

**Harvard University
Government 90CJ
Elections and Democracy in Latin America**

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Spring term 2008
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In the 1980s and 1990s, Latin America was swept by a wave of democratization. Fairer and freer elections played a key role in these transitions. Since then much scholarly attention has been devoted to the nature, causes and consequences of electoral systems in the hemisphere, as well as to other institutions such as legislatures, executive bodies and the judiciary. However, little attention has been paid to the crucially important issue of the manner in which elections are organized, financed and held.

This seminar will focus on the nature and quality of election management and party competition in the Americas by examining the issues of administration of elections, voting procedures, conflict management, campaign finance, access to the media and international democracy assistance. While its main focus will be on the Latin American experience, it will also frequently discuss the United States and cases from Africa, Europe and Southeast Asia. Special attention will be given to the case of Mexico.

Course Requirements

- 1) Class participation. Students are expected to complete all required readings and to actively participate in class discussions. (20% of grade)
- 2) In-class presentation. Each week a student will introduce the topic and readings and pose questions for discussion. The presentation must be supported with empirical data and up to date information. PowerPoint presentations are welcome. (40 % of the grade)
- 3) A final research paper (25-30 pages), based on course materials and outside research. Possible topics for this paper can be found at the end of this syllabus. However, students may choose their own topics, provided that they receive permission from the professor. (40% of grade).

The outline for the paper must be submitted by April 7.

The following books should be purchased by students. They can be ordered online through Amazon or similar websites. They will also be placed on 3-hour reserve in Fung Library.

Posada-Carbo, Eduardo and Carlos Malamud, eds., *The Financing of Politics: Latin American and European Perspectives* (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas).

Schedler, Andreas, ed., *Electoral Authoritarianism* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006).

Legler, Thomas, Sharon F. Lean and Dexter S. Boniface, eds., *Promoting Democracy in the Americas* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

Zakaria, Fareed, *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*; New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2004

All journal articles can be accessed through E-Journals. Additional readings are in the course reading packet.

Week 1: Organizational Meeting

No readings this week.

Week 2. Overview (Feb. 6)

Hagopian, Scott and Scott P. Mainwaring, "Introduction: The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America," in Hagopian, Scott and Scott P. Mainwaring, eds, *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.) Pp 1-13.

McCoy, Jennifer and Jonathan Hartlyn, "Electoral Processes and Democratization in Latin America," (Paper Prepared for presentation at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30-Sept 2, 2007, Chicago).

International IDEA. Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook (<http://www.idea.int/publications/esd/>) Chapters 1-4. Pp 1-150

Additional reading

Norris, Pippa, "Classifying Electoral Systems," in *Electoral Engineering* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Ch. 2, pp. 39-65.

Teorell, Jan and Axel Hadenius, "Elections as Levers of Democracy: An Empirical Investigation," (Paper Prepared for delivery at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30-Sept 2, 2007, Chicago).

LeDuc, Lawrence, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris, *Comparing Democracies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1996). Chs. 1-2, pp. 1-82.

Golder, Matt, "Democratic Electoral Systems around the World, 1946-2000." *Electoral Studies*, 2005. 24: 103-21.

Week 3. Election Management I: Voter Registration, Candidate Registration and Voting Procedures (Feb 13)

Massicotte, Louis, et. al. Introduction, Chs. 1, 2, 3 and 5. Pp. 3-82, 102-141

Carter-Baker Commission, *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections*.
http://www.american.edu/ia/cfer/report/full_report.pdf 2005, Chs. 1, 2, 3 and 4. Pp. 1-44

Week 4. Election Management II: Election Bodies and Counting Procedures (Feb 20)

Massicotte, Louis, et. al. Chs. 4 and 6. Pp 83-101, 142-157.

International IDEA. *Electoral Management Design: The International IDEA Handbook*.
http://www.idea.int/publications/emd/upload/EMD_inlay_final.pdf Chs. 1, 2 and 3.

Pastor, Robert, "A Brief History of Electoral Commissions," in Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999). Ch 5, pp. 75-81.

Carter-Baker Commission, *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections*.
http://www.american.edu/ia/cfer/report/full_report.pdf , 2005. Ch. 6, pp. 49-59.

Week 5. Parties and Campaign Finance (Feb 27)

Katz, Richard S., "Party Organizations and Finance," in LeDuc, Lawrence, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris, *Comparing Democracies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1996). Pp. 107-133.

