

Seminar in Comparative Political Behavior and Elections

Political Science 257

Spring 2015

Professor Miguel Carreras

Tuesday 1:10-4:00 WAT 2145

Office Hours: 2-4 Thursday or by appointment

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Course Description

This is an introduction to the study of elections and comparative mass electoral behavior. The seminar will focus on cross-national differences and similarities in electoral processes and electoral institutions. We will also discuss the determinants of electoral participation and vote choice from a comparative perspective. Many of the theories of electoral behavior were originally developed in the U.S. Several of the contextual factors that are taken for granted in the American literature (e.g. solid democracy, two-party system, presidentialism, etc.) vary in cross-national analyses. One of the main objectives of this seminar is to investigate the institutional, political, or cultural factors that influence the explanatory power of different models of electoral behavior in different contexts. The majority of the studies we will read develop theoretical statements and test them using observational data, yet some of the studies rely on experiments, and others are purely theoretical.

We begin with a normative discussion of the role of elections in a democratic system and of how different theories of democracy understand elections. We will then discuss the different electoral systems adopted in democracies, and how these electoral rules affect voting behavior. We then turn to the topic of electoral irregularities in fragile democracies and the dynamics of electoral processes in authoritarian regimes. We will then continue with topics related to voter turnout, and we will discuss studies analyzing the individual and contextual/institutional determinants of electoral participation. The last section of the course is devoted to discussing alternative models of vote choice: social group cleavages, partisanship, campaigns and candidate appeals, and economic models.

The seminar will be explicitly comparative. We will study elections and electoral behavior in consolidated democracies (e.g. Western Europe) as well as in fragile/new democracies (Eastern Europe, Africa, Latin America). Some of the readings are explicitly cross-national while others focus on one single case. But even in the papers discussing one case, we will be more concerned about what the case can teach us regarding general theories of electoral behavior, rather than about the specificities of the case.

Requirements

I. Class participation (25%): This course is a seminar. Students are thus expected to actively contribute to the discussion each and every week. This necessitates a careful reading of the material prior to the class. In preparing for class, students should think carefully about both the substantive and methodological aspects of each reading individually and in comparison with each other.

To facilitate the discussion, non-leader students are required to post on iLearn and bring with them to class two discussion questions. The questions must be posted by 5:00 PM the day before class. Please note that while clarifications and definitional questions are important, students should wrestle with the material, looking for places where hypotheses are weak, variable operationalizations are poor, and assumptions are improper. You might also consider extensions of the theories to other cases-is the theory exportable?

In addition, each student will be assigned to present the arguments and findings from one “cutting-edge” article marked with a (***) in the syllabus to the class. This short presentation is meant to stimulate discussion on the current state of a given subfield and to identify promising avenues for further research.

II. Discussion leading (20%): two students will be in charge of each section. Their job is to write a (co-authored) synthetic and critical essay (1,500-2,000 words) revolving around the readings for the week. The essay should compare and contrast, criticize and praise. It should be thematic, rather than discuss every article one by one. The essay must be posted on iLearn by 5:00 PM the day before class. The discussion leaders will also give a short presentation in class (5-10 minutes) as an introduction to the discussion, and will participate in leading the discussion.

III. Research design (30%): For this assignment, students will identify a research question that could extend our knowledge of elections and electoral behavior in an interesting and potentially important way. The research design will deal with one of the substantive areas on the syllabus or on a special topic which is agreed upon by the instructor. The research design will place the research question within the existing literature. It will include why you think the research is important, how it extends previous research, and how you would go about addressing the problem. You will identify which methods and empirical evidence will be used to answer the question, and explain why the evidence and methods are appropriate for evaluating the question. If you have the available data and the methodological skills at the moment to execute the ideas you propose, by all means you are encouraged to do so, but this is not required.

Students are required to submit an outline of their research design (1 page) on April 28. The research design is due on June 7 at 5:00 PM.

