

THE GLOBAL SPREAD OF ELECTIONS

PLSC 450
Spring 2008

Room: CO 493 110
Time: Thurs 3:30-5:20

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Themes:

Most countries in the world now hold some form of electoral process, yet these elections vary widely in the degree to which they are democratic. Central questions in the seminar include the following: How and why do elections matter? Can they lead to democracy in very undemocratic settings? How well do theories of elections in democratic countries explain elections in politically volatile environments? What is different about elections in countries that are not already democratic? How has the international emphasis on elections influenced the global spread of elections? What are the long-term consequences of electoralism, and what does this mean for democratization?

This seminar will explore these questions by examining literature within comparative politics and international relations. Although the assigned readings contain some introductory pieces, the majority of the reading is recent work from leading scholars in political science and the course should not be considered an introduction to the study of democracy or elections. Additionally, some of the assigned readings are working papers.

Requirements:

1) ***Participation and Presentation:*** This course will be conducted in a seminar format, with students taking responsibility for leading much of the discussion. Attendance and active participation is required. All reading must be completed before class each week. Students are encouraged to engage each week's reading critically. Additionally, all students should be prepared to contribute to every class discussion by bringing questions stemming from the readings.

Each student will be expected to prepare one or more formal class presentations based on the reading and designed to facilitate class discussion. The objective of the presentations should be to motivate the class discussion about the topic of the week, and should not summarize the reading. A number of important elections will occur during the course of the semester. Examples from the news or from countries that students are familiar with are welcome in class discussion.

2) ***Short papers:*** Students must complete two short papers (3-4 pages, double spaced) critically analyzing the reading for two weeks of their choice (papers written on weeks 1, 9, and 13 are not permitted). Like the presentations, these papers should not be

summaries of the reading. No advance notice is necessary to hand in a paper for the week, although all short papers must be handed in at the beginning of class.

3) **Final Project:** The culminating project will consist of an apx. 15 page research paper on a topic stemming from the class. Students may consider focusing on elections in one country or on one issue surrounding elections. A more extensive description of the assignment will be handed out in class. Students are encouraged to consult with the instructor when selecting a topic, and to do so by March 6.

Seminar Participation/Presentation: 25%

Short Papers: 35%

Final Project: 40%

Please familiarize yourself with the University's policy on cheating, plagiarism, and documentation. It is your responsibility to understand and abide by this policy, and violations will be turned in immediately to the administration. Blatant plagiarism will result in a failing grade in the class. If you do not understand what constitutes cheating or plagiarism, or are uncertain, please ask the instructor.

Course Reading:

The required reading consists of a number of journal articles and book chapters. No textbooks are assigned. Many of these readings are easily accessible online and are not included in the course reader. When possible, links are included on the syllabus for online texts. You may be required to access the readings from a Yale University computer or through Yale's proxy server. A course reader is for sale at Tyco Copies and contains only those readings not available online.

The course materials were chosen to represent the major theories and research pertaining to the spread of elections throughout the developing world. They provide a wide range of views and differ in both the evidence they provide and their persuasiveness. As a whole, the selection is designed to demonstrate the diverse approaches to the study of elections, and to encourage critical evaluation of existing academic literature. Keeping the following questions in mind when reading should help focus your attention on the big picture: What is the argument the author is trying to make and why might this be important? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the argument? How convincing do you find their evidence? What are some possible counter-arguments that could be made? What does this tell us about the global spread of elections?

1. January 17 – Introduction

Part I: The Role of Elections in Democracy

2. January 24 – Democracy and Elections I

Amayrta Sen. 1999. "[Democracy as a Universal Value](#)." *Journal of Democracy*. 10.3 (3-17).

Zakaria, F. 1997. [The Rise of Illiberal Democracy](#). *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6: 22-43.

Samuel Huntington. 1993. *The Third Wave of Democratization*. Chapters 1 and 4. Available in course reader.

3. January 31 – Democracy and Elections II

Robert Dahl. 1971. “Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition.” Chapter 1. (pp 1-16). Available in course reader.

Terry Karl. 1986. “Imposing Consent? Electoralism vs. Democratization in El Salvador” in Drake and Silva, Eds., *Elections and Democratization in Latin America, 1980-85*. Available in course reader.

Seymour Martin Lipset. 1994. “[The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited: 1993 Presidential Address](#)” *American Sociological Review*. 59: 1-22.

Elizabeth Spiro Clark. 2000. “[Why Elections Matter](#)” *The Washington Quarterly*.

