Ferland. 2018. "Electoral Rules and Citizen-Elite Ideological Congruence." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Monroe, Burt L. 1995. "Fully Proportional Representation." *American Political Science Review* 89 (04): 925-940.
- Dryzek, John S., and Christian List. 2002. "Social Choice Theory and Deliberative Democracy: A Reconciliation." *British Journal of Political Science* 33 (1): 1-28.

**Further topic for independent study: Parties and party systems as solutions to preference aggregation, recruitment, policy adjudication and agency problems, and as problems on their own**

**Readings** (# marks required):



- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2014. "Parties and Party Systems." In *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris. London: Sage, pp. 32-57.
- Schattschneider, E.E. (1942) 2004. *Party Government: American Government in Action. With a new introduction by Sidney A. Pearson, Jr.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.
- Hofstadter, Richard. 1970. *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780-1840*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Cox, Gary W. 2005. *The Efficient Secret. The Cabinet and the Development of Political Parties in Victorian England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aldrich, John. 2011. *Why Parties? A Second Look*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Mair, Peter, ed. 1990. *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Katz, Richard S., and Peter Mair. 1995. "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party." *Party Politics* 1 (1): 5-28.
- Panbianco, Angelo. 1988. *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. Translated by Silver Marc. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hicken, Allen. 2014. *Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carothers, Thomas. 2006. *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Wilkinson, Steven I. 2015. "Where's the Party? The Decline of Party Institutionalization and What (if Anything) that Means for Democracy." *Government and Opposition* 50 (Special Issue 03): 420-445.

**8. The origin, popularity, modern justifications and technical alternatives of majoritarian electoral systems. Agency loss versus horizontal accountability. Representing communities of interest vs. individual voters. Choice architectures, Duverger's Law, and the value of diversity. Can preference aggregation be nudged towards centripetal competition? Why do electoral systems ignore negative preferences?**

*Note:* The first item on the reading list is not a required reading, but, if you are unfamiliar with the technical differences between various majoritarian electoral rules, then you may benefit from reading this light introduction first.

**Readings** (# marks required):

- Reynolds, Andrew, Ben Reilly, and Andrew Ellis, eds. 2005. *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*. Stockholm: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, pp. 35-56, 112-117.
- # Mařkarinec, Pavel. 2017. "Testing Duverger's Law: Strategic Voting in Mongolian Elections, 1996–2004." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 33 (2): 145-160.
- # Fraenkel, Jon, and Bernard Grofman. 2014. "The Borda Count and its Real-world Alternatives: Comparing Scoring Rules in Nauru and Slovenia." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 49 (2): 186-205.
- # Shugart, Matthew Soberg. 2004. "'Elections': The American Process of Selecting a President: A Comparative Perspective." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34 (3): 632-655.

- Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Mueller, Dennis C. 2003. *Public Choice III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 230-263.
- Cox, Gary W. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grofman, Bernard. 2004. "Downs and Two-Party Convergence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7 (1): 25-46.
- Li, Yuhui, and Matthew S. Shugart. 2016. "The Seat Product Model of the Effective Number of Parties: A Case for Applied Political Science." *Electoral Studies* 41: 23-34.
- Blais, André, ed. 2008. *To Keep or To Change First Past The Post? The Politics of Electoral Reform*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grofman, Bernard, Andre Blais, and Shaun Bowler, eds. 2009. *Duverger's Law of Plurality Voting: The Logic of Party Competition in Canada, India, the United Kingdom and the United States*. Berlin: Springer.
- Renwick, Alan. 2011. "The Alternative Vote: A Briefing Paper." London: Political Studies Association.
- Rehfeld, Andrew. 2005. *The Concept of Constituency. Political Representation, Democratic Legitimacy, and Institutional Design*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**9. Normative and technical problems in the delimitation of electoral district boundaries. Malapportionment, packing, cracking, kidnapping; pro-incumbent, partisan and affirmative gerrymander. Minority vote dilution under single-member district systems**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- # Duchin, Moon. 2019. "Can Statistics Solve Gerrymandering?" Podcast. <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/politics-podcast-can-statistics-solve-partisan-gerrymandering/>
- # Webster, Gerald R. 2013. "Reflections on Current Criteria to Evaluate Redistricting Plans." *Political Geography* 32 (1): 3-14.
- # McGann, Anthony J., Charles Anthony Smith, Michael Latner, and J. Alex Keena. 2015. "A Discernable and Manageable Standard for Partisan Gerrymandering." *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 14 (4): 295-311.
- # Gelman, Andrew, and Gary King. 1996. "Advantages of Conflictual Redistricting." In *Fixing the Boundary: Defining and Redefining Single-Member Electoral Districts*, edited by Iain McLean and David Butler. Aldershot: Dartmouth, pp. 207–218.
- Han, Kirsten. 2019. "The Guessing Game for Singapore's Elections." *The Interpreter blog of The Lowly Institute*, July 16. URL: <https://www.lowlyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/guessing-game-singapore-elections>
- Handley, Lisa. 2018. "Electoral Systems and Redistricting." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McDonald, Michael P. 2007. "Regulating Redistricting." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40 (4): 675-679.

