

Elections in Comparative Perspective

Course description

Elections are the central focus of political activity in democracies. The characteristics of politics, parties and electoral systems are fundamental to the outcome of elections, which differ across and within countries. To better understand elections we need to study them comparatively, therefore this course focuses on comparative research on elections. We will focus on the context in which elections are fought and how this affects electoral outcomes. A number of contextual effects of electoral behaviour will be covered, such as institutional configurations, election campaigns, the strategies of political parties and the importance of events in understanding the dynamics of electoral outcomes. We will consider competing theoretical and empirical explanations of the electoral process in democratic, as well as partially democratic and even non-democratic, countries.

Time: Tuesday, 12:00 - 13:30, Autumn 2017

Room: B6, A103

Office hours: Wednesday 12:00-13:00

Language: The language of this course is English, including all readings and assignments

Course Outline

Week 1 (5 Sept)	Introduction
Week 2 (12 Sept)	Electoral Systems
Week 3 (19 Sept)	Turnout
Week 4 (26 Sept)	Forecasting: The 2017 German Election
Week 5	<i>No class (German Reunification Day)</i>
Week 6 (10 Oct)	Economics and voting
Week 7 (17 Oct)	Biology of voting
Week 8 (24 Oct)	Media and campaigns
Week 9	<i>No class (Reformation Day)</i>
Week 10 (7 Nov)	Party leadership
Week 11 (14 Nov)	Elections in partial and non-democracies
Week 12 (21 Nov)	Elections in times of war and terrorism
Week 13 (28 Nov)	Referendums
Week 14 (5 Dec)	Student presentations of final papers

Course requirements

Course requirements include regular attendance, active class participation - including class presentations, performing the role of discussant and writing a research paper. You must pass **every** assignment in order to pass the course.

1. Class presentation (Pass/Fail)

Starting in week 3, each student will act as a discussion leader. The student should first introduce the key issues and debates from the readings. You should critically evaluate the required readings plus one additional academic article from the list of recommended readings. Each presentation should be around 10-15 minutes, and should describe key conceptual issues, define the central arguments, identify methodological challenges and suggest avenues for further research on the topic. Following this, you will lead the class discussion, for example by preparing 3-4 discussion questions based on the required readings and your presentation. Topics will be assigned on the first week of class. Depending on the size of the class, it is expected that students could perform this role more than once.

2. Case studies (Pass/Fail)

Choose a country and give a brief presentation on an aspect of the electoral process in that country. Choose a theme to focus on, such as an interesting recent or forthcoming election, an overview of a series of elections or an unusual electoral system or practice. The presentation should be no longer than 5 minutes. You should not choose a country that either you or the rest of us are likely to know very well; so Germany, USA, UK or your home country (if that's different) are not options. Elections in this country should be, at least partially, democratic. You should not present a case study in the same week in which you do your class presentation.

3. Final Paper (100%)

One of the goals of this seminar is to facilitate the learning process on how to produce academic research and write term papers, which will eventually help you in writing your MA thesis. Therefore, you will write a research paper on a topic relating to the comparative study of elections. An important element of the seminar is to start working on your research paper early and to receive feedback during the process. The research paper therefore consists of three steps:

i. You need to develop a specific research question. This research question needs to be submitted to me for approval via email by **Friday (noon), 13 October 2017**.

ii. Second, you will write a research proposal, in which you

- a. introduce the research question,
- b. briefly justify the importance of the research question,
- c. outline your theoretical argument and state your hypotheses,
- d. outline your research methodology (whether quantitative or qualitative) and your operationalization (e.g. what sources or data you intend to use).

The research proposal should be no longer than 3 pages double-spaced and needs to be emailed to me and your discussant no later than **Wednesday (noon), 29 November 2017**.

iii. Finally, you need to develop your research proposal into a research paper. The paper should employ empirical analyses, using quantitative and/or qualitative methods. The research paper should be no longer than 5000 words. There should be a word count on the cover page; this limit excludes references, tables and figures. The paper should include a brief introduction, theory, hypothesis, operationalization and empirical analysis (quantitative or qualitative). Your research paper should also contain a brief summary of the state of research relevant to your research question.

The paper is due at **12:00 (noon), Monday, 8 January 2018**. Please submit an electronic copy. If you don't receive a confirmation email within one hour of the deadline assume it has not been received and try again.

