

INTL 8374: Comparative Political Behavior

Spring 2023

Dr. Shane P. Singh
Office: 305 Candler Hall
Office Hours: Tuesdays, 2:00-4:00PM
Email: singh@uga.edu
Course Webpage: eLC

Class Meeting Time: Wednesdays, 3:35-6:35PM

Class Location: 117 International Affairs Building (202 Herty Drive)

Goal of the Course: This course will cover a variety of topics in the realm of comparative political behavior, including the formation and consequences of partisan identification and political attitudes, the causes and consequences of voter turnout, spatial models of voting, the influence of foreign policy and conflict on vote choice, economic voting, and parties' vote seeking strategies. The readings will help to (re)familiarize you with a variety of methodological techniques that are commonly used to assess theories of comparative political behavior. Our universe of cases will generally be individuals and parties in democratic countries, though we may sometimes discuss non-democracies.

Throughout the course we will pay special attention to the interplay between political institutions, contextual factors, and behavioral outcomes. We will think of countries as examples of certain political systems with certain institutional features; and being embedded in a particular country should influence an individual's or party's behavior.

By the end of the course, students should be able to address questions including, but not limited to, the following:

- Why do individuals turn out to vote or abstain from voting?
- Why do people vote for certain parties?
 - Relatedly, do institutional features and political context moderate the vote decision process?
- How important is the economy to political behavior?
- How important is foreign policy and conflict to political behavior?
- Do theories of political behavior, many of which were originally developed in the United States, travel well across borders, or do we need to formulate specific theories for particular countries or regions?

Required Readings:

Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper Collins.

Several journal articles, all of which are available online

There are numerous readings on the syllabus marked with an asterisk. These are optional. I include them for three main reasons. First, if you read some or all of these each week, you will come to class extra prepared to contribute to discussion. Second, some of these readings provide background information that will help you understand the assigned readings. Third, if you are particularly interested in a given topic, the optional readings will help you broaden your knowledge in that area.

Course Requirements and Grade Breakdown:

General Participation (10%): I will very rarely lecture in this class. Each class will consist of discussion. As this is a graduate seminar, just showing up is not enough. I expect that class participation will be informed participation; this implies that you will have done all of the required readings ahead of time. You should come to class prepared to discuss these readings and related research possibilities.

Lead Participation (10%): In one class period this semester you will be a “lead participant.” If you are not a PhD student, you may be partnered with one or two other students. Lead participants will briefly present a summary of the materials assigned for the week and will lead the class in discussing and critiquing them. When you lead class discussion you should bring with you to class or email to everyone ahead of time a handout. This should contain at least four general questions aimed at facilitating class discussion.

Weekly Analyses (35%): For each class period, starting with Week 2, students should write an analysis of at least three of that week’s required readings. These must be uploaded to eLC by 9AM on the day of class. You may miss two weekly analyses without penalty. The goal is for you to critically assess the assigned readings. These analyses provide you an opportunity to go beyond summarizing the readings and to reflect on their implications for comparative politics, their strengths, and their weaknesses. You can use your weekly analyses to aid you during class discussion. For each reading you engage, your weekly analysis should provide or reflect upon much of the following:

- Upshot
 - Provide a three-sentence summary of the upshot of the reading.
- Theory
 - Does the work make an original theoretical contribution?
 - Does it apply a theory developed elsewhere to a different outcome?
 - What are the assumptions of the theory? Are they plausible?
 - Do the hypotheses follow logically from the theory?
- Research Design
 - What is/are the main data source(s)? Are the data appropriate for answering the research question?
 - Give a short description of the dependent variable and the key independent variable(s). How are these measured? Do these

- measures adequately correspond to the theoretical concepts they are intended to capture?
- What empirical method(s) did the author(s) use to test their expectations? Should they have used a different method?
 - How do the authors causally identify the effect(s) of their key independent variable(s)? If it is a (quasi-)experimental design, is it internally and externally valid? If it is an observational design, do they account for all confounders?
 - Empirical Analysis and Findings
 - Are the results interpreted correctly?
 - Do the findings correspond with expectations?
 - Are the findings presented in an easily interpretable way? If not, how could the findings be better presented?
 - Are there other observable implications of the theory that could be further examined?
 - What are some potential directions for future research?
 - Discussion Questions
 - Construct at least two discussion questions that we can deliberate in class.