- ACE - The Electoral Knowledge Network. 2012. "Boundary Delimitation, 2nd edition." Available from <https://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/bd/>.
- McGann, Anthony J., Charles Anthony Smith, Michael Latner, and Alex Keena. 2016. *Gerrymandering in America: The House of Representatives, the Supreme Court and the Future of Popular Sovereignty*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Magar, Eric, Alejandro Trelles, Micah Altman, and Michael P. McDonald. 2017. "Components of Partisan Bias Originating from Single-Member Districts in Multi-party Systems: An Application to Mexico." *Political Geography* 57 (1): 1-12.
- Gelman, Andrew, and Gary King. 1994. "A Unified Method of Evaluating Electoral Systems and Redistricting Plans." *American Journal of Political Science* 38 (2): 514-554.
- Gerken, Heather K., Jonathan N. Katz, Gary King, Larry J. Sabato, and Samuel S.-H. Wang. 2017. "Brief of Heather K. Gerken, Jonathan N. Katz, Gary King, Larry J. Sabato, and Samuel S.-H. Wang as Amici Curiae in Support of Appellees in Beverly R. Gill, et al. v. William Whitford, et al. 16-1161."
- Grofman, Bernard, and Lisa Handley, eds. 2008. *Redistricting in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grofman, Bernard, and Thomas Brunell. 2005. "The Art of the Dummymander: The Impact of Recent Redistrictings on the Partisan Makeup of Southern House Seats." In *Redistricting in the New Millennium*, edited by Peter Galderisi. New York: Lexington Books, pp. 183-199.
- Rossiter, David, Ron J. Johnston, and Charles Pattie. 1999. *The Boundary Commissions: Redrawing the UK's Map of Parliamentary Constituencies*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Johnston, Ron. 2012. "Seats, Votes and the Spatial Organization of Elections Revisited." In *Seats, Votes and the Spatial Organization of Elections. With a New Introduction by Ron Johnston*, edited by Graham Gudgin and Peter J. Taylor. London: ECPR Press, pp. ix-xxxix.
- Engstrom, Erik J. 2013. *Partisan Gerrymandering and the Construction of American Democracy*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Cox, Gary W., and Jonathan Katz. 2002. *Elbridge Gerry's Salamander: The Electoral Consequences of the Reapportionment Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brunell, Thomas L. 2008. *Redistricting and Representation: Why Competitive Elections Are Bad for America*. New York: Routledge.
- Cain, Bruce E. 2012. "Redistricting Commissions: A Better Political Buffer?" *Yale Law Journal* 121 (7): 1584-2031.
- Balinski, Michel. 2008. "Fair Majority Voting (or How to Eliminate Gerrymandering)." *American Mathematics Monthly* 115 (2): 97-.

**10. Proportional electoral systems and Duverger's proposition. Notions and indices of proportionality. The stability and horizontal versus vertical accountability of governments. The value of diversity and conciliation. The relative significance of choices regarding district and assembly size, formula, thresholds, ballot format, and bonus seats**

*Readings* (# marks required):

- # Reynolds, Andrew, Ben Reilly, and Andrew Ellis, eds. 2005. *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*. Stockholm: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, pp. 57-89, 118-120.
- Gallagher, Michael, and Paul Mitchell. 2018. "Dimensions of Variation in Electoral Systems." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mueller, Dennis C. 2003. *Public Choice III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 264-302.
- Gallagher, Michael. 2014. "Electoral Institutions and Representation." In *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris. London: Sage, pp. 11-31.
- Shugart, Matthew S., and Rein Taagepera. 2018. "Electoral System Effects on Party Systems." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Döring, Holger, and Philip Manow. 2017. "Is Proportional Representation More Favourable to the Left? Electoral Rules and Their Impact on Elections, Parliaments and the Formation of Cabinets." *British Journal of Political Science* 47 (1): 149-164.
- Taagepera, Rein. 2007. *Predicting Party Sizes: The Logic of Simple Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, Kieran. 2005. "Judicial Review of Electoral Thresholds in Germany, Russia, and the Czech Republic." *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 4 (3): 191-206.

**11. Mixed electoral rules: Multi-segment, additional member and parallel systems.  
Excessive fragmentation and concealed majoritarianism or best of both worlds?  
Constitutional and practical issues with overhang seats**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- # Reynolds, Andrew, Ben Reilly, and Andrew Ellis, eds. 2005. *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*. Stockholm: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, pp. 90-111.
- # New Zealand Electoral Commission, n.d. "MMP Voting System." [Exemplary webpage informing the public about the electoral system.] Available from <http://www.elections.org.nz/voting-system/mmp-voting-system>
- Zittel, Thomas. 2018. "Germany." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moser, Robert G. 1999. "Electoral Systems and the Number of Parties in Postcommunist States." *World Politics* 51 (3): 359-384
- Moser, Robert G., and Ethan Scheiner. 2004. "Mixed Electoral Systems and Electoral System Effects: Controlled Comparison and Cross-national Analysis." *Electoral Studies* 23 (4): 575-599.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg, and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds. 2001. *Mixed-member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Herron, Erik S., Kuniaki Nemoto, and Misa Nishikawa. 2018. "Reconciling Approaches in the Study of Mixed-Member Electoral Systems." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral*

*Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Further topic for independent study: Within-party choices. Candidate selection and nomination with primary elections and otherwise. Intra-party preference voting systems. The endurance and electoral accountability of individual representatives and parties**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- Katz, Richard S. 1997. *Democracy and Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 246-262.
- Carty, R. Kenneth. 2013. "Are Political Parties Meant to be Internally Democratic?" In *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, edited by William P. Cross and Richard S. Katz. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rahat, Gideon. 2013. "What is Democratic Candidate Selection?" In *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, edited by William P. Cross and Richard S. Katz. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Renwick, Alan, and Jean-Benoit Pilet. 2015. *Faces on the Ballot: The Personalization of Electoral Systems in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Marsh, Michael. 2018. "Ireland." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- von Schoultz, Åsa. 2018. "Finland." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crisp, Brian F., and William M. Simoneau. 2018. "Electoral Systems and Constituency Service." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg, Melody Ellis Valdini, and Kati Souminen. 2005. "Looking for Locals: Voter Information Demands and Personal Vote-Earning Attributes of Legislators under Proportional Representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2): 437-449.
- Carey, John M., and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14 (4): 417-439.
- Grofman, Bernard. 2005. "Comparisons among Electoral Systems: Distinguishing Between Localism and Candidate-Centered Politics." *Electoral Studies* 24 (4): 735-740.
- Martin, Shane. 2011. "Electoral Institutions, the Personal Vote, and Legislative Organization." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36 (3): 339-361.
- Klein, Elad. 2018. "The Personal Vote and Legislative Party Switching." *Party Politics* 24 (5): 501-510.
- Golden, Miriam A. 2003. "Electoral Connections: The Effects of the Personal Vote on Political Patronage, Bureaucracy and Legislation in Postwar Italy." *British Journal of Political Science* 33 (02): 189-212.

**12. Special arrangements for minority representation and women's representation via reserved seats, quotas, placement mandates, and nomination rules**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- # Krook, Mona Lena. 2014. "The Political Representation of Women and Minorities." In *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris. London: Sage, pp. 96-111.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2018. "Electoral Systems and Women's Representation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lublin, David, and Shaun Bowler. 2018. "Electoral Systems and Ethnic Minority Representation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reynolds, Andrew. 2008. "Reserved Seats in National Legislatures: A Comparative Approach." In *Redistricting in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Lisa Handley and Bernard Grofman. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chauchard, Simon. 2019. *Why Representation Matters: The Meaning of Ethnic Quotas in Rural India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davidson-Schmich, Louise K., ed. 2016. *Gender Quotas and Democratic Participation: Recruiting Candidates for Elective Offices in Germany*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Grofman, Bernard, Lisa Handley, and Richard G. Niemi. 1995. *Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ziegfeld, Adam. 2018. "India." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reynolds, Andrew. 2010. *Designing Democracy in a Dangerous World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 6.
- Lublin, David. 2014. *Minority Rules: Electoral Systems, Decentralization, and Ethnoregional Party Success*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Further topic for independent study: Ballot architecture from partisan to non-partisan, neutral versus nudging, and traditional to voter-friendly. The alphabet effect. Voting technology. Electronic and online voting and cyber security**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- Wand, Jonathan, Kenneth W. Shotts, Jasjeet Singh Sekhon, Walter R. Jr. Mebane, Michael C. Herron, and Henry E. Brady. 2001. "The Butterfly Did It: The Aberrant Vote for Buchanan in Palm Beach County, Florida." *American Political Science Review* 95 (3): 793-810.
- Lausen, Marcia. 2007. *Design for Democracy: Ballot and Election Design*.
- Hansen, Richard L. 2013. *The Voting Wars: From Florida 2000 to the Next Election Meltdown*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Smith, Claire M. 2014. *Convenience Voting and Technology: The Case of Military and Overseas Voters*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Alvarez, R Michael, and Thad E. Hall. 2008. *Electronic Elections: The Perils and Promise of Digital Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Vassil, Kristjan, and Till Weber. 2011. "A Bottleneck Model of E-voting: Why Technology Fails to Boost Turnout." *New Media & Society* 13 (8): 1336-1354.

- Katz, Gabriel, R. Alvarez, Ernesto Calvo, Marcelo Escolar, and Julia Pomares. 2011. "Assessing the Impact of Alternative Voting Technologies on Multi-Party Elections: Design Features, Heuristic Processing and Voter Choice." *Political Behavior* 33 (2): 247-270.
- Shue, Kelly, and Erzo F. P. Luttmer. 2009. "Who Misvotes? The Effect of Differential Cognition Costs on Election Outcomes." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 1 (1): 229-257.
- Lausen, Marcia. 2007. *Design for Democracy: Ballot and Election Design*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Caarls, Susanne. 2010. *E-voting Handbook - Key Steps in the Implementation of E-enabled Elections*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.
- Election Commission of India. 2016. *Manual on Systematic Voters' Education and Electoral Participation (SVEEP)*. New Delhi: Election Commission of India. Available from [http://eci.nic.in/eci\\_main/Library&Publications/Manual\\_on\\_SVEEP\\_08092016.pdf](http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/Library&Publications/Manual_on_SVEEP_08092016.pdf)
- Herrnson, Paul S., Richard G. Niemi, Michael J. Hanmer, Benjamin B. Bederson, Frederick C. Conrad, and Michael W. Traugott. 2007. *Voting Technology: The Not-So-Simple Act of Casting a Ballot*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Thad E. Bryan. 2004. *Point, Click, and Vote: The Future of Internet Voting*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

