

CALTECH/MIT VOTING TECHNOLOGY PROJECT

A multi-disciplinary, collaborative project of

the California Institute of Technology – Pasadena, California 91125 and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology – Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

ELECTION FRAUD REFERENCES

SARAH HILL Caltech

Key words: *election fraud*

VTP WORKING PAPER #50 July 2006

Election Fraud References

Definitions of Corruption

- Hasen RL. 2000. "Vote buying." Calif. Law Rev. 88:1323-71.
- Karlan P. 1994. "Not by money but by virtue won? Vote trafficking and the voting rights system." *Va. Law Rev.* 80:1455–75.
- Kochin MS, Kochin LA. 1998. "When is buying votes wrong?" *Public Choice* 97:645–62.
- Rose-Ackerman S. 1999. *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform.* NewYork: Cambridge Univ. Press.

General Election Fraud

- Di Franco, A., Petro, A., Vladimirov, V., and Shear, E. "Tiny Systematic Vote Manipulations Can Swing Elections." Yale University Department of Computer Science, Tech. Rep. YALEU/DCS/TR-1285; ftp.cs.yale.edu/pub/TR/tr1285.pdf.
- Heywood, Paul, ed. Political Corruption. London: Blackwell, 1997.
- Lehoucq FE. 2002. "Can parties police themselves? Electoral governance and democratization." *Int. Polit. Sci. Rev.* 23:29–46.
- Lehoucq FE. 2002. "When do parties buy votes? Theoretical and empirical perspectives on electoral corruption." Presented at Annu. Meet. Am. Polit. Sci. Assoc., 98th, Boston, MA, Aug. 28–Sep. 1 and at Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote Buying conference, MIT. 2002. http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Lehoucq.pdf.
- Lehoucq, Fabrice. "Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types, and Consequences." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2003. 6:233–56.
- Mebane, Walter R., Jr., Jasjeet S. Sekhon, and Jonathan Wand. "Detecting and Correcting Election Irregularities." Under Review. 2004. http://wand.stanford.edu/research/detecting.pdf.
- Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2002. "What is Vote Buying Empirical Evidence." Prepared for delivery at Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote Buying conference, MIT. http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Schaffer_2.pdf.
- Schedler, Andreas. 2002. "What is Vote Buying." Prepared for delivery at Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote Buying conference, MIT. http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Schedler_2.pdf.
- Sutter, Daniel. "Detecting and Correcting Election Fraud." *Eastern Economic Journal*. Summer 2003.

Websites with References

- Keefer, Michael. "Evidence of Fraud in the 2004 U.S. Presidential Election: A Reader." Center for Research on Globalization. 2005. http://globalresearch.ca/articles/KEE412A.html
 - "A database of articles and reports evaluating the integrity of the 2004 US Presidential Election."

- Sekhon, Jasjeet. "Jasjeet Sekhon's Analysis of Voting Irregularities Webpage." 2004. http://elections.berkeley.edu.
- The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) National Research Commission on Elections and Voting (NRCEV). "Website on Election Irregularities." 2005. http://elections.ssrc.org/research/electionirregularities/
 - "Research and Analysis Regarding Claims of Irregularities and Fraud Leading up to and During the 2004 U.S. Presidential Election"
- Wand, Jonathan. "Detecting and Correcting Election Irregularities." 2004. http://wand.stanford.edu/elections/.
 - "The following are research papers focused on evaluating elections for the purpose of detecting and correcting problems in electoral administration and voting technologies."