Research Paper and Presentation (45%): The primary assignment of the course is an original research paper. You should develop and empirically test a theory directly related to one of the topics we cover in class. The empirical test may be quantitative (it can be observational or (quasi-)experimental) or qualitative. It is important that you put forth an original theoretical argument and explicitly state the hypothesis or hypotheses derived from this argument. Your paper must also have an introduction, a literature review, a discussion of variable operationalization and measurement, and a conclusion. The style of the paper should be that of an article published in a recent issue of the *American Journal of Political Science*. A one-page summary of your research paper will be due midway through the semester. These summaries will be discussed in class.

You will present your paper toward the end of the semester. Presentations should, at a minimum, include the following:

- An overview of the research question
- A discussion of how the research fits with the extant literature
- A description of the theory and hypotheses
- A description of the research design
- A presentation of the (preliminary) empirical analyses and findings
- A discussion of the (preliminary) findings and their implications

Presenters may wish to incorporate the feedback and suggestions of the class into their final paper.

Grade Scale:

>93%:	A
90-92.99%:	A-
87-89.99%:	B+
83-86.99%:	B
80-82.99%:	B-
77-79.99%:	C+
73-76.99%:	C
70-72.99%:	C-
60-69.99%:	D
<60%:	F

Late/Missed Assignments: Missed assignments will result in a zero without a university-approved medical excuse or family emergency. Students will be penalized for late assignments; 20% of the grade for each day late without a university-approved medical excuse or family emergency.

Mental Health and Wellness Resources: If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit <https://sco.uga.edu>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services. UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>). If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center. Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.

Academic Integrity: The academic honesty policy of the university is supplemented (not replaced) by an Honor Code which was adopted by the Student Government Association and approved by the University Council May 1, 1997, and provides: “I will be academically honest in all of my academic work and will not tolerate academic dishonesty of others.” All students agree to abide by this code by signing the UGA Admissions Application.

Readings and Course Schedule: *The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.*

Readings with a “*” in front are optional.

WEEK 1

January 11: Welcome and Introduction

Go over syllabus; no Weekly Analysis this week

Norris, Pippa. 2009. “The Globalization of Comparative Public Opinion Research.” In *The Sage Handbook of Comparative Politics*, eds. T. Landman and N. Robinson. Los Angeles: SAGE, 522-39.

Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger. 2019. Political Systems and Electoral Behavior: A Review of Internationally Comparative Multilevel Research. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*. 71 (Suppl 1): 343-373.

WEEK 2

January 18: Sources of Public Opinion and Attitude Formation

Lead Participant(s): Alma Bajramovic

*Adida, Claire L., Karen E. Ferree, Daniel N. Posner, and Amanda Lea Robinson. 2016. “Who’s Asking? Interviewer Coethnicity Effects in African Survey Data.” *Comparative Political Studies* 49 (12): 1630-60.

Alford, John R., Carolyn L. Funk, and John R. Hibbing. 2005. “Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?” *American Political Science Review* 99 (2): 153-67.

*Alvarez, R. Michael, and Charles H. Franklin. 1994. “Uncertainty and Political Perceptions.” *Journal of Politics* 56 (3): 671-88.

*Angelo, Douglas St, and James W. Dyson. 1968. “Personality and Political Orientation.” *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 12 (2): 202-23.

Bergan, Daniel E. 2009. “The Draft Lottery and Attitudes Towards the Vietnam War.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73 (2): 379-84.