IV. Final exam (25%): take home format, 48 hours to complete and hand in electronically. Date of the exam: Tuesday June 9 (9 am) until Thursday June 11 (9 am).

Readings

Most of the readings are journal articles that are available electronically. The book chapters will be made available on iLearn. I also include in the syllabus a large selection of recommended readings which will help you prepare for the comprehensive examinations. For those who are completely new to the field of comparative electoral behavior (and for others who want to refresh their memories), you can find excellent review essays in Niemi and Weisberg's *Controversies in Voting Behavior* (Congressional Quarterly Press, 5th Edition, 2010) and in Dalton and Klingemann's *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior* (Oxford University Press, 2007).

March 31: General Introduction and the Role of Elections in Democracies

Political Behavior and Electoral Studies

- 1) Dalton, Russell & Hans-Dieter Klingemann (2007). "Citizens and Political Behavior". In R. J. Dalton & H.-D. Klingemann (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 2) Bartels, L. M. (2008). *The Study of Electoral Behavior*. Princeton University. Princeton. See: <http://www.princeton.edu/~bartels/electoralbehavior.pdf>

The Role of Elections in a Democracy

- 3) Przeworski, Adam, Susan Stokes, & Bernard Manin (1999). *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 1-2).
 - 4) Manin, Bernard (1997). *The Principles of Representative Government*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 1 & 4). SKIM
 - 5) Pateman, Carole (1970). *Participation and Democratic Theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 1 & 2)
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Recommended:

Przeworski, Adam (2015). Acquiring the Habit of Changing Governments Through Elections. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(1), 101-129.

Powell, G. Bingham (2000). *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

McDonald, Michael & Ian Budge (2005). *Elections, Parties, Democracy: Conferring the Median Mandate: Conferring the Median Mandate*. New York: Oxford University Press (especially chapters 1-2).

Urbainati, Nadia (2006). *Representative Democracy: Principles and Genealogy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (chapter 1)

Pitkin, Hanna (1969). The Concept of Representation. In H. F. Pitkin (Ed.), *Representation*. New York: Atherton Press.

Ginsberg, B. (1986). *The Captive Public: How Mass Opinion Promotes State Power*. New York: Basic Books (chapter 6).

Berelson, Bernard, Paul Lazarsfeld, & William McPhee (1948). *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (chapter 14).

April 7: Electoral Systems (and their Behavioral Effects)

- 1) Lijphart, Arend (1994). *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990*. New York: Oxford University Press (chapter 2).
- 2) Norris, Pippa (2004). *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 2 & 4).
- 3) Bormann, Nils-Christian & Matt Golder (2013). Democratic electoral systems around the world, 1946–2011. *Electoral Studies*, 32(2), 360-369.
- 4) Blais, André et al. (2011). The Mechanical and Psychological Effects of Electoral Systems: A Quasi-Experimental Study. *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(12), 1599-1621.
- 5) Singh, Shane (2010). Contradictory Calculi: Differences in Individuals' Turnout Decisions across Electoral Systems. *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(3), 646-655.
- 6) Abramson, Paul et al. (2010). Comparing Strategic Voting under FPTP and PR. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(1).
- 7) Bargsted, Matias & Orit Kedar (2009). Coalition-Targeted Duvergerian Voting: How Expectations Affect Voter Choice Under Proportional Representation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(2), 307-323.
- 8) *** Blais, André, Cengiz Erisen & Ludovic Rheault (2014). Strategic Voting and Coordination Problems in Proportional Systems: An Experimental Study. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(2), 386-397.
- 9) *** Gallego, Aina, Guillem Rico, & Eva Anduiza (2012). Disproportionality and voter turnout in new and old democracies. *Electoral Studies*, 31(1), 159-169.

Recommended:

Shugart, Matthew & Martin Wattenberg (2001). *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* New York: Oxford University Press (chapters 1 & 25).