You will receive only a mark for the research paper and not for the research proposal, since this will only be used to provide early formative feedback on your project.

4. Discussant (Pass/Fail)

The last session is primarily to enable you to receive feedback on your research proposals, to evaluate other proposals and to provide constructive criticism. Each student will discuss the research proposal of one other student. The discussant will present a discussion including:

- i. a brief summary of the student's research proposal
- ii. constructive criticism, such as highlighting points that are not clear and suggesting ways that the project could be improved.

The discussant will hand in a summary of the main points to me and to the author of the research proposal (maximum: 1 page, single-spaced) during the class. The presentation by the discussant should last no longer than 10 minutes.

Reading

Week 2 (12 September): Electoral systems

Blais, Andre & Louis Massicotte. 2002. Electoral Systems. In Leduc, Niemi & Norris *Comparing Democracies 2*. London: Sage, 40-69.

Grofman, Bernard. 2016. Perspectives on the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems. *Annual Review of Political Science* 19: 523-540.

Renwick, Alan. 2011. Electoral Reform in Europe since 1945. *West European Politics*, 34(3): 456-477.

Recommended:

Benoit, Kenneth. 2007. Electoral Laws as Political Consequences: Explaining the Origins and Change of Electoral Institutions. *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 363-90.

Birch, Sarah. 2008. Electoral Systems and Electoral Misconduct. *Comparative Political Studies* 40: 1533-1556.

Bochsler, Daniel. 2009. Are Mixed Electoral Systems the Best Choice for Central and Eastern Europe or the Reason for Defective Party Systems? *Politics & Policy* 37: 735-67.

Bormann, Nils-Christian & Matt Golder. 2013. Democratic Electoral Systems Around the World, 1946-2011. *Electoral Studies* 32: 360-369.

Bowler, Shaun & Todd Donovan. 2013. Assessing Effects of Reforms: Changing the Electoral System. In *The Limits of Electoral Reform*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 64-79.

Carey, John & Andrew Reynolds. 2011. Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Impact of Election Systems. *Journal of Democracy* 22: 36-47.

Clark, William & Matt Golder. 2006. Rehabilitating Duverger's Theory: Testing the Mechanical and Strategic Modifying Effects of Electoral Laws. *Comparative Political Studies* 39(6): 679-708.

Döring, Helger & Philip Manow. 2017. Is Proportional Representation More Favourable to the Left? Electoral Rules and Their Impact on Elections, Parliaments and the Formation of Cabinets. *British Journal of Political Science* 47(1): 149-164.

Ferree, Karen, Bingham Powell & Ethan Scheiner. 2014. Context, Electoral Rules, and Party Systems. *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 421-439.

Golder, Matt. 2005. Democratic Electoral Systems Around The World, 1946-2000. *Electoral Studies* 24: 103-121.

Karp, Jeffrey & Susan Banducci. 2008. Political Efficacy and Participation in Twenty-Seven Democracies: How Electoral Systems Shape Political Behaviour. *British Journal of Political Science* 38(2): 311-334.

Katz, Richard. 2009. Why Are There So Many (Or So Few) Electoral Reforms? In Michael Gallagher & Paul Mitchell (eds.) *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 3, 57-79.

Nunez, Lidia & Kristof Jacobs. 2016. Catalysts and Barriers: Explaining Electoral Reform in Western Europe. *European Journal of Political Research* 55: 454-473.

Raabe, Johannes & Eric Linhart. Forthcoming. Which Electoral Systems Succeed at Providing Proportionality and Concentration? Promising Designs and Risky Tools. *European Political Science Review*.

Shugart, Matthew Sjøberg. 2005. Comparative Electoral Systems Research: The Maturation of a Field and New Challenges Ahead. In Gallagher & Mitchell eds. *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Week 3 (19 September): Turnout

Cancela, João & Benny Geys. 2016. Explaining Voter Turnout: A Meta-Analysis of National and Subnational Elections. *Electoral Studies* 42: 264-275.

de Miguel, Carolina, Amaney Jamal & Mark Tessler. 2015. Elections in the Arab World: Why Do Citizens Turn Out? *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(11): 1355-1388.

Franklin, Mark & Sara B. Hobolt. 2011. The Legacy of Lethargy: How Elections to the European Parliament Depress Turnout. *Electoral Studies* 30(1): 67-76.