Converse, Philip E. 1964. “The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics.” In *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David E. Apter. New York: Free Press. 206-61. (Republished in 2006 in *Critical Review* 18(1): 1-74)

Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, David Doherty, Conor M. Dowling, and Shang E. Ha. 2010. “Personality and Political Attitudes: Relationships across Issue Domains and Political Contexts.” *American Political Science Review* 104 (1): 111-33.

Slothuus, Rune, and Martin Bisgaard. 2021. "How Political Parties Shape Public Opinion in the Real World." *American Journal of Political Science* 65 (4): 896-911.

Zaller, John. 1991. "Information, Values, and Opinion." *American Political Science Review* 85 (4): 1215-37.

WEEK 3

January 25: Voter Turnout

Lead Participant(s): Mikayla Penn and Reshi Rajan

Aldrich, John H. 1993. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (1): 246-78.

*Blais, André. 2006. "What Affects Voter Turnout?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 111-25.

*Blais, André, and Agnieszka Dobrzynska. 1998. "Turnout in Electoral Democracies." *European Journal of Political Research* 33 (2): 239-62.

*Blais, André, and Simon Labbé St-Vincent. 2011. "Personality Traits, Political Attitudes and the Propensity to Vote." *European Journal of Political Research* 50 (3): 395-417.

*Brady, Henry E., Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 89 (2): 271-94.

*Carreras, Miguel, and Néstor Castañeda-Angarita. 2014. "Who Votes in Latin America? A Test of Three Theoretical Perspectives." *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (8): 1079-104.

*Crepaz, Markus M. L. 1990. "The Impact of Party Polarization and Postmaterialism on Voter Turnout." *European Journal of Political Research* 18 (2): 183-205.

*de Miguel, Carolina, Amaney Jamal, and Mark Tessler. 2015. "Elections in the Arab World: Why Do Citizens Turn Out?" *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (11): 1355-88.

*Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper Collins, Chapter 14.

Eggers, Andrew C. 2015. "Proportionality and Turnout: Evidence from French Municipalities." *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (2): 135-67.

*Ezrow, Lawrence, and Georgios Xezonakis. 2016. "Satisfaction with Democracy and Voter Turnout: A Temporal Perspective." *Party Politics* 22 (1): 3-14.

- Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, David Doherty, and Conor M. Dowling. 2016. "Why People Vote: Estimating the Social Returns to Voting." *British Journal of Political Science* 46 (2): 241-64.
- *Jackman, Robert W. 1987. "Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 81 (2): 405-23.
- Kasara, Kimuli, and Pavithra Suryanarayan. 2015. "When Do the Rich Vote Less Than the Poor and Why? Explaining Turnout Inequality across the World." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (3): 613-27.
- Kostelka, Filip. 2017. "Does Democratic Consolidation Lead to a Decline in Voter Turnout? Global Evidence since 1939." *American Political Science Review* 111 (4): 653-67.
- *Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. 1986. "American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 80 (1): 17-43.
- Schaub, Max. 2021. "Acute Financial Hardship and Voter Turnout: Theory and Evidence from the Sequence of Bank Working Days." *American Political Science Review* 115 (4): 1258-74.
- *Stiers, Dieter, Marc Hooghe, and Ruth Dassonneville. 2021. "Voting at 16: Does Lowering the Voting Age Lead to More Political Engagement? Evidence from a Quasi-Experiment in the City of Ghent (Belgium)." *Political Science Research and Methods* 9 (4): 849-56.

WEEK 4

February 1: Partisan Identification and Its Sources

Lead Participant(s): Mallory Hoffman

- Anderson, Cameron D., R. Michael McGregor, and Laura B. Stephenson. 2022. "Us Versus Them: Do the Rules of the Game Encourage Negative Partisanship?" *European Journal of Political Research* 61 (4): 1060-79.
- Bankert, Alexa, Leonie Huddy, and Martin Rosema. 2017. "Measuring Partisanship as a Social Identity in Multi-Party Systems." *Political Behavior* 39 (1): 103-32.
- *Brader, Ted, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2001. "The Emergence of Mass Partisanship in Russia, 1993-1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (1): 69-83.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley, Chapters 2, 4, 6, 7, and 19. **[read this first]**
- *Ezrow, Lawrence, Margit Tavits, and Jonathan Homola. 2014. "Voter Polarization, Strength of Partisanship, and Support for Extremist Parties." *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (11): 1558-83.