Looks at Recent Election Fraud in the United States

- Alvarez, R. Michael, "How Widespread is Voting Fraud," Unpublished paper, September 2002.
- Commission on Federal Election Reform. "Building Confidence in U.S. Elections: Report of the Commission on Federal Election Reform," September 2005, http://www.american.edu/ia/cfer/.
- Fund, John, *Stealing Elections: How Voter Fraud Threatens Our Democracy* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2004).
- Gumbel, Andrew. Steal This Vote. 2005. New York: Nation Books.
- Gundlach, James H. "A Statistical Analysis of Possible Electronic Ballot Box Stuffing: The Case of Baldwin County Alabama Governor's Race in 2002." Presented at the Annual Meetings of the Alabama Political Science Association, Troy, Alabama, April 11, 2003. http://www.auburn.edu/~gundljh/Baldwin.pdf.
- *Harvard Law Review.* "Developments in the Law Voting and Democracy" (see section IV. "Deducting Illegal Votes in Contested Elections.") Feb. 2006. Vol. 119, No. 4.
- Hasen, Richard L. "Beyond the Margin of Litigation: Reforming U.S. Election Administration to Avoid Electoral Meltdown," 62 *Washington and Lee Law Review* 937 (2005).
- Issacharoff, Samuel, Pamela S. Karlan, and Richard H. Pildes. 2001. *When Elections Go Bad: The Law of Democracy and the Presidential Election of 2000.* Foundation Press.
- MacManus, Susan A. 2003. "Goodbye Chads, Butterfly Ballots, Overvotes and Recount Ruckuses! Election Reform in Florida: 2000-2003." Paper presented at the conference on Election Reform: Politics and Policy, National Press Club, Washington, D.C., May 29, 2003. http://macht.arts.cornell.edu/wrm1/macmanus.doc.
- Marshall, J. Stanley and Mark S. Pritchett. 2003. "The Election Reforms of 2002: Did They Work?" *The Journal of the James Madison Institute* (Winter): 4-9. http://www.jamesmadison.org/pdf/materials/24.pdf#page=4.

- Minnite, Lori, and David Callahan. "Securing the Vote: An Analysis of Election Fraud." Demos: A Network for Ideas and Actions. 2003. http://www.demos.org/pubs/EDR_-_Securing_the_Vote.pdf.
- National Commission on Federal Electoral Reform. 2002. *To Assure Pride and Confidence in the Electoral Process.* Washington, DC: Brookings Inst. 385 pp.
- Richey, Warren. 1998. "Florida Makes a Move to Rein in Voter Fraud," *Christian Science Monitor*, 4 May. Retrieved from www.csmonitor.com/durable/1998/05/04/p4s1.htm.
- Sabato, Larry J., and Glenn R. Simpson. *Dirty Little Secrets: The Persistence of Corruption in American Politics.* 1996. New York: Times Books.
- Texas Review of Law & Politics. "Securing the Integrity of American Elections: The Need for Change." Vol 9 (2): Spring 2005.
- United States Code, annotated volume. 42 U.S.C. § 1973i(c) and 42 U.S.C. § 241 (2005).

o Cases of voter fraud prosecuted under federal statutes

- U.S. Congress. "How to Make Over One Million Votes Disappear: Electoral Sleight of Hand in the 2000 Presidential Election." House Committee on the Judiciary. August 20, 2001. http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/electionreport.pdf.
- U.S. General Accounting Office, "Elections: Perspectives on Activities and Challenges Across the Nation," Report to Congressional Requesters (October 2001), GAO-02-3: 75. http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d023.pdf.

Historical Fraud in the United States

- Argersinger, P. H. "New Perspectives on Election Fraud in the Gilded Age." *Political Science Quarterly*, Winter 1985, 100, 669-87.
- Argersinger P. 1992. *Structure, Process and Party: Essays in American Political History.* Armonk, NY: Sharpe. 219 pp.
- Baum D. 1991. "Pinpointing apparent fraud in the 1861 Texas secession referendum." *J. Int. Hist.* 22:201–21.
- Baum, Dale, and James L. Hailey. "Lyndon Johnson's Victory in the 1948 Texas Senate Race: A Reappraisal." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 109, No. 4 (Autumn 1994), pp. 595-613
- Bensel RL. 2002. *The American Ballot Box: Law, Identity, and Voting, 1850–1900.* Unpublished manuscript.
- Benson, G. C. S. *Political Corruption in America*. Lexington MA: Lexington Books, 1978.
- Burnham, Walter Dean. 1974. "Theory and Voting Research: Some Reflections on Converse's 'Change in the American Electorate." *American Political Science Review.* 68: 1002-1023.
- Burnham, Walter Dean. 1974. "Rejoinder to 'Comments' by Philip Converse and Jerrold Rusk." *American Political Science Review.* 68: 1050-1057.
- Campbell, Tracy. "Motherhood, Apple Pie, and Election Fraud." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Dec. 10, 2004.