Recommended:

Clark, Nicholas. 2014. Explaining Low Turnout in European Elections: The Role of Issue Salience and Institutional Perceptions in Elections to the European Parliament. *Journal of European Integration* 36(4): 339-356.

Dassonneville, Ruth & Marc Hooghe. 2017. Voter Turnout Decline and Stratification: Quasi-Experimental and Comparative Evidence of a Growing Educational Gap. *Politics* 37(2) 184-200.

Dowding, Keith. 2005. Is it Rational to Vote? Five Types of Answer and a Suggestion. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 7: 442-459.

Franklin, Mark. 2002. The Dynamics of Electoral Participation. In Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi & Pippa Norris eds. *Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting*, London: Sage.

Gerber, Alan, Gregory Huber, David Doherty & Conor Dowling. 2016. Why People Vote: Estimating the Social Returns to Voting. *British Journal of Political Science* 46(2): 241-264.

Geys, Benny. 2006. Rational Theories of Voter Turnout: A Review, *Political Studies Review* 4: 16-35.

Gray, Mark & Miki Caul. 2000. Declining Voter Turnout in Advanced Industrialized Democracies, 1950 to 1997. *Comparative Political Studies* 33: 1091-1122.

Jensen, Carsten, Bjarke Bøgeskov Jespersen. 2017. To Have or Not to Have: Effects of Economic Inequality on Turnout in European Democracies. *Electoral Studies* 45: 24-28.

Leininger, Arndt, Lukas Rudolph & Steffen Zittlau. Forthcoming. How to Increase Turnout in Low-Salience Elections: Quasi-Experimental Evidence on the Effect of Concurrent Second-Order Elections on Political Participation. *Political Science Research and Methods*.

Martinez i Coma, Ferran. 2016. Turnout Determinants in Democracies and in Non-Democracies. *Electoral Studies* 41: 50-59.

Schakel, Arjan & Régis Dandoy. 2014. Electoral Cycles and Turnout in Multilevel Electoral Systems. *West European Politics* 37(3): 605-623.

Singh, Shane. 2011. How Compelling is Compulsory Voting? A Multilevel Analysis of Turnout. *Political Behavior* 33: 95-111.

Smets, Kaat & Carolien van Ham. 2013. The Embarrassment of Riches? A Meta-Analysis of Individual-Level Research on Voter Turnout. *Electoral Studies* 32(2): 344-359.

Taagepera, Rein, Peter Selb & Bernard Grofman. 2014. How Turnout Depends on the Number of Parties: A Logical Model. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 24(4): 393-413.

Week 4 (26 September): Forecasting elections: The 2017 German Election

Note that the readings this week are relatively short, hence the greater number of articles set to read. You should also take a keen interest in the results of the election on 24 September and come to class prepared to talk about explanations for why the winning candidates/parties were successful.

Special Issue of PS: Symposium on Forecasting the 2017 German Elections:

Jérôme, Bruno. 2017. Introduction. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(3): 681-682

Jérôme, Bruno, Véronique Jérôme-Speziari & Michael Lewis-Beck. 2017. The Grand Coalition Reappointed but Angela Merkel on Borrowed Time. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(3): 683-685.

Norpoth, Helmut & Thomas Gschwend. 2017. Chancellor Model Predicts a Change of the Guards. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(3): 686-688.

Kayser, Mark & Arndt Leininger. 2017. A Länder-based Forecast of the 2017 German Bundestag Election. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(3): 689-692

Graefe, Andreas. 2017. The PollyVote's Long-Term Forecast for the 2017 German Federal Election. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(3): 693-696.

Campbell, James. 2017. A Recap of the 2016 Election Forecasts. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 50(2): 331-38.

Kennedy, Ryan, Stefan Wojcik & David Lazer. 2017. Improving Election Prediction Internationally. *Science* 355: 515-520.

Recommended:

Burnap, Pete, Rachel Gibson, Luke Sloan, Rosalyn Southern & Matthew Williams. 2015. 140 Characters to Victory? Using Twitter to Predict the UK 2015 General Election. *Computers and Society*.

Fisher, Stephen. 2015. Predictable and Unpredictable Changes in Party Support: A Method for Long-Range Daily Election Forecasting from Opinion Polls. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 25(2): 137-158.