*Franklin, Charles H., and John E. Jackson. 1983. "The Dynamics of Party Identification." *American Political Science Review* 77 (4): 957-73.

*Gaines, Brian J., James H. Kuklinski, Paul J. Quirk, Buddy Peyton, and Jay Verkuilen. 2007. "Same Facts, Different Interpretations: Partisan Motivation and Opinion on Iraq." *Journal of Politics* 69 (4): 957-74.

Huber, John D., Georgia Kernell, and Eduardo L. Leoni. 2005. "Institutional Context, Cognitive Resources, and Party Attachment across Democracies." *Political Analysis* 13 (2): 365-86.

Johnston, Richard. 2006. "Party Identification: Unmoved Mover or Sum of Preferences?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (1): 329-51. [read this second]

*Lupu, Noam. 2013. "Party Brands and Partisanship: Theory with Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Argentina." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (1): 49-64.

Lupu, Noam. 2015. "Party Polarization and Mass Partisanship: A Comparative Perspective." *Political Behavior* 37 (2): 331-56.

*Michelitch, Kristin, and Stephen Utych. 2018. "Electoral Cycle Fluctuations in Partisanship: Global Evidence from Eighty-Six Countries." *Journal of Politics* 80 (2): 412-27.

*Singh, Shane P., and Judd R. Thornton. 2019. "Elections Activate Partisanship across Countries." *American Political Science Review* 113 (1): 248-53.

*Weisberg, Herbert F. 2016. "Reflections: The Michigan Four and Their Study of American Voters: A Biography of a Collaboration." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 49 (4): 845-58. [this article gives a fascinating history of *The American Voter*]

WEEK 5

February 8: No Class (Shane at Conference)

WEEK 6

February 15: Spatial Models of Vote Choice

Lead Participant(s): Sophia Kiwanuka

*Adams, James, Benjamin G. Bishin, and Jay K. Dow. 2004. "Representation in Congressional Campaigns: Evidence for Discounting/Directional Voting in U.S. Senate Elections." *Journal of Politics* 66 (2): 348-73.

Blais, André, Richard Nadeau, Elisabeth Gidengil, and Neil Nevitte. 2001. "The Formation of Party Preferences: Testing the Proximity and Directional Models." *European Journal of Political Research* 40 (1): 81-91.

Bølstad, Jørgen, and Elias Dinas. 2017. "A Categorization Theory of Spatial Voting: How the Center Divides the Political Space." *British Journal of Political Science*. 47 (4): 829-850. [read this last]

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper Collins, Chapters 3, 11, and 12. [read this discussion of the proximity model first]

Grofman, Bernard. 1985. "The Neglected Role of the Status Quo in Models of Issue Voting." *Journal of Politics* 47 (1): 230-37. [read this discussion of the discounting model second]

Lacy, Dean, and Philip Paolino. 2010. "Testing Proximity Versus Directional Voting Using Experiments." *Electoral Studies* 29 (3): 460-71.

*Macdonald, Stuart Elaine, George Rabinowitz, and Ola Listhaug. 1998. "On Attempting to Rehabilitate the Proximity Model: Sometimes the Patient Just Can't Be Helped." *Journal of Politics* 60 (3): 653-90.

Rabinowitz, George, and Stuart Elaine Macdonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 83 (1): 93-121. [read this discussion of the directional model third]

*Singh, Shane P. 2014. "Linear and Quadratic Utility Loss Functions in Voting Behavior Research." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 26 (1): 35-58.