**Further topic for independent study: Reasons, opportunities, methods and obstacles to democratize electoral system choice. Deliberative assemblies and referendums on electoral system choice**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- Renwick, Alan. 2018. "Electoral System Change." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fournier, Patrick, Henk van der Kolk, R. Kenneth Carty, André Blais, and Jonathan Rose. 2011. *When Citizens Decide: Lessons from Citizens' Assemblies on Electoral Reform*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Renwick, Alan. 2010. *The Politics of Electoral Reform: Changing the Rules of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Renwick, Alan, Michael Lamb, and Berna Numan. 2011. "The Expenses Scandal and the Politics of Electoral Reform." *The Political Quarterly* 82 (1): 32-41.
- Ahmed, Amel. 2012. *Democracy and the Politics of Electoral System Choice: Engineering Electoral Dominance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Katz, Richard S. 2011. "Democracy as a Cause of Electoral Reform: Jurisprudence and Electoral Change in Canada." *West European Politics* 34 (3): 587-606.
- Bowler, Shaun, and Todd Donovan. 2013. *The Limits of Electoral Reform*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Setala, Maija. 2017. "Connecting Deliberative Mini-publics to Representative Decision Making." *European Journal of Political Research* 56 (4): 846-863.
- Ackerman, Bruce, and James Fishkin. 2004. *Deliberation Day*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.



- Fishkin, James S. 2009. *When the People Speak: Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bogaards, Matthijs. 2018. "Deliberative Democracy and Electoral Reform in South Africa: A Campus Experiment." *Politikon* 45 (2): 181-198.

### **13. Participation as a duty. Compulsory voting and other turnout-enhancing measures. The impact of turnout on election outcomes**

#### **Readings** (# marks required):

- # Lijphart, Arend. 1997. "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma." *American Political Science Review* 91 (1): 1-14
- # Karp, Jeffrey A., and Susan A. Banducci. 2000. "Going Postal: How All-Mail Elections Influence Turnout." *Political Behavior* 22 (3): 223-239.
- Blais, André. 2006. "What Affects Voter Turnout?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (1): 111-125.
- 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 (01): 115-134.
- Hooghe, Marc. 2014. "Citizenship and Participation." In *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris. London: Sage, pp. 58-75.
- Keaney, Emily, and Ben Rogers. 2006. *A Citizen's Duty: Voter Inequality and the Case for Compulsory Turnout*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.
- Brennan, Jason, and Lisa Hill. 2014. *Compulsory Voting: For and Against*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leininger, Arndt, and Lea Heyne. 2017. "How Representative are Referendums? Evidence from 20 Years of Swiss Referendums." *Electoral Studies* 48 (1): 84-97.
- Anzia, Sarah F. 2013. *Timing and Turnout: How Off-cycle Elections Favor Organized Groups*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Blais, André. 2000. *To Vote or Not to Vote? The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Franklin, Mark N. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies since 1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cancela, João, and Benny Geys. 2016. "Explaining Voter Turnout: A Meta-analysis of National and Subnational Elections." *Electoral Studies* 42: 264-275.
- Doherty, David, Conor M. Dowling, Alan S. Gerber, and Gregory A. Huber. 2017. "Are Voting Norms Conditional? How Electoral Context and Peer Behavior Shape the Social Returns to Voting." *The Journal of Politics* 79 (3): 1095-1100.
- Ellis, Andrew, and *et al.* 2006. *Engaging the Electorate*. Stockholm: International IDEA.
- Saikkonen, Inga A. L. 2017. "Electoral Mobilization and Authoritarian Elections: Evidence from Post-Soviet Russia." *Government and Opposition* 52 (1): 51-74.