Indridason, Indridi (2011). Proportional Representation, Majoritarian Legislatures, and Coalitional Voting. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(4), 955-971.

Cox, Gary (1997). *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Herrmann, Michael (2014). Polls, Coalitions and Strategic Voting Under Proportional Representation. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 26(3), 442-467.

Endersby, James & Jonathan Kriekhaus (2008). Turnout around the globe: The influence of electoral institutions on national voter participation, 1972-2000. *Electoral Studies*, 27(4), 601-610.

Blais, André & Kees Aarts (2006). Electoral Systems and Turnout. *Acta politica*, 41(2), 180-196.

April 14: Electoral Irregularities, Clientelism, and Electoral Observation

Background:

Norris, Pippa (2013). The new research agenda studying electoral integrity. *Electoral Studies*, 32(4), 563-575.

- 1) Norris, Pippa (2013). Does the world agree about standards of electoral integrity? Evidence for the diffusion of global norms. *Electoral Studies*, 32(4), 576-588.
 - 2) Birch, Sarah (2010). Perceptions of Electoral Fairness and Voter Turnout. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(12), 1601-1622
 - 3) Stokes, Susan C. (2005). Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina. *American Political Science Review*, 99(3), 315-325.
 - 4) Nichter, Simeon (2008). Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot. *American Political Science Review*, 102(1), 19-31.
 - 5) Simpser, Alberto & Daniela Donno (2012). Can International Election Monitoring Harm Governance? *Journal of Politics*, 74(2), 501-513.
 - 6) Ichino, Nahomi & Matthias Schündeln (2012). Deterring or Displacing Electoral Irregularities? Spillover Effects of Observers in a Randomized Field Experiment in Ghana. *Journal of Politics*, 74(1), 292-307.
 - 7) *** Gonzalez-Ocantos, Ezequiel et al. (2012). Vote Buying and Social Desirability Bias: Experimental Evidence from Nicaragua. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(1), 202-217.
 - 8) *** Hafner-Burton, Emilie, Susan Hyde & Ryan Jablonski (2014). When Do Governments Resort to Election Violence? *British Journal of Political Science*, 44(1), 149-179.
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Recommended:

Brusco, Valeria, Marcelo Nazareno, & Susan Stokes (2004). Vote Buying in Argentina. *Latin American Research Review*, 39(2), 66-88.

Wantchekon, Leonard (2003). Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin. *World Politics*, 55(3), 399-422.

Ziblatt, Daniel (2009). Shaping Democratic Practice and the Causes of Electoral Fraud: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Germany. *American Political Science Review*, 103(1), 1-21.

Simpser, Alberto (2012). Does Electoral Manipulation Discourage Voter Turnout? Evidence from Mexico. *Journal of Politics*, 74(3), 782-795.

Szwarcberg, Mariela (2012). Uncertainty, Political Clientelism, and Voter Turnout in Latin America: Why Parties Conduct Rallies in Argentina. *Comparative Politics*, 45(1), 88-106.

Hyde, Susan (2011). Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(2), 356-369.

Lawson, Chappell & Kenneth Greene (2014). Making Clientelism Work: How Norms of Reciprocity Increase Voter Compliance. *Comparative Politics*, 47(1), 61-85.

- Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca (2012). What Wins Votes: Why Some Politicians Opt Out of Clientelism. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(3), 568-583.
- Carreras, Miguel & Yasemin İrepoğlu (2013). Trust in elections, vote buying, and turnout in Latin America. *Electoral Studies*, 32(4), 609-619.
- Leemann, Lucas & Daniel Bochsler (2014). A systematic approach to study electoral fraud. *Electoral Studies*, 35, 33-47.
- Gehlbach, Scott & Alberto Simpser (2015). Electoral Manipulation as Bureaucratic Control. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(1), 212-224.
- Weidmann, Nils & Michael Callen (2013). Violence and Election Fraud: Evidence from Afghanistan. *British Journal of Political Science*, 43(1), 53-75.
- Kelley, Judith (2011). Do International Election Monitors Increase or Decrease Opposition Boycotts? *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(11), 1527-1556.
- Daxecker, Ursula (2012). The cost of exposing cheating: International election monitoring, fraud, and post-election violence in Africa. *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(4), 503-516.
- Daxecker, Ursula (2014). All quiet on election day? International election observation and incentives for pre-election violence in african elections. *Electoral Studies*, 34, 232-243.
- Donno, Daniela & Nasos Roussias (2011). Does Cheating Pay? The Effect of Electoral Misconduct on Party Systems. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(5), 575-605.
- Gonzalez Ocantos, Ezequiel, Chad Jonge & David Nickerson (2014). The Conditionality of Vote-Buying Norms: Experimental Evidence from Latin America. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(1), 197-211.
- Jensen, Peter & Mogens Justesen (2014). Poverty and vote buying: Survey-based evidence from Africa. *Electoral Studies*, 33, 220-232.
- Nichter, Simeon (2014). Conceptualizing vote buying. *Electoral Studies*, 35, 315-327.
- Gans-Morse, Jans, Sebastian Mazzuca, & Simeon Nichter (2014). Varieties of clientelism: Machine Politics during Elections. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(2), 415-432.
- Cantú, Francisco (2014). Identifying Irregularities in Mexican Local Elections. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(4), 936-951.

April 21: Elections in Authoritarian Regimes

Background: Levitsky, Steven & Lucas Way (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapter 1).

- 1) Brownlee, Jason (2011). Executive Elections in the Arab World: When and How Do They Matter? *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(7), 807-828.
- 2) Bhasin, Tavishi & Jennifer Gandhi (2013). Timing and targeting of state repression in authoritarian elections. *Electoral Studies*, 32(4), 620-631.
- 3) Beaulieu, Emily (2014). *Electoral Protest and Democracy in the Developing World*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 2 & 3).
- 4) Donno, Daniela (2013). Elections and Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(3), 703-716.
- 5) Bunce, Valerie & Sharon Wolchik (2010). Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes. *World Politics*, 62(1), 43-86.
- 6) Smith, Ian (2014). Election Boycotts and Hybrid Regime Survival. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(5), 743-765.
- 7) *** Miller, Michael (forthcoming). Elections, Information, and Policy Responsiveness in Autocratic Regimes. *Comparative Political Studies*.
- 8) *** Frye, Timothy, Ora John Reuter & David Szakonyi (2014). Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace. *World Politics*, 66(2), 195-228.

Recommended:

Landry, Pierre, Deborah Davis & Shiru Wang (2010). Elections in Rural China: Competition Without Parties. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(6), 763-790.

Herron, Erik (2011). Measuring Dissent in Electoral Authoritarian Societies Lessons From Azerbaijan's 2008 Presidential Election and 2009 Referendum. *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(11), 1557-1583.

Morse, Yonatan (2012). The Era of Electoral Authoritarianism. *World Politics*, 64(1), 161-198.

Wahman, Michael (2011). Offices and policies—Why do oppositional parties form pre-electoral coalitions in competitive authoritarian regimes? *Electoral Studies*, 30(4), 642-657.

Sjoberg, Fredrik (2014). Autocratic adaptation: The strategic use of transparency and the persistence of election fraud. *Electoral Studies*, 33, 233-245.

April 28: Electoral Participation (Contextual and Macro-Comparative Models)

Background:

Blais, André (2006). What Affects Voter Turnout? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9, 111-125.