Lewis-Beck, Michael & Ruth Dassonneville. 2015. Forecasting Elections in Europe: Synthetic Models. *Research & Politics* 2(1): 1-11.

Lewis-Beck, Michael & Ruth Dassonneville. 2015. Comparative Election Forecasting: Further Insights from Synthetic Models. *Electoral Studies*.

Qvortrup, Matt. 2016. The Political Science of Presidential Election Predictions: Hair, Height or Household Incomes? *Political Insight* 7(2): 36-39.

Smith, Benjamin & Abel Gustafson. Forthcoming. Using Wikipedia to Predict Election Outcomes: Online Behavior as a Predictor of Voting. *Public Opinion Quarterly*.

Walther, Daniel. 2015. Picking the winner(s): Forecasting Elections in Multiparty Systems. *Electoral Studies* 40: 1-13.

Special Issue of PS: Symposium on Forecasting the 2016 US Elections:

Norpoth, Helmut. 2016. Primary Model Predicts Trump Victory. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 49(4): 655-658.

Abramowitz, Alan. 2016. Will Time for Change Mean Time for Trump? *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 49(4): 659-660.

Lewis-Beck, Michael & Charles Tien. 2016. The Political Economy Model: 2016 US Election Forecasts. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 49(4): 661-663.

Erikson, Robert & Chris Wlezien. 2016. Forecasting the Presidential Vote with Leading Economic Indicators and the Polls. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 49(4): 669-672.

Jerôme, Bruno. & Jérôme-Speziari, Véronique. 2016. State-Level Forecasts for the 2016 US Presidential Elections: Political Economy Model Predicts Hillary Clinton Victory. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 49(4): 680-686.

Graefe, Andreas, Randall Jones, Scott Armstrong & Alfred Cuzán. 2016. The PollyVote Forecast for the 2016 American Presidential Election. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 49(4): 687-690.

Mutz, Diana. 2016. Harry Potter and the Deathly Donald. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 49(4): 722-729.

Week 5 (3 October): No class – German Reunification Day

Week 6 (10 October): Economics and voting

Dassonneville, Ruth & Marc Hooghe. Forthcoming. Economic Indicators and Electoral Volatility: Economic Effects on Electoral Volatility in Western Europe, 1950-2013. *Comparative European Politics*.

Soroka, Stuart, Dominik Stecula & Christopher Wlezien. 2015. It's (Change in) the (Future) Economy, Stupid: Economic Indicators, the Media, and Public Opinion. *American Journal of Political Science* 59(2): 457-474.

Stevenson, Randy & Ray Duch. 2013. The Meaning and Use of Subjective Perceptions in Studies of Economic Voting. *Electoral Studies* 32: 305-320.

Recommended:

Anderson, Cameron. 2006. Economic Voting and Multilevel Governance. *American Journal of Political Science* 50: 449-463.

- Anderson, Chris. 2007. The End of Economic Voting? Contingency Dilemmas and the Limits of Democratic Accountability. *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 271-96.
- Carey, Sean & Matthew Lebo. 2006. Election Cycles and the Economic Voter, *Political Research Quarterly* 59: 543-556.
- Collier, Paul & Anke Hoeffler. 2015. Do Elections Matter for Economic Performance? *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics* 77(1): 1-21.
- Dassonneville, Ruth & Michael Lewis-Beck. 2013. Economic Policy Voting and Incumbency: Unemployment in Western Europe. *Political Science Research and Methods* 1(1): 53-66.
- De Vries, Catherine, Erica Edwards & Erik Tillman. 2011. Clarity of Responsibility Beyond the Pocketbook: How Political Institutions Condition EU Issue Voting. *Comparative Political Studies* 44: 339-363.
- Duch, Ray & Randy Stevenson. 2008. *The Economic Vote: How Political and Economic Institutions Condition Election Results*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gélineau, François. 2013. Electoral Accountability in the Developing World. *Electoral Studies* 32: 418-424.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael & Mary Stegmaier. 2000. Economic Determinants of Electoral Outcomes. *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 183-219.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael & Mary Stegmaier. 2013. The VP-function Revisited: a Survey of the Literature on Vote and Popularity Functions After Over 40 Years. *Public Choice* 157(3-4): 367-385.
- MacKuen, Michael, Robert Erikson & James Stimson. 1992. Peasants or Bankers? The American Electorate and the U.S. Economy. *American Political Science Review* 86: 597-611.
- Powell, G. Bingham & Guy Whitten. 1993. A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context. *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 391-414.
- van der Brug, Wouter, Cees van der Eijk & Mark Franklin. 2007. Effects of the Economy on Party Support in *The Economy and the Vote: Electoral Responses to Economic Conditions and Elections in Fifteen Countries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 82-116.