4. February 7 – Elections without Democracy

Elections Without Democracy, *Journal of Democracy*:

Diamond, Larry. “[Thinking about Hybrid Regimes](#)”

Schedler, Andreas. “[The Menu of Manipulation](#)”

Levitsky and Way. “[The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism](#)”

Van de Walle. “[Africa’s Range of Regimes](#)”

Part II: Causes of the Global Spread of Elections?

5. February 14-- Democracy Promotion

Thomas Carothers. 1999. “The Rise of Democracy Assistance.” Chapter 2 in *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. Available in course reader.

Gordon Crawford. 1997. “Foreign Aid and Political Conditionality: Issues of Effectiveness and Consistency.” *Democratization*. Access through Cv2.

Roland Rich 2001. “[Bringing Democracy into International Law](#).” *Journal of Democracy* 12, no. 3: 20-34.

6. February 21: Diffusion, Leverage, and Law

Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede, and Michael D. Ward. 2006. “[Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization](#).” *International Organization* 60, 04: 911-933.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. 2006. “Linkage and Leverage: How Do International Factors Change Domestic Balances of Power?” in Schedler, Ed., *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. 199-216. Available in course reader.

David Adesnick and Michael McFaul. 2006. "[Engaging Autocratic Allies to Promote Democracy.](#)" *Foreign Affairs*.

Thomas Frank. 1991. "[The Emerging Right to Democratic Governance.](#)" Skim main arguments.

Part III: Problems of Elections

7. February 28: Election Fraud

Fabrice Lehoucq. 2003. "[Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types, and Consequences.](#)" *Annual Review of Political Science*.

Molina Jimenez, Ivan, and Fabrice Edouard 1963- Lehoucq. 1999. "[Political Competition and Electoral Fraud: A Latin American Case Study.](#)" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 30, no. 2: 199-234.

William Case. "Manipulative Skills: How Do Rulers Control the Electoral Arena?" in Schedler, *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Available in course reader.

8. March 6– Vote Buying and Clientelism

Brusco, V., M. Nazareno, and S. Stokes. 2004. "[Vote Buying in Argentina.](#)" *Latin American Research Review* 39, no. 2: 66-88.

Chin-Sou Wang & Charles Kurzman. 2007. "The Logistics: How to Buy Votes." Chapter 5 in Schaffer, *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying*. Available in course reader.

Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "[Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin.](#)" *World Politics* 55, no. 3: 399-422.

9. March 27 –Interpreting Democracy

Frederic Schaffer, *Democracy in Translation*, Chapter 4. Available in course reader.

Our Brand is Crisis

10. April 3 --Violence and Political Repression

Steven Wilkinson. 2004. "The Electoral Incentives for Ethnic Violence". *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Chapter 1 pp1-18. Available in course reader.

Kruger, Norma. 2005. "[ZANU\(PF\) strategies in general elections](#)", 1980-2000: Discourse and coercion. *African Affairs (London)* 104, no. 414 (January 1): 1-34.

Beatriz Magaloni. 2006. "Electoral Fraud and the Game of Electoral Transitions" Chapter 8 in *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*. Available in course reader.

11. April 10--The Media, State Resources, and Manipulated Campaign Access

Lohmann, Susanne. 1994. "[The Dynamics of Informational Cascades: The Monday Demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-91.](#)" *World Politics* 47, no. 1 (October): 42-101.

Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2004. "[Divided They Rule: The Management and Manipulation of Political Opposition.](#)" *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 2 (January): 159-179.

Hyde and Marinov. Ms. "When can information deter election fraud?" Access through Cv2.

Part IV: The Consequences of Democratizing, Authoritarian, and Post-Conflict Elections

12.– April 17 Electoral Authoritarianism and Participation

Howard, M. M., and P. G. Roessler. 2006. "[Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes.](#)" *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 2: 365-381.

Ellen Lust-Okar. "[Elections Under Authoritarianism: Preliminary Lessons from Jordan.](#)" *Democratization*.

Lisa Blaydes. Ms. "Who Votes in Authoritarian Elections and Why? Determinants of Voter Turnout in Contemporary Egypt" Access through Cv2.

Mayling Birney. Ms. "Do new democratic institutions contribute to more democratic political engagement?: A within-county comparative study of village elections in China" Access through Cv2.

13. April 24 –Elections as Coordinating Devices?

James Fearon. "Self-Enforcing Democracy" Access through Cv2.

Tucker, Joshua A. 2007. "[Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions](#)". *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 03: 535-551.

Bunce, Valerie J., and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2006. "[International Diffusion and Postcommunist Electoral Revolutions.](#)" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39, no. 3 (September): 283-304.

Mark Thompson and Philipp Kuntz. "[Stolen Elections: The Case of the Serbian October](#)" *Journal of Democracy*." 15.4: 159-172.