**Further topic for independent study: Direct democratic initiatives and authoritarian plebiscites: what is their use and impact?**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- Setala, Maija. 2006. "On the Problems of Responsibility and Accountability in Referendums." *European Journal of Political Research* 45 (4): 699-721.
- Lupia, Arthur, and John G. Matsusaka. 2004. "Direct Democracy: New Approaches to Old Questions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7 (1): 463-482.
- Christmann, Anna. 2013. "Anti-minority Votes and Judicial Review." *Acta Politica* 48 (4): 429-458.
- Setala, Maija. 1999. *Referendums and Democratic Government: Normative Theory and the Analysis of Institutions*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Qvortrup, Matt. 2013. *Direct Democracy: A Comparative Study of the Theory and Practice of Government by the People*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frey, Bruno S., Marcel Kucher, and Alois Stutzer. 2001. "Outcome, Process and Power in Direct Democracy: New Econometric Results." *Public Choice* 107 (3-4): 271-293.
- Smith, Daniel A., and Caroline Tolbert. 2004. *Educated by Initiative: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Citizens and Political Organizations in the American States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Benz, Matthias, and Alois Stutzer. 2004. "Are Voters Better Informed When They Have a Larger Say in Politics? Evidence for the European Union and Switzerland." *Public Choice* 119 (1-2): 31-59.
- Matsusaka, John G. 2010. "Popular Control of Public Policy: A Quantitative Approach." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5 (2): 133-167.
- Altman, David. 2010. *Direct Democracy Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, esp. pp. 60-139.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2005. *Direct Democratic Choice: The Swiss Experience*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, Books.
- Auer, Andreas, and Michael Bützer, eds. 2001. *Direct Democracy: The Eastern and Central European Experience*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Hug, Simon. 2005. "The Political Effects of Referendums: An Analysis of Institutional Innovations in Eastern and Central Europe." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 38 (4): 475-499.
- McManus-Czubinska, Clare, William L. Miller, Radoslaw Markowski, and Jacek Wasilewski. 2004. "The Misuse of Referendums in Post-communist Europe." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 20 (1): 56-80.
- LeDuc, Larry. 2003. *The Politics of Direct Democracy: Referendums in Global Perspective*. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press.
- Gerber, Elisabeth R., Arthur Lupia, Matthew D. McCubbins, and D. Roderick Kiewiet. 2001. *Stealing the Initiative: How State Government Responds to Direct Democracy*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

**Further topic for independent study: Campaigns and informed electorates. The impact of media pluralism, advertisements, leader debates, manifesto costing, fact-checking organizations, opinion polls, vote advice applications, get-out-the-vote drives and their absence**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- Palese, Michela, and Josiah Mortimer, eds. 2019. *Reining in the Political 'Wild West': Campaign Rules for the 21st Century*: Electoral Reform Society. URL: <https://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/latest-news-and-research/publications/reining-in-the-political-wild-west-campaign-rules-for-the-21st-century/>
- Cheeseman, Nic, and Brian Klaas. 2018. *How to Rig an Election*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Wlezien, Christopher. 2014. "Election Campaigns." In *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris. London: Sage, pp. 76-95.
- Lipsitz, Keena. 2004. "Democratic Theory and Political Campaigns." *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 12 (2): 163-189.
- Beerbohm, Eric. 2016. "The Ethics of Electioneering." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 24 (4): 381-405.
- Huang, Haifeng. 2017. "A War of (Mis)Information: The Political Effects of Rumors and Rumor Rebuttals in an Authoritarian Country." *British Journal of Political Science* 47 (2): 283-311.
- LeDuc, Lawrence, and Richard G. Niemi. 2014. "Voting Behavior: Choice and Context." In *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris. London: Sage, pp. 133-149.
- Lago, Ignacio, Marc Guinjoan, and Sandra Bermúdez. 2015. "Regulating Disinformation: Poll Embargo and Electoral Coordination." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 79 (4): 932-951.
- Strömbäck, Jesper. 2005. "In Search of a Standard: Four Models of Democracy and their Normative Implications for Journalism." *Journalism Studies* 6 (3): 331-345.
- Bleck, Jaimie, and Kristin Michelitch. 2017. "Capturing the Airwaves, Capturing the Nation? A Field Experiment on State-Run Media Effects in the Wake of a Coup." *The Journal of Politics* 79 (3): 873-889.
- Epstein, Robert, and Ronald E. Robertson. 2015. "The Search Engine Manipulation Effect (SEME) and Its Possible Impact on the Outcomes of Elections." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112 (33): E4512-E4521.
- Allcott, Hunt, and Matthew Gentzkow. 2017. "Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election." NBER Working Paper No. 23809. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Berinsky, Adam J. 2015. "Rumors and Health Care Reform: Experiments in Political Misinformation." *British Journal of Political Science* 47 (2): 241-262
- Popkin, Jeremy D. 1995. *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789-1799*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

**Further topic for independent study: The funding and costs of elections: can we tell apart worthy spending and waste? The clash of egalitarian, free speech, and citizen engagement considerations. The impact of small vs. large donations**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- Norris, Pippa, and Andrea Abel van Es, eds. 2016. *Checkbook Elections: Political Finance in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Katz, Richard S. 1997. *Democracy and Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 262-277.

- Pevnick, Ryan. 2016. "The Anatomy of Debate about Campaign Finance." *The Journal of Politics* 78 (4): 1184-1195.
- Johnson, Joel W. 2018. "Electoral Systems and Campaign Finance." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, Pippa, and Andrea Abel van Es, eds. 2016. *Checkbook Elections: Political Finance in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stratmann, Thomas. 2005. "Some Talk: Money in Politics. A (Partial) Review of the Literature." *Public Choice* 124 (1/2): 135-156.
- La Raja, Raymond J., and Brian F. Schaffner. 2014. "The Effects of Campaign Finance Spending Bans on Electoral Outcomes: Evidence from the States about the Potential Impact of Citizens United v. FEC." *Electoral Studies* 33: 102-114.
- McMenamin, Iain. 2013. *If Money Talks, What Does it Say? Corruption and Business Financing of Political Parties*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schlozman, Kay L., and Henry E. Brady. 2012. *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rowbottom, Jacob. 2010. *Democracy Distorted: Wealth, Influence and Democratic Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lessig, Lawrence. 2011. *Republic, Lost: How Money Corrupts Congress — and a Plan to Stop It*. New York: Twelve.
- Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz. 2011. *Political Consequences of Crony Capitalism inside Russia*. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Malbin Michael, J., and Michael Parrott. 2017. "Small Donor Empowerment Depends on the Details: Comparing Matching Fund Programs in New York and Los Angeles." *The Forum* 15 (2): 219-250.
- Ben-Bassat, Avi, Momi Dahan, and Esteban F. Klor. 2015. "Does Campaign Spending affect Electoral Outcomes?" *Electoral Studies* 40: 102-114.
- Gordon, Stacy B. 2004. *Campaign Contributions and Legislative Voting: A New Approach*. New York: Routledge.
- Falguera, Elin, Samuel Jones, and Magnus Ohman, eds. 2014. *Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns: A Handbook on Political Finance*. Stockholm: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