Week 7 (17 October): Biology of Voting

- Blais, Andre and Simon Labbé St-Vincent. 2011. Personality traits, political attitudes and the propensity to vote. *European Journal of Political Research* 50(3): 395-417.
- Dawes, Christopher, David Cesarini, James Fowler, Magnus Johannesson, Patrik Magnusson & Sven Oskarsson. 2014. The Relationship Between Genes, Psychological Traits, and Political Participation. *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 888-903.
- Fowler, James & Christopher Dawes. 2008. Two Genes Predict Voter Turnout. *Journal of Politics* 70: 579-94.

Recommended:

- Bergner, Carisa & Peter Hatemi. 2017. Integrating Genetics into the Study of Electoral Behavior. In Kai Arzheimer, Jocelyn Evans & Michael Lewis-Beck, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Electoral Behaviour*, London, UK: Sage, 367-405.

- Charney, Evan & William English. 2012. Candidate Genes and Political Behavior. *American Political Science Review* 106(1): 1-34.
- Dawes, Christopher & James Fowler. 2008. Partisanship, Voting, and the Dopamine D2 Receptor Gene. *Journal of Politics* 71: 1157-1171.
- Fowler, James, Laura Baker & Christopher Dawes. 2008. Genetic Variation in Political Participation. *American Political Science Review* 102: 233-48.
- Fowler, James & Christopher Dawes. 2013. In Defense of Genopolitics. *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 362-374.
- Hatemi, Peter, John Alford, John Hibbing, Nicholas Martin & Lindon Eaves. 2009. Is There a 'Party' in Your Genes? *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 584-600.
- Hatemi, Peter, Enda Byrne & Rose McDermott. 2012. What is a 'Gene' and Why Does It Matter for Political Science? *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 24(3): 305-27.
- Hatemi, Peter, John Hibbing, Sarah Medland, Matthew Keller, John Alford, Kevin Smith, Nicholas Martin & Lindon Eaves. 2010. Not by Twins Alone: Using the Extended Family Design to Investigate Genetic Influence on Political Beliefs. *American Journal of Political Science* 54: 798-814.
- Klemmensen, Robert, Peter Hatemi, Sara Hobolt, Inge Petersen, Axel Skytthe & Asbjørn Nørgaard. 2012. The Genetics of Political Participation, Civic Duty, and Political Efficacy across Cultures: Denmark and the United States. *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 24(3): 409-27.
- Littvay, Levente, Paul Weith & Christopher Dawes. 2011. Sense of Control and Voting: A Genetically-Driven Relationship. *Social Science Quarterly* 92(5): 1236-1252.
- Mondak, Jeffery & Karen Halperin. 2008. A Framework for the Study of Personality and Political Behaviour. *British Journal of Political Science* 38(2): 335-362.
- Settle, Jaime, Christopher Dawes & James Fowler. 2009. The Heritability of Partisan Attachments. *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 601-613.
- Smith, Kevin, John Alford, Peter Hatemi, Lindon Eaves, Carolyn Funk & John Hibbing. 2012. Biology, Ideology, and Epistemology: How Do We Know Political Attitudes Are Inherited and Why Should We Care? *American Journal of Political Science* 56(1): 17-33.
- Verhulst, Brad, Lindon Eaves & Peter Hatemi. 2012. Correlation Not Causation: The Relationship between Personality Traits and Political Ideologies. *American Journal of Political Science* 56(1): 34-51.

Week 8 (24 October): Media and Campaigns

- Baek, Mijeong. 2009. A Comparative Analysis of Political Communication Systems and Voter Turnout. *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 376-393.
- Bowler, Shaun & David Farrell. 2011. Electoral Institutions and Campaigning in Comparative Perspective: Electioneering in European Parliament Elections. *European Journal of Political Research* 50: 668-688.
- Jennings, Will & Christopher Wlezien. 2016. The Timeline of Election Campaigns: A Comparative Perspective. *American Journal of Political Science* 60(1): 219-233.