*Tomz, Michael, and Robert P. Van Houweling. 2008. "Candidate Positioning and Voter Choice." *American Political Science Review* 102 (3): 303-18.

*Westholm, Anders. 1997. "Distance Versus Direction: The Illusory Defeat of the Proximity Theory of Electoral Choice." *American Political Science Review* 91 (4): 865-83.

WEEK 7

February 22: Conditional Spatial Models of Vote Choice

Lead Participant(s): Gabriela Padilla

*Burlacu, Diana. 2020. "Corruption and Ideological Voting." *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (2): 435-56.

Bargsted, Matias A., and Orit Kedar. 2009. "Coalition-Targeted Duvergerian Voting: How Expectations Affect Voter Choice under Proportional Representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2): 307-23.

Dassonneville, Ruth, Mary K. Nugent, Marc Hooghe, and Richard Lau. 2020. "Do Women Vote Less Correctly? The Effect of Gender on Ideological Proximity Voting and Correct Voting." *Journal of Politics* 82 (3): 1156-60.

- Duch, Raymond M., Jeff May, and David A. Armstrong II. 2010. "Coalition-Directed Voting in Multiparty Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 104 (4): 698-719.
- *Duch, Raymond M., and Harvey D. Palmer. 2002. "Strategic Voting in Post-Communist Democracy?" *British Journal of Political Science* 32 (1): 63-91.
- Fazekas, Zoltán, and Zsombor Z. Méder. 2013. "Proximity and Directional Theory Compared: Taking Discriminant Positions Seriously in Multi-Party Systems." *Electoral Studies* 32 (4): 693-707.
- *Joesten, Danielle A., and Walter J. Stone. 2014. "Reassessing Proximity Voting: Expertise, Party, and Choice in Congressional Elections." *Journal of Politics* 76 (3): 740-53.
- *Karp, Jeffrey A., and Susan A. Banducci. 2002. "Issues and Party Competition under Alternative Electoral Systems." *Party Politics* 8 (1): 123-41.
- *Kedar, Orit. 2005. "When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections." *American Political Science Review* 99 (2): 185-99.
- *Lachat, Romain. 2008. "The Impact of Party Polarization on Ideological Voting." *Electoral Studies* 27 (4): 687-98.
- Lachat, Romain. 2015. "The Role of Party Identification in Spatial Models of Voting Choice." *Political Science Research and Methods* 3 (3): 641-658.
- *Lachat, Romain, and Aiko Wagner. 2018. "How Party Characteristics Drive Voters' Evaluation Criteria." *Electoral Studies* 55 (1): 11-20.
- *Pardos-Prado, Sergi, and Elias Dinas. 2010. "Systemic Polarisation and Spatial Voting." *European Journal of Political Research* 49 (6): 759-86.
- *Rivers, Douglas. 1988. "Heterogeneity in Models of Electoral Choice." *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (3): 737-57.
- *Singh, Shane P. 2010. "Contextual Influences on the Decision Calculus: A Cross-National Examination of Proximity Voting." *Electoral Studies* 29 (3): 425-34.
- *Singh, Shane P., and Jason Roy. 2014. "Political Knowledge, the Decision Calculus, and Proximity Voting." *Electoral Studies* 34 (1): 89-99.
- Tiemann, Guido. 2022. "Conditions of Proximity and Directional Voting: Voter Sophistication, Political Information, and Party Identification." *Electoral Studies* 75 (1): 102436.
- *Weßels, Bernhard, and Hermann Schmitt. 2008. "Meaningful Choices, Political Supply, and Institutional Effectiveness." *Electoral Studies* 27 (1): 19-30.

WEEK 8

March 1: Economic Voting/Performance Voting

Lead Participant(s): Christina Reininger and Kaci Sharpe

Duch, Raymond M., and Randy Stevenson. 2006. "Assessing the Magnitude of the Economic Vote over Time and across Nations." *Electoral Studies* 25 (3): 528-47.