Franklin, Mark (1996). "Electoral Participation". In L. LeDuc, R. G. Niemi, & P. Norris (Eds.), *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

- 1) Steiner, Nils (2010). Economic globalization and voter turnout in established democracies. *Electoral Studies*, 29(3), 444-459.
 - 2) Nooruddin, Irfan & Joel Simmons (2015). Do voters count? Institutions, voter turnout, and public goods provision in India. *Electoral Studies*, 37, 1-14.
 - 3) Gray, Mark & Miki Caul (2000). Declining Voter Turnout in Advanced Industrial Democracies, 1950 to 1997: The Effects of Declining Group Mobilization. *Comparative Political Studies*, 33(9), 1091-1122.
 - 4) Baek, Mijeong (2009). A Comparative Analysis of Political Communication Systems and Voter Turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(2), 376-393.
 - 5) Panagopoulos, Costas (2008). The Calculus of Voting in Compulsory Voting Systems. *Political Behavior*, 30(4), 455-467.
 - 6) Pacek, Alexander, Grigore Pop-Eleches & Joshua Tucker (2009). Disenchanted or Discerning: Voter Turnout in Post-Communist Countries. *Journal of Politics*, 71(2), 473-491.
 - 7) *** Eggers, Andrew (2015). Proportionality and Turnout: Evidence From French Municipalities. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(2), 135-167.
 - 8) *** Atkinson, Matthew & Anthony Fowler (2014). Social Capital and Voter Turnout: Evidence from Saint's Day Fiestas in Mexico. *British Journal of Political Science*, 44(1), 41-59.
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Recommended:

Przeworski, Adam (2009). Constraints and Choices Electoral Participation in Historical Perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(1), 4-30.

Norris, Pippa (2002). *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 3-4).

Blais, André & Agnieszka Dobrzynska (1998). Turnout in Electoral Democracies. *European Journal of Political Research*, 33(2), 239-261.

Jackman, Robert (1987). Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies. *American Political Science Review*, 81(2), 405-423.

Powell, G. Bingham (1986). American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 80(1), 17-43.

Kuenzi, Michelle & Gina Lambright (2007). Voter Turnout in Africa's Multiparty Regimes. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(6), 665-690.

- Aguilar, Edwin & Alexander Pacek (2000). Macroeconomic Conditions, Voter Turnout, and the Working-Class/Economically Disadvantaged Party Vote in Developing Countries. *Comparative Political Studies*, 33(8), 995-1017.
- Lijphart, Arend (1997). Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma. *American Political Science Review*, 91(1), 1-14.
- Aldrich, John (1993). Rational Choice and Turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 37(1), 246-278.
- Geys, Benny (2006). Explaining voter turnout: A review of aggregate-level research. *Electoral Studies*, 25(4), 637-663.
- Fornos, Carolina, Timothy Power, & James Garand (2004). Explaining Voter Turnout in Latin America, 1980 to 2000. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(8), 909-940.
- Remmer, Karen L. (2010). Political Scale and Electoral Turnout: Evidence from the Less Industrialized World. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(3), 275-303.
- Elgie, Robert & Christine Fauvelle-Aymar (2012). Turnout Under Semipresidentialism First-and Second-Order Elections to National-Level Institutions. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(12), 1598-1623.
- Boulding, Carew (2010). NGOs and Political Participation in Weak Democracies: Subnational Evidence on Protest and Voter Turnout from Bolivia. *Journal of Politics*, 72(2), 456-468.
- Flavin, Patrick & Benjamin Radcliff (2011). Labor union membership and voting across nations. *Electoral Studies*, 30(4), 633-641.
- Mahler, Vincent, David Jesuit & Piotr Paradowski (2014). Electoral Turnout and State Redistribution A Cross-National Study of Fourteen Developed Countries. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(2), 361-373.
- Blais, André & Daniel Rubenson (2013). The Source of Turnout Decline: New Values or New Contexts? *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(1), 95-117.
- Górecki, Maciej (2013). Electoral context, habit-formation and voter turnout: A new analysis. *Electoral Studies*, 32(1), 140-152.
- Carlin, Ryan & Gregory Love (2013). What's at stake? A veto-player theory of voter turnout. *Electoral Studies*, 32(4), 807-818.
- Nooruddin, Irfan & Joel Simmons (2015). Do voters count? Institutions, voter turnout, and public goods provision in India. *Electoral Studies*, 37, 1-14.
- Lever, Annabelle (2010). Compulsory voting: a critical perspective. *British Journal of Political Science*, 40(04), 897-915.
- Hill, Lisa (2010). On the Justifiability of Compulsory Voting: Reply to Lever. *British Journal of Political Science*, 40(4), 917-923.
- Abrams, Samuel, Torben Iversen, & David Soskice (2011). Informal Social Networks and Rational Voting. *British Journal of Political Science*, 41(2), 229-257.
- Enos, Ryan & Anthony Fowler (2014). Pivotality and Turnout: Evidence from a Field Experiment in the Aftermath of a Tied Election. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 2(2), 309-319.