- Campbell, Tracy. Deliver the Vote : A History of Election Fraud, an American Political Tradition-1742-2004. 2005. Carroll & Graf.
- Carter J. 1992. *Turning Point: a Candidate, a State, and a Nation Come of Age.* New York: Times Books. 273 pp.
- Converse, Philip E. 1974. "Comment on Burnham's "Theory and Voting Research."" *American Political Science Review.* 68:1024-1027.
- Cox GW, Kousser JM. 1981. "Turnout and rural corruption: New York as a test case." *Am. J. Polit. Sci.* 25:646–63.
- Dayna Cunningham, "Who Are to Be Electors? A Reflection on the History of Voter Registration in the U.S.," *Yale Law and Policy Review* 9(2) (1991): 383.
- Garber M, Frank A. 1990. *Contested Elections and Recounts*. 2 vols.Washington, DC: Gov. Print. Off.
- Gist G. 1961. "Progressive reform in a rural community: the Adams County vote-fraud case." *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* 48:60–78.
- Goldberg, R. "Election Fraud: An American Vice," in *Elections American Style*, edited by A. J. Reichley. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1987.
- King RF. 2001. "Counting the votes: South Carolina's stolen election of 1876." J. Interdiscip. Hist. 32:169–91.
- Kousser JM. 1974. The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880–1910. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.
- Mayfield, Loomis. "Voting Fraud in Early Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer, 1993), pp. 59-84.
- Morris, Roy Jr. Fraud of the Century: Rutherford B. Hayes, Samuel Tilden, and the Stolen Election of 1876. 2003. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Perman M. 2001. *Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement of the South, 1888–1908.* Chapel Hill: Univ. North Carol. Press.
- Powell LN. 1989. "Correcting for fraud: a quantitative reassessment of the Mississippi ratification election of 1868." *J. South. Hist.* 5:633–58.
- Reynolds, John F. "A Symbiotic Relationship: Vote Fraud and Electoral Reform in the Gilded Age." *Social Science History*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Summer, 1993), pp. 227-251.
- Rowell, Chester H. A historical and legal digest of all the contested election cases in the House of Representatives of the United States from the First to the Fifty-Sixth Congress, 1789-1901.
 1976. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. First published 1901 by the U.S. House.
- Rusk, Jerrold G. 1974. "Comment: The American Electoral Universe: Speculation and Evidence." *American Political Science Review*. 68: 1028-1049.

Fraud outside of the United States

- Anderson ML. 2000. *Practicing Democracy: Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press. 483 pp. (on Germany)
- Annino A, ed. 1995. *Historia de las elecciones en Iberoamérica, Siglo XIX*. Buenos Aires: FCE. 481pp.
- Aparicio R. 2002. "La magnitud de la manipulación del voto en las elecciones federales del año 2000." *Perfiles Latinoam.* 20:79–100.

- Aziz-Nassif A. 1987. "Chihuahua y los límites de la democracia electoral." *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 49:159–226.
- Basadre J. 1980. *Elecciones y centralismo en el Perú: Apuntes para un esquema histórico*. Lima: Univ. del Pacifico. 173 pp.
- Botana N. 1979. *El orden conservador: la política Argentina entre 1880–1916*. Buenos Aires: Ed. Sudamericana. 345 pp.
- Calderón-Alzati E, Cazés D. 1996. *Las elecciones presidenciales de 1994*. México, DF: La Jornada/CIICH, UNAM. 257 pp.
- Callahan W. 2000. *Pollwatching, Elections and Civil Society in Southeast Asia*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate. 218 pp.
- Callahan, William A. "The Ideology of Vote Buying and the Democratic Deferral of Political Reform." http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Callahan.pdf. Prepared for delivery at Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote Buying conference, MIT. 2002.
- Callahan W, McCargo D. 1996. "Vote-buying in Thailand's northeast." *Asian Surv.* 26:376–92.
- Carothers, Thomas. "The Rise of Election Monitoring: The Observers Observed." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 8, No. 3, July 1997, pp. 17-31.
- Cazés D, and 843 coauthors. 1996. *Memorial de las elecciones de 1994: testimonios de observadores*. México, DF: La Jornada/CIICH, UNAM. 422 pp.
- Charnay JP. 1964. Les scrutins politiques en France de 1815 á 1962: contestations et invalidations. Paris: Cah. De la Fond. Nat. Des Sci. Polit. 281 pp.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. 2002. "Mobilized Voting in the 2000 Elections: The Changing Efficacy of Vote-Buying and Coercion in Mexican Electoral Politics." University of California at San Diego, Center for U.S. Mexican Studies. Manuscript.
- Dardé C. 1996. "Fraud and passivity of the electorate in Spain, 1875–1923." In *Elections Before Democracy*, ed. E Posada-Carbó, pp. 201–23. New York: St. Martin's.
- Desposato, Scott W. "How Vote Buying Shapes the Political Arena, Brazil." http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Desposato.pdf. Prepared for delivery at Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote Buying conference, MIT. 2002.
- Domínguez JI, McCann JA. 1996. *Democratizing Mexico: Public Opinion and Electoral Choices*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press. 269 pp.
- Eisenstadt TA. 1998. Courting democracy in Mexico: party strategies, electoral institutionbuilding, and political opening. PhD thesis. Univ. Calif., San Diego. 379 pp.
- Eisenstadt TA. 1999. "Weak electoral institutions or legacies of social conflict? Modeling causes of Mexico's local post-electoral mobilizations, 1989–1998." Presented at Annu. Meet. Am. Polit. Sci. Assoc., 95th, Atlanta, GA.
- Eisenstadt TA. 2002. "Measuring electoral court failure in Mexico." *Int. Polit. Sci. Rev.* 23:47–68.
- Fairbairn B. 1990. "Authority vs. democracy: Prussian officials in the German elections of 1898 and 1903." *Hist. J.* 33:811–38.
- Fairbairn B. 1997. Democracy in the Undemocratic State: the German Reichstag Elections of 1898 and 1903. Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press. 328 pp.
- Ferrero RA. 1983. "Los fraudes electorales." Todoes Hist. 197:48-64.