Nassmacher, Karl Heinz, Daniel Zovatto and Julie Ballington, *Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns: A Handbook* (International IDEA, 2003). Pp. 95-113
http://www.idea.int/publications/funding_parties/upload/full.pdf

Posada-Carbo, et. al., *The Financing of Politics: Latin American and European Perspectives*, Introduction and Chs. 1, 7, 8 and 9.

Additional reading:

Scarrow, Susan E., "Political Finance in Comparative Perspective," in *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 10, 2007, pp. 193-210.

Zovatto, Daniel, *Dinero y Política en América Latina: Una Visión Comparada* (Idea Internacional and Transparencia, 2003).

http://www.idea.int/publications/money_la/upload/2%20%20Dinero%20y%20política%20en%20América%20Latina%20-%20una%20visión%20comparada.pdf

Week 6. Access to the Media (March 5)

Semetko, Holli, "The Media," in LeDuc, Lawrence, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris, *Comparing Democracies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1996). 254-279

Additional readings TBA

Week 7. Assessing Free and Fair Elections (March 12)

Elklit, Jorgen and Palle Svensson, "What Makes Elections Free and Fair?," in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). Pp. 200-214.

Munck, Geraldo L and Jay Verkuilen. 2002. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy. Evaluating Alternative Indices." In *Comparative Political Studies* 35(1): 5-34.

Bjornlund, Eric C. *Beyond Free and Fair Elections* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press), Ch. 6

Lehoucq, Fabrice, "Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types, and Consequences," in *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 6, 2003, pp. 233-256.

OAS Democratic Charter http://www.oas.org/OASpage/eng/Documents/Democractic_Charter.htm

Additional reading.

Goodwin-Gill, Guy S., *Free and Fair Elections* (Geneva: Interparliamentary Union, 2006). <http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/Free&Fair06-e.pdf> Pp. 93-168.

Lehoucq, Fabrice Edouard, *Stuffing the ballot box: fraud, electoral reform, and democratization in Costa Rica*; New York :Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Week 8. Hybrid Regimes and Electoral Authoritarianism (March 19)

Diamond, Larry. "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes," in *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 13, No. 2, April 2002, pp. 21-35.

Schedler, Andreas, "The Menu of Manipulation," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, April 2002, pp. 36-50.

Levitsky, Steve and Lucan Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, April 2002, pp. 51-65

Schedler, Andreas, ed., *Electoral Authoritarianism* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006). Chs. 1 and 6

Corrales, Javier and Michael Penfold, "Venezuela: Crowding Out the Opposition," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 18, No. 2, April 2007, pp. 99-113

Carrión, Julio, "Conclusion: The Rise and Fall of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru," in Carrión, Julio, ed, *The Fujimori Legacy :The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru* (USA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006). Pp. 294-318

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Week 9. Democracy Assistance (April 2)

Carothers, Thomas, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington, DC: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999). Pp. 19-58.

Legler, Thomas, Sharon F. Lean and Dexter S. Boniface, eds., *Promoting Democracy in the Americas* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007). Chs. 2 and 3, pp. 21-62.

Carothers, Thomas, "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 85, No. 2, March/April 2006.

Additional Reading

"Debating Democracy Assistance," (articles by Ottaway and Chung, Clark, Gyimah-Boadi, and Lasota), *Journal of Democracy*, 1999.

Carothers, Thomas, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 13, No. 1, Jan. 2002, pp. 5-21

Barkan, Joel, "Can Established Democracies Nurture Democracy Abroad?" in Hadenius, ed., *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*; NY: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Carothers, Thomas, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington, DC: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999). Pp. 331-352.

Diamond, Larry, "Promoting democracy in the 1990s: actors, instruments and issues," in Axel Hadenius, ed., *Democracy's Victory and Crisis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Pp. 311-359.

Week 10. Electoral Observation (April 9)

Legler, Thomas, Sharon F. Lean and Dexter S. Boniface (eds), *Promoting Democracy in the Americas*; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007, Chs. 7, 8.

Pastor, Robert A., "The Third Dimension of Accountability: The International Community in National Elections," in Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattnech, *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*; Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1999. Pp. 123-142.

