

## **Understanding Non-Competitive Elections in New Autocracies**

**Semester:** Spring (January – March) 2019

**Instructor:** Prof. Dmitry Goncharov, [dgoncharov@hse.ru](mailto:dgoncharov@hse.ru), Galina Selivanova

### **Course Description:**

The course is designed to provide students with the necessary theoretical and empirical background for the study of the non-competitive elections. The Russian electoral field will be used as a case to demonstrate peculiarities of this institutional phenomenon. The course will cover a broad set of issues concerning theories of non-competitive elections and contemporary authoritarian consolidation; contentious politics; Postcommunist political institution-building and societal context of the Russian electoral politics. A special attention will be given to the theory of electoral fraud and methods of the fraud detection and measurement (electoral forensics).

### **Course requirements:**

The course consists of 8 classes (4 academic hours each). They are planned to be seminars where the students discuss the readings. Students are expected to attend classes and participate actively in the discussion. A few minor tests and quizzes are to be scheduled as a routine part of the inclass work. Final grade for the course will be based on the following criteria:

Class attendance, preparation and participation	70%
Final written exam	30%

### **Class schedule and assignments:**

***Class 1.*** Introduction.

***Class 2 and 3.*** Theory of non-competitive elections: Elections in hybrid and dictatorial regimes.

#### **Week 1.**

***Mandatory:***

Gandhi J. and A. Przeworski. Dictatorial Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats. Comparative Political Studies. 2007, V.40 (11).

Gandhi J and Lust–Okar E. Elections under authoritarianism. Annual Review of Political Science, 2009, V.12:403-422.

Little A. Are non-competitive elections good for citizens? The Journal of Theoretical Politics, 2016, V.29(2).

Schedler A. The Menu of Manipulation. Journal of Democracy, V. 13, № 2, 2002.

Svolik M. Incentives, Institutions, and the Challenges to Research on Authoritarian Politics. APSA Comparative Democratization Newsletter (June 2013).

*Optional:*

Diamond L. Elections without democracy: Thinking About Hybrid Regimes. Journal of Democracy, V. 13, 2, 2002.

Schedler A., ed. Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006 (Ch.1).

Week 2.

*Mandatory:*

Jessen Ralph, Richter Hedwig (eds.). Voting for Hitler and Stalin. Campus Verlag, 2012.

*Optional:*

Linz J. Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000

**Class 4 and 5.** Elections Russian-style: Institutions and practices of manipulation and fraud.

Week 1.

Elklit J. Electoral institutional change and democratization: You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink. Democratization, V. 6, 4, 1999.

Geddes B. and John Zaller. Sources of Popular Support for Authoritarian Regimes. American Journal of Political Science, 1989, V.33, 2.

Hale H. The Myth of Mass Public Support for Autocracy: The Public Opinion Foundations of a Hybrid Regime, Europe-Asia Studies, 2011, V. 63, №. 8.

McFaul M. Explaining Party Formation and Nonformation in Russia. Comparative Political Studies, 2001, V. 34, 1.

White S. Elections Russian-Style. Europe-Asia Studies, 2011, V. 63, 4.

## Week 2.

Hale H. Explaining Machine Politics in Russia's Regions: Economy, Ethnicity, and Legacy. Post-Soviet Affairs. 2003, V.19, 3.

Frye Timothy, Reuter Ora and Szakonyi. Hitting Them With Carrots: Voter Intimidation and Vote Buying in Russia. British Journal of Political Science, February 2018.

Ledeneva A. Unwritten rules: How Russia really works. Centre for European Reform, 2001.

Schedler, Andreas. What Is Vote Buying? In: F.C. Schaffer, ed. Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying. Lynne Rienner, 2006.

### **Class 6.** Electoral forensics – detecting electoral fraud.

Enikolopov R., Vasily Korovkin, Maria Petrova, Konstantin Sonin, and Alexei Zakharov. Field experiment estimate of electoral fraud in Russian parliamentary elections. PNAS, 2012, V.110, 2.

Myagkov M., Peter C. Ordeshook, Dimitri Shakin. The Forensics of Election Fraud: Russia and Ukraine. Cambridge University Press, 2009

### **Class 7.** Contentious Elections: Civil society, media and social movements in Russia' electoral politics.

Bennett W. L., Segerberg A. 2012. The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics. Information, Communication & Society. 2012. V. 15, 5.

Bruns A., Tim Highfield, Jean Burgess. The Arab Spring and Social Media Audiences: English and Arabic Twitter Users and Their Networks. American Behavioral Scientist, 2013, V.57, 7.

L.Enikolopov, Ruben, Maria Petrova, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2011. Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia. American Economic Review. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/a/aea/aecrev/v101y2011i7p3253-85.htm>

Gehlbach, Scott. 2010. Reflections on Putin and the Media, Post-Soviet Affairs. 2010. V. 26(1).

Huntington S. The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century. University of Oklahoma Press, 1993 (Ch. 4).

Tarrow S. Power in movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics. Cambridge University Press, 1998, (Introduction + Ch.1).

Way L. The Real Causes of the Color Revolutions. *Journal of Democracy*, V. 19, 3, 2008.

Wolchik S. Can There Be A Color Revolution? *Journal of Democracy*, 2012, V. 23, № 3.

**Class 8.** Final discussion.

**Finals.**