- Filippov, Mikhail, and Peter C. Ordeshook. 1997. "Who Stole What in Russia's December 1993 Elecitions." *Demokratizatsiya*. Vol. 5, No. 1 (Winter 1997), pp. 36-52.
- Gómez-Tagle S. 1988. "Conflictos y contradicciones en el sistema electoral mexicano." *Estud. Sociol.* 6:3–38.
- Graham R. 1990. *Politics and Patronage in Nineteenth Century Brazil.* Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press 382 pp.
- Grofman B, Lee SC, Winckler EA, Woodall B, eds. 1999. *Elections in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan under the Single Non-Transferable Vote: the Comparative Study of an Embedded Institution.* Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press. 390 pp.
- Hanham HJ. 1959. *Elections and Party Management: Politics in the Time of Disraeli and Gladstone*. London: Longmanns. 468 pp.
- Herron, Erik S., and Paul E. Johnson, " 'It Doesn't Matter Who Votes, But Who Counts the Votes: Assessing Fraud in Ukraine's 2002 Parliamentary Elections." An earlier version presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Conference, April 2003. http://www.ku.edu/~herron/elections/papers/fraud.pdf.
- Hicken, Allen D. "The Market for Votes in Thailand." http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Hicken.pdf. Prepared for delivery at Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote Buying conference, MIT. 2002.
- Hicken AD. 2002. *Parties, pork and policy: policymaking in developing democracies.* PhD thesis. Univ. Calif., San Diego.
- Hoppen KT. 1984. *Elections, Politics and Society in Ireland, 1832–1885.* Oxford, UK: Clarendon. 569 pp.
- Hoppen, Theodore K. 1996. "Roads to Democracy: Electioneering and Corruption in Nineteenth-Century England and Ireland." *History* 81, 264.
- International Republican Institute. 2002. "Ukraine Election Marred by Systematic Manipulation Despite Improvements in Election Laws." Available online at: http://www.iri.org/countries.asp?id=1231443221.
- Knaub, Gilbert. 1970. Typologie juridique de la fraude électorale en France. Paris: Dalloz.
- Kornblith, Miriam. 2002. "The Politics of Vote Trading in Venezuela." Prepared for delivery at Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote Buying conference, MIT. http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Kornblith.pdf.
- Lehoucq FE, Molina I. 2002. *Stuffing the Ballot Box: Fraud, Electoral Reform, and Democratization in Costa Rica.* New York: Cambridge Univ. Press. 277 pp.
- Malamud C, ed. 2000. Legitimidad, representación y alternancia en Españay América Latina: las reformas electorales (1880–1930). México, DF: FCE. 318 pp.
- McCann JA, Domínguez JI. 1998. "Mexicans react to electoral fraud and political corruption: an assessment of public opinion voting behavior." *Elec. Stud.* 17:483–503.
- McDonald RH. 1967. "Electoral fraud and regime controls in Latin America." *West.Polit. Q.* 20:694–708.
- Middlebrook KJ, ed. 1998. *Electoral Observation and Democratic Transitions in Latin America*. La Jolla, CA: Cent. US-Mexican Stud., Univ. Calif., San Diego.
- Mikhailov, Valentin V. 1999. "Kolichestvo demokratii: Analiz vyborov Prezidenta RF 1996 g, v regionakh." *Armageddon* 3:134-153.