### **Part III: Beyond free and fair elections**

#### **14. The concept, measurement and impact of election integrity**

##### **Readings** (# marks required):

- # Norris, Pippa. 2014. "Electoral Integrity and Political Legitimacy." In *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris. London: Sage, pp. 150-172.
- Norris, Pippa. 2018. "Electoral Systems and Electoral Integrity." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Hyde, Susan D., and Nikolay Marinov. 2012. "Which Elections Can Be Lost?" *Political Analysis* 20 (2): 191-210.
- Birch, Sarah. 2011. *Electoral Malpractice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2014. *Why Electoral Integrity Matters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2015. *Why Elections Fail?* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2017. *Strengthening Electoral Integrity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, Kieran. 2007. "The Growing Litigiousness of Czech Elections." *Europe-Asia Studies* 59 (6): 937-959.
- Brown, Mitchell, Kathleen Hale, and Bridgett A. King, eds. 2019. *The Future of Election Administration Cases and Conversations*. New York: Springer. URL: <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-030-18541-1>

### **15. Do elections in authoritarian states advance or hinder democratization? How often do authoritarian leaders lose office because of elections? Case studies and statistical evidence**

#### **Readings** (# marks required):

- # Norris, Pippa. 2009. "All Elections Are Not the Same: Why Power-Sharing Elections Strengthen Democratization?" In *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition?*, edited by Staffan I. Lindberg. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 148-175.
- # Donno, Daniela. 2013. "Elections and Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (3): 703-716.
- # Pop-Eleches, Grigore, and Graeme Robertson. 2014. "After the Revolution." *Problems of Post-Communism* 61 (4): 3-22. (Note further analyses in a previous version posted at <https://www.princeton.edu/~gpop/Elections%20Info%20Pol%20Chg%20GPE%20GBR%20Dec%202010.pdf>.)
- Lührmann, Anna, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2018. "Keeping the Democratic Façade: Contemporary Autocratization as a Game of Deception." Working Paper Series No. 75. Gothenburg: V-Dem Institute.
- Gandhi, Jennifer, and Abigail L. Heller. 2018. "Electoral Systems in Authoritarian States." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gandhi, Jennifer. 2014. "Authoritarian Elections and Regime Change." In *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris. London: Sage, pp. 173-186.
- Edgell, Amanda, Valeriya Mechkova, David Altman, Michael Bernhard, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2015. "When and Where do Elections Matter? A Global Test of the Democratization by Elections Hypothesis, 1900-2012." Working Paper Series 2015:8. Gothenburg: V-Dem Institute.
- Lührmann, Anna, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2018. "Keeping the Democratic Façade: Contemporary Autocratization as a Game of Deception." Working Paper Series No. 75. Gothenburg: V-Dem Institute.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Schedler, Andreas, ed. 2006. *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Schedler, Andreas. 2013. *The Politics of Uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bunce, Valerie, and Sharon Wolchik. 2011. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Birch, Sarah. 2016. "The Electoral Tango: the Evolution of Electoral Integrity in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." Max Weber Lecture No. 2016/02. Florence: Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.
- Zavadskaya, Margarita, and Christian Welzel. 2015. "Subverting Autocracy: Emancipative Mass Values in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *Democratization* 22 (6): 1105-1130.
- van Ham, Carolien, and Brigitte Seim. 2017. "Strong States, Weak Elections? How State Capacity in Authoritarian Regimes Conditions the Democratizing Power of Elections." *International Political Science Review*: FirstView.
- Seeberg, Merete Bech. 2014. "State Capacity and the Paradox of Authoritarian Elections." *Democratization* 21 (7): 1265-1285.
- Knutsen, Carl Henrik, Håvard Mogleiv Nygård, and Tore Wig. 2017. "Autocratic Elections: Stabilizing Tool or Force for Change?" *World Politics* 69 (1): 98-143.