Healy, Andrew J., Mikael Persson, and Erik Snowberg. 2017. "Digging into the Pocketbook: Evidence on Economic Voting from Income Registry Data Matched to a Voter Survey." *American Political Science Review* 111 (4): 771-85.

Hernández, Enrique, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2016. "The Electoral Consequences of the Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 55 (2): 203-24.

*Lewis-Beck, Michael S., and Mary Stegmaier. 2000. "Economic Determinants of Electoral Outcomes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 183-219.

*Lewis-Beck, Michael, Richard Nadeau, and Angelo Elias. 2008. "Economics, Party, and the Vote: Causality Issues and Panel Data." *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (1): 84-95.

Nadeau, Richard, Michael S. Lewis-Beck, and Éric Bélanger. 2013. "Economics and Elections Revisited." *Comparative Political Studies* 46 (5): 551-73.

Remmer, Karen L. 1991. "The Political Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980s." *American Political Science Review* 85 (3): 777-800.

*Lindberg, Staffan I. 2013. "Have the Cake and Eat It: The Rational Voter in Africa." *Party Politics* 19 (6): 945-61.

Wilkin, Sam, Brandon Haller, and Helmut Norpoth. 1997. "From Argentina to Zambia: A World-Wide Test of Economic Voting." *Electoral Studies* 16 (3): 301-16.

WEEK 9

March 8: No Class (Spring Break)

WEEK 10

March 15: Conditional Models of Economic Voting/Performance Voting

Lead Participant(s): Ashley Pieper

*Anderson, Christopher J. 2007. "The End of Economic Voting? Contingency Dilemmas and the Limits of Democratic Accountability." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10 (1): 271-96.

- *Bisgaard, Martin. 2015. "Bias Will Find a Way: Economic Perceptions, Attributions of Blame, and Partisan-Motivated Reasoning During Crisis." *Journal of Politics* 77 (3): 849-60.
- Bochsler, Daniel, and Miriam Hänni. 2019. "The Three Stages of the Anti-Incumbency Vote: Retrospective Economic Voting in Young and Established Democracies." *European Journal of Political Research* 58 (1): 30-55.
- *Carlin, Ryan E., and Shane P. Singh. 2015. "Executive Power and Economic Accountability." *Journal of Politics* 77 (4): 1031-44.
- *Carlson, Elizabeth. 2016. "Finding Partisanship Where We Least Expect It: Evidence of Partisan Bias in a New African Democracy." *Political Behavior* 38 (1): 129-54.
- Duch, Raymond M. 2001. "A Developmental Model of Heterogeneous Economic Voting in New Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 95 (4): 895-910.
- *Duch, Raymond M., and Randolph T. Stevenson. 2008. *The Economic Vote: How Political and Economic Institutions Condition Election Results*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- *Fisher, Stephen D., and Sara B. Hobolt. 2010. "Coalition Government and Electoral Accountability." *Electoral Studies* 29 (3): 358-69.
- *Gomez, Brad T., and J. Matthew Wilson. 2006. "Cognitive Heterogeneity and Economic Voting: A Comparative Analysis of Four Democratic Electorates." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (1): 127-45.
- *Hellwig, Timothy. 2008. "Globalization, Policy Constraints, and Vote Choice." *Journal of Politics* 70 (4): 1128-41.
- Hellwig, Timothy, and David Samuels. 2008. "Electoral Accountability and the Variety of Democratic Regimes." *British Journal of Political Science* 38 (1): 65-90. **[read this after you read Powell and Whitten (1993)]**
- Larsen, Martin Vinæs. 2021. "Incumbent Tenure Crowds Out Economic Voting." *British Journal of Political Science* 51 (2): 646-65.
- *Lewis-Beck, Michael S. 1997. "Who's the Chef? Economic Voting under a Dual Executive." *European Journal of Political Research* 31 (3): 315-25.
- *León, Sandra, and Lluís Orriols. 2016. "Asymmetric Federalism and Economic Voting." *European Journal of Political Research* 55 (4): 847-65.
- *Marsh, Michael, and James Tilley. 2010. "The Attribution of Credit and Blame to Governments and Its Impact on Vote Choice." *British Journal of Political Science* 40 (1): 115-34.