- Mikhailov, Valentin V. (ed.) 2000. *Osobaya zona: Vybory v Tatarstane*. Ulyanovsk: Kazan Branch of the International Assembly for the Protection of Rights.
- Molina I, Lehoucq FE. 1999. "Political competition and electoral fraud: a Latin American case study." *J. Interdiscip. Hist.* 30:199–234.
- Molinar-Horcasitas J. 1991. *El tiempo de la legitimidad: elecciones, autoritarismo y democracia en México*. México, DF: Cal y Arena. 265 pp.
- Mücke U. 2001. "Elections and political participation in nineteenth century Peru: the 1871/1872 presidential campaign." J. Latin Am. Stud. 33:311–46.
- Myagkov, Mikhail, and Peter C. Ordeshook. 2001. "The Trail of Votes in Russia's 1999 Duma and 2000 Presidential Elections." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 34:353-370.
- Myagkov, M., and A. Soyanin, "Irregularities in the 1993 Russian Elections: Preliminary Analysis." Working Paper, California Institute of Technology, 1995.
- Myagkov, M. and Sobyanin, A. December 1993 "Elections in Russia: Fraud or Irregularities?" Paper presented at Public Choice Society Meetings, 1995.
- Oberst RC, Weilage A. 1990. "Quantitative tests of electoral fraud: the 1982 Sri Lankan referendum." *Corrupt. Ref.* 5:49–62.
- O'Gorman F. 1989. Voters, Patrons and Parties: The Unreformed Electoral System of Hanaverian England, 1734–1832. Oxford, UK: Oxford Univ. Press. 445 pp.
- O'Leary C. 1962. *The Elimination of Corrupt Practices in British Elections, 1868–1911.* Oxford, UK: Clarendon. 253 pp.
- Pastor R. 1999. "The role of electoral administration in democratic transitions: implications for policy and research." *Democratization* 6:1–27.
- Posada-Carbó E. 1994. "Elections and civil wars in nineteenth-century Colombia: the 1875 presidential campaign." *J. Latin Am. Stud.* 26:621–49.
- Posada-Carbó E, ed. 1996. Elections Before Democracy. New York: St. Martin's.
- Posada-Carbó E. 1997. "Limits to power: elections under the conservative hegemony in Colombia, 1886–1930." *Hispan. Am. Hist. Rev.* 77:245–79.
- Posada-Carbó E. 2000. "Electoral juggling: a comparative history of the corruption of the suffrage in Latin America, 1830–1930." J. Latin Am. Stud. 32:611–44.
- Renzato G. 1991. "La forja de la soberanía nacional: las elecciones en los sistemas liberales italiano y español." *Ayer* 3:115–38.
- Rigger, Shelly Elizabeth. 1994. "Machine Politics in the New Taiwan: Institutional Reform and Electoral Strategy in the Republic of China on Taiwan." Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University.
- Rigger S. 2002. "Weighing a shadow: toward a technique for estimating the effects of vote-buying in Taiwan." Presented at Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote-Buying, Mass. Inst. Technol., Cambridge, MA. http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Rigger.pdf.
- Sabato H, ed. 1999. *Ciudadanía política y formación de las naciones: perspectives históricas de América Latina*. México, DF:FCE. 449 pp.
- Sabato H. 2001. *The Many and the Few: Political Participation in Republican Buenos Aires.* Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press (2001).
- Sambruccetti SIR. 1980. "El fraude electoral en 1886." Bol. Inst. Hist. Argent. y Am. "Dr. Emilio Rangnon" 16:415–82.