May 5: Electoral Participation (Individual-Level Models)

Background:

Norris, Pippa (2002). *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapter 5).

- 1) Gallego, Aina (2010). Understanding unequal turnout: Education and voting in comparative perspective. *Electoral Studies*, 29(2), 239-248.
- 2) Bratton, Michael (1999). Political Participation in a New Democracy: Institutional Considerations from Zambia. *Comparative Political Studies*, 32(5), 549-588.
- 3) Carreras, Miguel & Nestor Castañeda-Angarita (2014). Who Votes in Latin America? A Test of Three Theoretical Perspectives. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(8), 1079-1104.
- 4) Mondak, Jeffrey et al. (2010). Personality and Civic Engagement: An Integrative Framework for the Study of Trait Effects on Political Behavior. *American Political Science Review*, 104(1), 85-110.
- 5) Karp, Jeffrey, Susan Banducci, & Shaun Bowler (2007). Getting Out the Vote: Party Mobilization in a Comparative Perspective. *British Journal of Political Science*, 38(1), 91-112.
- 6) Solt, Frederick (2008). Economic Inequality and Democratic Political Engagement. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(1), 48-60.
- 7) *** Isaksson, Ann-Sofie (2014). Political participation in Africa: The role of individual resources. *Electoral Studies*, 34, 244-260.
- 8) *** Alfaro-Redondo, Ronald (2014). Lifecycle changes and the activation of habitual voting: The case of Costa Rica. *Electoral Studies*, 35, 188-199.

Recommended:

Brady, Henry, Sidney Verba & Kay Schlozman (1995). Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation. *American Political Science Review*, 89(2), 271-294.

Blattman, Christopher (2009). From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda. *American Political Science Review*, 103(2), 231-247.

Dawes, Christopher et al. (2014). The Relationship between Genes, Psychological Traits, and Political Participation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(4), 888-903.

Mondak, Jeffrey et al. (2011). The Participatory Personality: Evidence from Latin America. *British Journal of Political Science*, 41(1), 211-221.

Kuenzi, Michelle & Gina Lambright (2011). Who votes in Africa? An examination of electoral participation in 10 African countries. *Party Politics*, 17(6), 767-799.

Bendor, Jonathan, Daniel Diermeier, & Michael Ting (2003). A Behavioral Model of Turnout. *American Political Science Review*, 97(2), 261-280.

May 12: Economic Voting

Background:

Lewis-Beck, Michael S. & Mary Stegmaier (2000). Economic Determinants of Electoral Outcomes. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3(1), 183-219.