Schedler, Andreas, ed., *Electoral Authoritarianism* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006). Chs. 3 and 12.

Case Studies: Ukraine, Kenya, Mexico (2006), Russia (2007), Argentina (2007), United States (2000).

- possible additional readings TBA

Additional reading.

Geisler, Gisela, "Fair? What Has Fairness Got to Do with It? Vagaries of Election Observations and Democratic Standards." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 1993. 31(4): 613-637.

Hyde, Susan, "Can International Election Observers Deter Fraud: Evidence from a Natural Experiment." 2005. Dissertation chapter.

Week 11 Closely Fought Elections and Conflict Management (April 16)

Whitehead, Lawrence, "Closely Fought Elections and the Institutionalization of Democracy," in *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 2, No 1, pp. 1-11.

Makumba, John. "Zimbabwe's Hijacked Election". *Journal of Democracy*, 2002. Ch 13, no. 4:87-101.

Wilkinson, Steven, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Chs. 2, 5, 7.

Relevant case studies: Florida (2000), Italy, Taiwan, Costa Rica, Kenya.

- possible additional readings TBA

Week 12. The 2006 Mexican Presidential Election (April 23)

Estrada, Luis and Alejandro Poire, "Taught to Protest, Learning to Lose," in *Journal of Democracy* (January 2007), Vol. 18, Number 1, pp. 73-87.

Schedler, Andreas, "The Mobilization of Distrust," in *Journal of Democracy* (January 2007), Vol. 18, Number 1, pp. 88-102.

Castaneda, Jorge G. and Marco A. Morales, "Looking to the Future," in *Journal of Democracy* (January 2007), Vol. 18, Number 1, pp. 103-112.

Eisenstadt, Todd A. and Alejandro Poire, "Explaining the Credibility Gap in Mexico's 2006 Presidential Election, Despite Strong (Albeit Perfectable) Electoral Institutions." (Paper, November 8, 2006).

Special Number of PS: Political Science and Politics, January 2007.

Week 13. Conclusions (April 30)

Zakaria, Fareed, *The Future of Freedom, Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*; New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2004. Chs. 1-3.

Other readings TBA

Some Ideas for Research

1. Democracy and technology

Useful Resource:

Jenkins, Henry and David Thorburn, eds., *Democracy and New Media* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2003).

2. Measuring the quality of democracy

Useful resource:

O'Donnell, Guillermo, Jorge Vargas Cullell and Osvaldo M. Iazzetta, eds., *The Quality of Democracy* (Notre Dame: The University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).

3. Assessing fairness
4. Voting from Abroad

Useful resource:

International IDEA, *Voting from Abroad. The International IDEA Handbook*
http://www.idea.int/publications/voting_from_abroad/upload/Voting_from_abroad.pdf

5. Vote Buying

Useful resource:

Frederic Charles Schaffer, *Elections for Sale*; USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007.

6. Costs of Elections and Party Finance

Useful resource:

IFES and UNDP, *Getting to the Core: A Global Survey on the Cost of Registration and Elections*, 2005. <http://www.ifes.org/publication/4242624b9711806527bcec1133059faf/CorePubcolor.pdf>

7. Election Reform

Useful resources:

To Assure Pride and Confidence in the Electoral Process: Report of the National Commission on Federal Electoral Reform (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2002).

Benoit, Kenneth, "Electoral Laws as Political Consequences: Explaining the Origins and Change of Electoral Institutions," in *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 10, 2007, pp. 363-390.

Andrews, Josephine T. and Robert W. Jackman. 2005. "Strategic Fools: Electoral Rule Choice under Extreme Uncertainty." *Electoral Studies* 24(1): 65-84.

Benoit, Kenneth. 2004. "Models of Electoral System Change." *Electoral Studies* 23(3): 363-89.

Katz, Richard S., "Why are there so many (or so few) electoral reforms?" Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell (eds.), *The Politics of Electoral Systems*; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Ch 3, pp. 57-76.

Farrell, David M., *Electoral Systems. A Comparative Introduction*; New York: Palgrave, 2001. Ch. 8, pp. 175-191.

8. Presidential Elections in Russia

Other resources:

International IDEA. <http://www.idea.int/>

Ace Project. <http://www.aceproject.org>

International Foundation for Election Systems. <http://www.ifes.org/>

United Nations Development Program. <http://www.undp.org/>