Contents

Foreword ix
Paul DeGregorio and Ray Martinez

Acknowledgments xiii

Introduction: Studying Election Fraud 1
R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde

Part One
Defining Election Fraud:
The United States in Comparative Perspective

1 Corruption of the Election Process under U.S. Federal Law 21
Craig C. Donsanto

2 International Principles for Election Integrity 37
Thad E. Hall and Tova Andrea Wang

3 Beyond Election Fraud: Manipulation, Violence, and Foreign Power Intervention 50
Gamze Çavdar
Contents

Part Two
Measuring Election Fraud: Learning from Observational Data

4 Measuring Perceptions of Election Threats: Survey Data from Voters and Elites 71
   R. Michael Alvarez and Thad E. Hall

5 Caught in the Act: Recent Federal Election Fraud Cases 89
   Delia Bailey

6 Correlates of Fraud: Studying State Election Fraud Allegations 99
   R. Michael Alvarez and Frederick J. Boehmke

7 Fraud or Failure? What Incident Reports Reveal about Election Anomalies and Irregularities 112
   D. Roderick Kiewiet, Thad E. Hall, R. Michael Alvarez, and Jonathan N. Katz

8 Identifying and Preventing Signature Fraud on Ballot Measure Petitions 130
   Todd Donovan and Daniel A. Smith

Part Three
Detecting Election Fraud: Techniques and Consequences

9 The Case of the 2002 General Election 149
   R. Michael Alvarez and Jonathan N. Katz

10 Election Forensics: The Second-Digit Benford’s Law Test and Recent American Presidential Elections 162
    Walter R. Mebane Jr.

11 On the Trail of Fraud: Estimating the Flow of Votes between Russia’s Elections 182
    Mikhail Myagkov, Peter C. Ordeshook, and Dimitry Shaikin
12 How International Election Observers Detect and Deter Fraud
Susan D. Hyde

201

13 Unintended Consequences of Election Monitoring
Alberto Simpser

216

Conclusion: Understanding Election Fraud
R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde

235

Contributors

243

Index

245