- Schaffer F. 1998. *Democracy in Translation: Understanding Politics in an Unfamiliar Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press. 168 pp.
- Schaffer F. 2001. "Clean elections and the 'great unwashed': electoral reform and the class divide in the Philippines." Presented at Annu. Meet. Am. Pol. Sci. Assoc., 97th, San Francisco, CA. http://www.sss.ias.edu/publications/papers/paper21.pdf.
- Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2002. "Disciplinary Reactions: Alienation and the Reform of Vote Buying in the Philippines." Prepared for delivery at Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote Buying conference, MIT. http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Schaffer.pdf.
- Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2002. "Might Cleaning Up Elections Keep People Away from the Polls? Historical and Comparative Perspectives." *International Political Science Review* 23, 1 (January): 69-84.
- Schedler A. 1999. "Percepciones públicas de fraude electoral en México. *Perfiles Latinoam*." 14:103–27.
- Schedler A. 2002. "Citizens resent clientelism: on the moral economy of vote trading in México." Presented at Annu. Meet. Am. Polit. Sci. Assoc., 98th, Boston, MA.
- Schedler A. 2002. "The menu of manipulation." J. Democracy 13:36–50.
- Schedler, Andreas. 2002. "My Vote? Not for Sale: How Mexican Citizens View Electoral Clientelism." Prepared for delivery at Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote Buying conference, MIT. http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Schedler.pdf.
- Seymour C. 1915. Electoral Reform in England and Wales: The Development and Operation of the Parliamentary Franchise, 1832–1885. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press. 564 pp.
- Sloan JW. 1970. "Electoral fraud and social change: the Guatemalan example." *Sci. Soc.* 34:78–91.
- Sobyanin, A. A. and V. G. Sukhovolskiy. 1995. "Demokratiya, ogranichennaya falsifikatsiyami: vybory i referendumy v Rossii v 1991-1993 gg." Moscow: Project Group for Human Rights.
- Tjarks GOE. 1963. "Las elecciones salteñas de 1876 (un estudio de fraude electoral)." *Anuariode Historia* 1:417–75.
- Trejo G, Aguilar-Rivera JA. 2002. "Etnicidad y consolidación democrática: la organización de las elecciones en las regiones indígenas de México." In *Los Dilemas de la democracia en México*, ed. A Hémond, D Recondo, pp. 195–224. México, DF: CEMCA and IFE.
- Tusell J. 1970. "Para la sociología política de la España contemporánea: el impacto de la ley de 1907 en el comportamiento electoral." *Hispania* 30:571–631.
- Tusell J. 1991. "El sufragio universal en España (1891–1936): un balance historiográfico." *Ayer* 3:13–62.
- Valenzuela, J Samuel. 2002. "Futile or Effective, The Rights Gifts to Voters in the Second Round of the Chilean Presidential Election of January 2000." Prepared for delivery at Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote Buying conference, MIT. http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Valenzuela.pdf.
- Varela Ortega J. 2001. Los amigos políticos: partidos, elecciones y caciquismo en la restauración, 1875–1900. Madrid: Marcial Pons/Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura. 568 pp.

- Varela-Ortega J, ed. 2001. *El poder de la influencia: geografía del caciquismo en España (1875–1923)*. Madrid: Marcial Pons/CEPC. 776 pp.
- Wand, Jonathan, Jasjeet S. Sekhon, and Walter R. Mebane, Jr. 2001. "A Comparative Analysis of Multinomial Voting Irregularities: Canada 2000." In *Proceedings of the American Statistical Society*.
- Wantchekon, Leonard. "Electoral Clientelism and Voting Behavior A Field Experiment in Benin." Prepared for delivery at Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote Buying conference, MIT. 2002. http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Wantchekon.pdf.

Miscellaneous

- Allen, H. W. and Allen, K. W. "Vote Fraud and Data Availability," in *Analyzing Electoral History*, edited by J. M. Clubb, W. H. Flanigan, and N. H. Zingale. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981.
- Desposato, Scott. 2004. "How Vote Buying Shapes the Legislative Arena," in *Vote Buying: Who, What, When, and How?* Edited by Frederic Schaeffer and Andreas Schedler. Forthcoming.
- Elklit, J. and Svensson, P. "What Makes an Election Free and Fair?" *Journal of Democracy*, July 1997, 32-46.
- Garber, L. and Cowan, G. "The Virtues of Parallel Vote Tabulations." *Journal of Democracy*, April 1993, 95-107.
- Gueniffey P. 1993. Le nombre et la raison: la Révolution franc, aise et les élections. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Ciencias Sociales. 559 pp.
- Pastor, Robert A. "Mediating Elections." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 9, No. 1, Jan. 1998.
- Schaffer, Frederic Charles, ed. 2006. *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequence of Vote Buying.* Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Scott, James C. 1972. *Comparative Political Corruption*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.