Recommended:

Ansolahehere, Stephen, Shanto Iyengar, Adam Simon & Nicholas Valentino. 1994. Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate? *American Political Science Review* 88:829-838.

Banducci, Susan & Chris Hanretty. 2014. Comparative Determinants of Horse-Race Coverage. *European Political Science Review* 6(4): 621-640.

Banducci, Susan & Jeffrey Karp. 2003. How Elections Change the Way Citizens View the Political System: Campaigns, Media Effects and Electoral Outcomes in Comparative Perspective. *British Journal of Political Science* 33: 443-467.

Dowling, Conor & Amber Wichowsky. 2015. Attacks without Consequence? Candidates, Parties, Groups, and the Changing Face of Negative Advertising. *American Journal of Political Science* 59(1): 19-36.

Farrell, David & Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck. 2002. Studying Political Campaigns and their Effects in Farrell & Schmitt-Beck eds. *Do Political Campaigns Matter? Campaign Effects in Elections and Referendums*, London: Routledge, 1-21.

Fournier, Patrick, Richard Nadeau, Andre Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil & Neil Nevitte. 2004. Time-of-Voting Decision and Susceptibility to Campaign Effects. *Electoral Studies* 23(4): 661-681.

Gerber, Alan, James Gimpel, Donald Green & Daron Shaw. 2011. How Large and Long-lasting are the Persuasive Effects of Televised Campaign Ads? Results from a Randomized Field Experiment. *American Political Science Review* 105: 135-150.

Giebler, Heiko & Andreas Wüst. 2011. Campaigning on an Upper Level? Individual Campaigning in the 2009 European Parliament Elections in its Determinants. *Electoral Studies* 30(1): 53-66.

Hayes, Danny. 2009. Has Television Personalized Voting Behavior? *Political Behavior* 31: 231-260.

Holtz-Bacha, Christina & Lynda Lee Kaid. 2006. Political Advertising in International Comparison. In Kaid & Holtz-Bacha eds. *The Sage Handbook of Political Advertising*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 3-13.

Kellam, Marisa & Elizabeth Stein. 2016. Silencing Critics: Why and How Presidents Restrict Media Freedom in Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies* 49(1): 36-77.

van Kempen, Hetty. 2007. Media-Party Parallelism and Its Effects: A Cross-National Comparative Study. *Political Communication* 24: 303-320.

Stevenson, Randolph & Lynn Vavreck. 2000. Does Campaign Length Matter? Testing for Cross-National Effects. *British Journal of Political Science* 30(2): 217-235.

Sudulich, Laura & Siim Trumm. Forthcoming. A Comparative Study of the Effects of Electoral Institutions on Campaigns. *British Journal of Political Science*.

Sudulich, Laura, Matthew Wall & David Farrell. 2013. Why Bother Campaigning? Campaign Effectiveness in the 2009 European Parliament Elections. *Electoral Studies* 32(4): 768-778.

Walter, Annemarie, Wouter van der Brug, Philip van Praag. 2014. When the Stakes are High: Party Competition and Negative Campaigning. *Comparative Political Studies* 47(4): 550-573.

Zaller, John. 1996. The Myth of Massive Media Impact Revived: New Support for a Discredited Idea. In Mutz, Sniderman & Brody eds. *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 17-78.

Zittel, Thomas. 2015. Constituency Candidates in Comparative Perspective – How Personalized are Constituency Campaigns, Why, and Does It Matter? *Electoral Studies*. 39: 286-294.

Week 9 (31 October): No class (Reformation Day)

Week 10 (7 November): Party leadership

Costa, Patrício & Frederico Ferreira da Silva. 2015. The Impact of Voter Evaluations of Leaders' Traits on Voting Behaviour: Evidence from Seven European Countries. *West European Politics*, 38(6): 1226-1250.

Curtice, John & Marco Lisi. 2014. The Impact of Leaders in Parliamentary and Presidential Regimes. In Marina Costa Lobo & John Curtice *Personality Politics?: The Role of Leader Evaluations in Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nadeau, Richard & Neil Nevitte. 2011. Leader Effects and the Impact of Leader Characteristics in Nine Countries. In Kees Aarts, André Blais & Hermann Schmitt eds. *Political Leaders and Democratic Elections*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. 127-146.