Powell, G. Bingham, and Guy D. Whitten. 1993. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context." *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (2): 391-414.

*Samuels, David. 2004. "Presidentialism and Accountability for the Economy in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 98 (3): 425-36.

*Singer, Matthew M. 2011. "Who Says 'It's the Economy'?: Cross-National and Cross-Individual Variation in the Salience of Economic Performance." *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (3): 284-312.

Williams, Laron K., and Guy D. Whitten. 2015. "Don't Stand So Close to Me: Spatial Contagion Effects and Party Competition." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (2): 309-25.

*Wilson, Traci L., and Sara B. Hobolt. 2015. "Allocating Responsibility in Multilevel Government Systems: Voter and Expert Attributions in the European Union." *Journal of Politics* 77 (1): 102-13.

WEEK 11

March 22: How Foreign Policy and Conflict Affect Attitudes and Behavior

Upload a one-page research paper summary to eLC at least one day before this class, and be prepared to give a short presentation on your idea. We may discuss each summary as a group.

Lead Participant(s): Emma Content and Ben Hexamer

Aldrich, John H., John L. Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida. 1989. "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz before a Blind Audience?'." *American Political Science Review* 83 (1): 123-41.

Balcells, Laia, and Gerard Torrats-Espinosa. 2018. "Using a Natural Experiment to Estimate the Electoral Consequences of Terrorist Attacks." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115 (42): 10624-29.

*Eichenberg, Richard C., and Richard J. Stoll. 2017. "The Acceptability of War and Support for Defense Spending: Evidence from Fourteen Democracies, 2004-2013." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (4): 788-813.

Gartner, Scott Sigmund. 2008. "The Multiple Effects of Casualties on Public Support for War: An Experimental Approach." *American Political Science Review* 102 (1): 95-106.

Godefroidt, Amélie. forthcoming. "How Terrorism Does (and Does Not) Affect Citizens' Political Attitudes: A Meta-Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science*.

- Holman, Mirya R., Jennifer L. Merolla, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2022. "The Curious Case of Theresa May and the Public That Did Not Rally: Gendered Reactions to Terrorist Attacks Can Cause Slumps Not Bumps." *American Political Science Review* 116 (1): 249-64.
- *Koch, Michael T., and Stephen P. Nicholson. 2016. "Death and Turnout: The Human Costs of War and Voter Participation in Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (4): 932-46.
- *Merolla, Jennifer L., and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2013. "Evaluating Political Leaders in Times of Terror and Economic Threat: The Conditioning Influence of Politician Partisanship." *Journal of Politics* 75 (3): 599-612.
- *Tir, Jaroslav, and Shane P. Singh. 2013. "Is It the Economy or Foreign Policy, Stupid? The Impact of Foreign Crises on Leader Support." *Comparative Politics* 46 (1): 83-101.
- Williams, Laron K., and David J. Brulé. 2014. "Predictably Unpredictable: The Effects of Conflict Involvement on the Error Variance of Vote Models." *British Journal of Political Science* 44 (2): 287-99.
- *Williams, Laron K., David J. Brulé, and Michael Koch. 2010. "War Voting: Interstate Disputes, the Economy, and Electoral Outcomes." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 27 (5): 442-60.