## **16. Election fraud and possibilities for its detection. Fraudulent, unsubstantiated and rightful claims of fraud and their impact on the political process**

### **Readings** (# marks required):

- # Buzin, Andrei, Kevin Brondum, and Graeme Robertson. 2016. "Election Observer Effects: A Field Experiment in the Russian Duma Election of 2011." *Electoral Studies* 44: 184-191.
- # Skovoroda, Rodion, and Tomila Lankina. 2017. "Fabricating Votes for Putin: New Tests of Fraud and Electoral Manipulations from Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 33 (2): 100-123.
- Bratton, Michael, Boniface Dulani, and Eldred Masunungure. 2016. "Detecting Manipulation in Authoritarian Elections: Survey-based Methods in Zimbabwe." *Electoral Studies* 42 (June): 10-21.
- Rozenas, Arturas. 2017. "Detecting Election Fraud from Irregularities in Vote-Share Distributions." *Political Analysis* 25 (1): 41-56.
- Enikolopov, Ruben, Vasily Korovkin, Maria Petrova, Konstantin Sonin, and Alexei Zakharov. 2013. "Field Experiment Estimate of Electoral Fraud in Russian Parliamentary Elections." *PNAS* 110 (2): 448-452.
- Boyko, Nazar, and Erik S. Herron. 2015. "The Effects of Technical Parties and Partisan Election Management Bodies on Voting Outcomes." *Electoral Studies* 40: 23-33.
- Callen, Michael, and James D. Long. 2015. "Institutional Corruption and Election Fraud: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Economic Review* 105 (1): 354-81.
- Myagkov, Misha, Peter Ordeshook, and Dmitry Shakin. 2009. *The Forensics of Election Fraud: Russia and Ukraine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Sjoberg, Fredrik M. 2014. "Autocratic Adaptation: The Strategic Use of Transparency and the Persistence of Election Fraud." *Electoral Studies* 33: 233-245.
- Klimeka, Peter, Yuri Yegorovb, Rudolf Hanela, and Stefan Thurner. 2012. "Statistical Detection of Systematic Election Irregularities." *PNAS* 109 (41): 16469–Mares, Isabela. 2015. *From Open Secrets to Secret Voting: Democratic Electoral Reforms and Voter Autonomy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- van Ham, Carolien, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2015. "From Sticks to Carrots: Electoral Manipulation in Africa, 1986–2012." *Government and Opposition* 50 (Special Issue 03): 521-548.
- Medzihorsky, Juraj. 2015. "Election Fraud: A Latent Class Framework for Digit-Based Tests." *Political Analysis* 23 (4): 506-517.
- Deckert, Joseph, Mikhail Myagkov, and Peter C. Ordeshook. 2011. "Benford's Law and the Detection of Election Fraud." *Political Analysis* 19 (3): 245-268.
- Breunig, Christian, and Achim Goerres. 2011. "Searching for Electoral Irregularities in an Established Democracy: Applying Benford's Law Tests to Bundestag Elections in Unified Germany." *Electoral Studies* 30 (3): 534-545.
- Sobyanin, A. A., and V.G. Suhovolskiy. 1995. *Democracy, Restricted by Falsifications: Elections and Referendums in Russia in 1991-93 (Собянин А.А., Суховольский В.Г. Демократия, ограниченная фальсификациями: Выборы и референдумы в России в 1991-1993)*. Moscow. Available from
- Darnolf, Staffan, Katherine Ellena, Emily Lippolis, Erica Shein, Chad Vickery, Democracy International, Dan Murphy, Jed Ober, and Naomi Rasmussen. 2015. "Election Audits: International Principles that Protect Election Integrity." Washington, D.C.: Democracy International & International Foundation for Electoral Systems.
- Mares, Isabela, Aurelian Muntean, and Tsveta Petrova. 2018. "Economic Intimidation in Contemporary Elections: Evidence from Romania and Bulgaria." *Government and Opposition* 53 (3): 486-517.
- Foley, Edward. 2015. *Ballot Battles: The History of Disputed Elections in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Alvarez, R.Michael, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde, eds. 2008. *Election Fraud: Detecting and Detering Electoral Manipulation*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Campbell, Tracy. 2005. *Deliver the Vote: A History of Election Fraud, an American Political Tradition, 1742-2004*. New York: Caroll & Graf.

**Further topic for independent study: Exposing fraud: actors, processes, results. Methods and limitations for watchdog media, citizen activists, independent election commissions and appeals to courts**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- Norris, Pippa, and Alessandro Nai, eds. 2017. *Election Watchdogs: Transparency, Accountability, and Integrity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- James, Toby S. 2019. *Comparative Electoral Management: Performance, Networks and Instruments*. Abingdon: Routledge.



- Birch, Sarah, and Carolien Van Ham. 2017. "Getting Away with Foul Play? The Importance of Formal and Informal Oversight Institutions for Electoral Integrity." *European Journal of Political Research* 56 (3): 487-511.
- Chernykh, Svitlana, and Milan W. Svobik. 2015. "Third-Party Actors and the Success of Democracy: How Electoral Commissions, Courts, and Observers Shape Incentives for Electoral Manipulation and Post-Election Protests." *Journal of Politics* 77 (2): 407-420.
- Omenma, J. Tochukwu, Okechukwu O. Ibeanu, and Ike E. Onyishi. 2017. "Disputed Elections and the Role of the Court in Emerging Democracies in Africa: The Nigerian Example." *Journal of Politics and Democratization* 2 (1). URL: <https://gipa.ge/JPD/files/3%20-%20Omenma%20Ibeanu%20and%20Onyishi%202-1.pdf>
- Catt, Helena, Andrew Ellis, Michael Maley, Alan Wall, and Peter Wolf. 2014. *Electoral Management Design*. Revised ed. Stockholm: International IDEA.
- Imai, Kosuke, and Gary King. 2004. "Did Illegal Overseas Absentee Ballots Decide the 2000 U.S. Presidential Election?" *Perspectives on Politics* 2: 537-549.