Recommended:

Barisione, Mario. 2009. So, What Difference Do Leaders Make? Candidates' Images and the 'Conditionality' of Leader Effects on Voting. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 19: 473-500.

Bartels, Larry. 2002. The Impact of Candidate Traits in American Presidential Elections, in Anthony King ed. *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 44-69.

Bittner, Amanda. 2011. The Impacts of Party Leaders' Traits in Elections. In *Platform or Personality? The Role of Party Leaders in Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 91-114.

Brettschneider, Frank & Oscar Gabriel. 2002. The Nonpersonalization of Voting Behavior in Germany. In Anthony King ed. *Leaders Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 127-158.

Curtice, John & Surinder Hunjan. 2011. Elections as Beauty Contests: Do the Rules Matter? In Kees Aarts, André Blais & Hermann Schmitt eds. *Political Leaders and Democratic Elections*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. 91-107.

Garzia, Diego. 2011. The Personalization of Politics in Western Democracies: Causes and Consequences on Leader-Follower Relationships. *The Leadership Quarterly* 22: 697-709.

Garzia, Diego. 2012. Party and Leader Effects in Parliamentary Elections: Towards a Reassessment. *Politics* 32: 175-185.

Garzia, Diego. 2012. The Rise of Party/Leader Identification in Western Europe. *Political Research Quarterly* 66(3): 533-544.

Gidengil, Elisabeth. 2013. Voter Characteristics and Leader Effects. In Kees Aarts, André Blais & Hermann Schmitt eds. *Political Leaders and Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hallam Smith, Timothy. 2013. Are you sitting comfortably? Estimating incumbency advantage in the UK: 1983–2010. *Electoral Studies* 32(1): 167-173.

Hobolt, Sara. 2014. A Vote for the President? The Role of Spitzenkandidaten in the 2014 European Parliament Elections. *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(10): 1528-1540.

Holmberg, Sören & Henrik Oscarsson. 2013. *Party Leader Effects on the Vote*. In Kees Aarts, André Blais & Hermann Schmitt eds. *Political Leaders and Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Huber, Sascha. 2014. What Comes First, Character Traits or Political Assessments? An Experimental Study. In Marina Costa Lobo & John Curtice *Personality Politics? The Role of Leader Evaluations in Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

King, Anthony. 2002. Do Leaders' Personalities Really Matter? In Anthony King ed. *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Klašnja, Marko & Rocío Titiunik. 2017. The Incumbency Curse: Weak Parties, Term Limits, and Unfulfilled Accountability. *American Political Science Review* 111(1): 129-148.

Mughan, Anthony. 2012. Parties, Conditionality and Leader Effects in Parliamentary Elections. *Party Politics* 21(1): 28-39.

Tigue, Cara, Diana Borak, Jillian O'Connor, Charles Schandl & David Feinberg. 2012. Voice Pitch Influences Voting Behavior. *Evolution and Human Behavior* 33(3): 210-216.

Week 11 (14 November): Elections in partial and non-democracies

Howard, Marc Morje & Philip Roessler. 2006. Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes. *American Journal of Political Science* 50: 365-381.

van Ham, Carolien & Staffan Lindberg. 2015. From Sticks to Carrots: Electoral Manipulation in Africa, 1986–2012. *Government and Opposition* 50(3): 521-548.

Miller, Michael. 2015. Elections, Information, and Policy Responsiveness in Autocratic Regimes. *Comparative Political Studies* 48(6): 691-727.

Recommended:

Bogaards, Matthijs. 2007. Measuring Democracy through Election Outcomes: A Critique with African Data. *Comparative Political Studies* 40: 1211-1237.

Gandhi, Jennifer & Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. Elections under Authoritarianism. *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 403-422.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie, Susan Hyde & Ryan Jablonski. 2014. When do Governments Resort to Election Violence? *British Journal of Political Science* 44: 149-179.

Harish, SP & Andrew Little. 2017. The Political Violence Cycle. *American Political Science Review* 111(2): 237-255.

Hyde, Susan & Nikolay Marinov. 2001 Which Elections Can Be Lost? *Political Analysis* 20(2): 191-210.

- Knutsen, Carl Henrik, Håvard Mogleiv Nygård & Tore Wig. 2017. Autocratic Elections: Stabilizing Tool or Force for Change? *World Politics* 69(1): 98-143.
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