WEEK 12

March 29: Attitudes Toward Democracy

Lead Participant(s): Gabriel Soyer

- *Aarts, Kees, and Jacques Thomassen. 2008. "Satisfaction with Democracy: Do Institutions Matter?" *Electoral Studies* 27 (1): 5-18.
- Anderson, Christopher J., and Christine A. Guillory. 1997. "Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy: A Cross-National Analysis of Consensus and Majoritarian Systems." *American Political Science Review* 91 (1): 66-81.
- *Anderson, Christopher J., André Blais, Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, and Ola Listhaug. 2005. *Losers' Consent: Elections and Democratic Legitimacy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
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- *Kriekhaus, Jonathan, Byunghwan Son, Nisha Mukherjee Bellinger, and Jason M. Wells. 2014. "Economic Inequality and Democratic Support." *Journal of Politics* 76 (1): 139-51.
- Leemann, Lucas, and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen. 2022. "Satisfaction with Democracy: When Government by the People Brings Electoral Losers and Winners Together." *Comparative Political Studies* 55 (1): 93-121.
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WEEK 13

April 5: How Parties Respond to the Electorate and Seek Votes

Pick presentation days.

Lead Participant(s): Lou Vedel

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*Abou-Chadi, Tarik, and Matthias Orłowski. 2016. "Moderate as Necessary: The Role of Electoral Competitiveness and Party Size in Explaining Parties' Policy Shifts." *Journal of Politics* 78 (3): 868-81.

*Adams, James. 2012. "Causes and Electoral Consequences of Party Policy Shifts in Multiparty Elections: Theoretical Results and Empirical Evidence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 401-419.

*Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2004. "Understanding Change and Stability in Party Ideologies: Do Parties Respond to Public Opinion or to Past Election Results?" *British Journal of Political Science* 34 (04): 589-610.

*Adams, James F., Samuel Merrill III, and Bernard Grofman. 2005. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition: A Cross-National Analysis Integrating Spatial and Behavioral Factors*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Adams, James, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2009. "Moderate Now, Win Votes Later: The Electoral Consequences of Parties' Policy Shifts in 25 Postwar Democracies." *Journal of Politics* 71 (2): 678-92.

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Calvo, Ernesto, and Timothy Hellwig. 2011. "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives under Different Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (1): 28-41.

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*Dassonneville, Ruth. 2018. "Electoral Volatility and Parties' Ideological Responsiveness." *European Journal of Political Research* 57 (4): 808-28.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper Collins, Chapters 2, 7, and 8. [read this first]

*Ezrow, Lawrence. 2007. "The Variance Matters: How Party Systems Represent the Preferences of Voters." *Journal of Politics* 69 (1): 182-92.

Ezrow, Lawrence, Jonathan Homola, and Margit Tavits. 2014. "When Extremism Pays: Policy Positions, Voter Certainty, and Party Support in Postcommunist Europe." *Journal of Politics* 76 (2): 535-47.

*Hellwig, Timothy. 2012. "Constructing Accountability: Party Position Taking and Economic Voting." *Comparative Political Studies* 45 (1): 92-119.

Homola, Jonathan. 2019. "Are Parties Equally Responsive to Women and Men?" *British Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 957-75.

*Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (6/7): 845-79.

*Laver, Michael. 2005. "Policy and the Dynamics of Political Competition." *American Political Science Review* 99 (2): 263-81.

*Spoon, Jae-Jae, and Heike Klüver. 2015. "Voter Polarisation and Party Responsiveness: Why Parties Emphasise Divided Issues, but Remain Silent on Unified Issues." *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (2): 343-62.

*Ward, Dalston, Jeong Hyun Kim, Matthew Graham, and Margit Tavits. 2015. "How Economic Integration Affects Party Issue Emphases." *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (10): 1227-59.

*Williams, Laron K., Katsunori Seki, and Guy D. Whitten. 2016. "You've Got Some Explaining to Do: The Influence of Economic Conditions and Spatial Competition on Party Strategy." *Political Science Research and Methods* 4 (1): 47-63.

WEEK 14

April 12: No Class (MPSA)

WEEK 15

April 19: Presentation of Research Papers

WEEK 16

April 26: Presentation of Research Papers (Last Day of Class)

FINALS WEEK

May 3: Research papers due on eLC by 11:59PM.