## **17. The know-how and impact of election observation missions, norm diffusion, democratic conditionality and international sanctions**

**Note:** I plan to invite a highly experienced international election observer to participate in this class, either in person or via a video link online. Therefore we will probably have to choose an unusual time slot for this class to fit the schedule of our guest. If a suitable guest appearance is assured, each of you will prepare questions for this class from different readings chosen with my help. During the class, we will query our guest with your own questions regarding the purpose, procedures, logistics, and impact of observation missions.

### **Readings** (# marks required):

- # Hyde, Susan D. 2011. "Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (2): 356-369.
- # Bush, Sarah Sunn, and Lauren Prather. 2017. "The Promise and Limits of Election Observers in Building Election Credibility." *The Journal of Politics* 79 (3): 921-935.
- # Bubeck, Johannes, and Nikolay Marinov. 2017. "Process or Candidate: The International Community and the Demand for Electoral Integrity." *American Political Science Review* 111 (3): 535-554.
- Kelley, Judith. 2010. "Election Observers and Their Biases." *Journal of Democracy* 21 (3): 158-172.
- Kelley, Judith. 2009. "D Minus Elections: The Politics and Norms of International Election Observation." *International Organization* 63 (4): 765-787. (Data: <https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/31461>)
- Daxecker, Ursula E. 2012. "The Cost of Exposing Cheating: International Election Monitoring, Fraud, and Post-election Violence in Africa." *Journal of Peace Research* 49 (4): 503-516.
- Daxecker, Ursula E. 2014. "All Quiet on Election Day? International Election Observation and Incentives for Pre-election Violence in African Elections." *Electoral Studies* 34 (June): 232-243.

- 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.
- Kelley, Judith G. 2012. *Monitoring Democracy: When International Election Observation Works, and Why It Often Fails*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Donno, Daniela. 2013. *Defending Democratic Norms: International Actors and the Politics of Electoral Misconduct*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buzin, Andrei, Kevin Brondum, and Graeme Robertson. 2016. "Election Observer Effects: A Field Experiment in the Russian Duma Election of 2011." *Electoral Studies* 44: 184-191
- Enikolopov, Ruben, Vasily Korovkin, Maria Petrova, Konstantin Sonin, and Alexei Zakharov. 2013. "Field Experiment Estimate of Electoral Fraud in Russian Parliamentary Elections." *PNAS* 110 (2): 448-452.
- 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 (01): 292-307.
- Robertson, Graeme. 2017. "Political Orientation, Information and Perceptions of Election Fraud: Evidence from Russia." *British Journal of Political Science* 47 (3): 589-608.
- OSCE/ODIHR (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights). 2005. "A Decade of Monitoring Elections: The People and the Practice." Warsaw: OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. Available from <https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/17164>
- OSCE Parliamentary Assembly International Secretariat. n.d. "OSCE PA Election Observation 1993-2015: 4,854 OSCE Parliamentarians Observe 145 Elections." Copenhagen: OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, International Secretariat. URL: <https://www.oscepa.org/election-observation/brochures-documents/brochures/1841-2008-2014-election-observation-brochure>
- Thomas, Daniel C. 2001. *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Carothers, Thomas. 1999. *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Goodwin-Gill, Guy S. 2006. *Free and Fair Elections: International Law and Practice*. Expanded ed. Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union. Available from <http://archive.ipu.org/PDF/publications/Free&Fair06-e.pdf>.
- Beigbeder, Yves. 1994. *International Monitoring of Plebiscites, Referenda and National Elections: Self-Determinations and Transition to Democracy*. Dordrecht: M. Nijhoff.
- Bjornlund, Eric. 2004. *Beyond Free and Fair: Monitoring Elections and Building Democracy*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Pevehouse, Jon C. 2005. *Democracy From Above. Regional Organizations and Democratization*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Marinov, Nikolay, and Shmuel Nili. 2015. "Sanctions and Democracy." *International Interactions* 41 (4): 765-778.
- von Soest, Christian, and Michael Wahman. 2015. "Are Democratic Sanctions Really Counterproductive?" *Democratization* 22 (6): 957-980.

**Further topic for independent study: Election boycotts and electoral protest: how often and to what extent do they reach their manifest goals, and how often are they just a rejection of accepting defeat?**

**Readings** (# marks required):

- Smith, Ian O. 2014. "Election Boycotts and Hybrid Regime Survival." *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (5): 743-765
- Ardevino, Michael. 2013. "Political Party Election Boycotts." Washington, DC: USAID Knowledge Services Center.
- Beaulieu, Emily. 2014. *Electoral Protest and Democracy in the Developing World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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**Further topic for independent study: How elections induce the consent of the losers and when they fail to do so? How do elections trigger or avoid political violence?**

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