- 1) Nadeau, Richard, Michael Lewis-Beck, & Éric Bélanger (2013). Economics and Elections Revisited. *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(5), 551-573.
- 2) Evans, Geoffrey & Robert Andersen (2006). The Political Conditioning of Economic Perceptions. *Journal of Politics*, 68(1), 194-207.
- 3) Gomez, Brad T. & Matthew Wilson (2006). Cognitive Heterogeneity and Economic Voting: A Comparative Analysis of Four Democratic Electorates. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(1), 127-145.
- 4) Duch, Raymond M. & Randy Stevenson (2010). The Global Economy, Competency, and the Economic Vote. *Journal of Politics*, 72(1), 105-123.
- 5) Becher, Michael & Michael Donnelly (2013). Economic Performance, Individual Evaluations, and the Vote: Investigating the Causal Mechanism. *Journal of Politics*, 75(4), 968-979.
- 6) Zucco, Cesar (2013). When Payouts Pay Off: Conditional Cash Transfers and Voting Behavior in Brazil 2002–10. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(4), 810-822.
- 7) *** Weschle, Simon (2014). Two types of economic voting: How economic conditions jointly affect vote choice and turnout. *Electoral Studies*, 34, 39-53.
- 8) *** Singer, Matthew M. & Ryan E. Carlin (2013). Context Counts: The Election Cycle, Development, and the Nature of Economic Voting. *Journal of Politics*, 75(3), 730-742.

Recommended:

Powell, G. Bingham & 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.

Benton, Allyson L. (2005). Dissatisfied Democrats or Retrospective Voters?: Economic Hardship, Political Institutions, and Voting Behavior in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(4), 417-442.

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

Tillman, Eric R. (2008). Economic Judgments, Party Choice, and Voter Abstention in Cross-National Perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(9), 1290-1309.

Pacek, Alexander & Benjamin Radcliff (1995). The Political Economy of Competitive Elections in the Developing World. *American Journal of Political Science*, 39(3), 745-759.

- Aguilar, Edwin E. & Alexander C. Pacek (2000). Macroeconomic Conditions, Voter Turnout, and the Working-Class/Economically Disadvantaged Party Vote in Developing Countries. *Comparative Political Studies*, 33(8), 995-1017.
- Duch, Raymond M. (2001). A Developmental Model of Heterogeneous Economic Voting in New Democracies. *American Political Science Review*, 95(4), 895-910.
- Tucker, Joshua A. (2006). *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-99*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Duch, Raymond M. & Randy Stevenson (2005). Context and the Economic Vote: A Multi-Level Analysis. *Political Analysis*, 13(4), 387-409.
- Whitten, Guy D. & Harvey Palmer (1999). Cross-national analyses of economic voting. *Electoral Studies*, 18(1), 49-67.
- Singer, Matthew (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.
- 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(3), 339-363.
- Hellwig, Timothy (2012). Constructing Accountability: Party Position Taking and Economic Voting. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(1), 91-118.
- Gingrich, Jane (2014). Visibility, Values, and Voters: The Informational Role of the Welfare State. *Journal of Politics*, 76(2), 565-580.
- Anderson, Cameron & Jason Roy (2011). Local economies and national economic evaluations. *Electoral Studies*, 30(4), 795-803.
- De La O, Ana (2013). Do Conditional Cash Transfers Affect Electoral Behavior? Evidence from a Randomized Experiment in Mexico. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(1), 1-14.
- Nadeau, Richard, Michael Lewis-Beck, & Éric Bélanger (2013). Economics and Elections Revisited. *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(5), 551-573.
- Remmer, Karen (2014). Exogenous Shocks and Democratic Accountability: Evidence From the Caribbean. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(8), 1158-1185.
- Aytaç, S. Erdem (2014). Distributive Politics in a Multiparty System The Conditional Cash Transfer Program in Turkey. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(9), 1211-1237.
- De Ferrari, Ignazio (2015). The Successor Factor Electoral Accountability in Presidential Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(2), 193-230.
- Anderson, Christopher & Jason Hecht (2012). Voting when the economy goes bad, everyone is in charge, and no one is to blame: The case of the 2009 German election. *Electoral Studies*, 31(1), 5-19.
- Stevenson, Randolph & Raymond Duch (2013). The meaning and use of subjective perceptions in studies of economic voting. *Electoral Studies*, 32(2), 305-320.
- Maeda, Ko (2010). Divided We Fall: Opposition Fragmentation and the Electoral Fortunes of Governing Parties. *British Journal of Political Science*, 40(2), 419-434.
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