

**COMPARATIVE POLITICAL BEHAVIOR**  
**Political Science 2313**  
**University of Pittsburgh • Spring 2017**  
**Thurs. 12-1:55 pm**

**Professor:** Jae-Jae Spoon

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**Office Hours:** Tues. and Thurs. 2-3:30pm or by appointment in 4441 Posvar Hall

**Course Description**

In this course, we will explore the literature on comparative political behavior from both the voters' and political parties' perspective. We will spend the first half of the semester examining questions of voting behavior and vote choice. In the second half of the semester, we will then turn to parties and their relationship with voters as well as the choices they make in campaigns and elections and how electoral rules and context affect these. We will take an explicitly thematic approach and will not focus on behavior in any one country or region. We will read about voter and party behavior in countries and regions around the world. Although an explicit focus on the US is covered in a different course, to understand the foundations and progression of the literature, we will read some American-focused readings at various points throughout the semester. While the course will not be exhaustive as this is a wide, deep, and dynamic area in comparative politics, by the end of the semester, you will have a firm grounding in many of the important questions in the study of comparative political behavior from both the voters' and the parties' perspectives.

**Course Materials**

The majority of the readings in this course are articles available on-line. I have put book chapters on CourseWeb. We will read more than half of the following books, which you should purchase. Reasonably priced used copies are available on-line.

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

Norris, Pippa. 2002. *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. New York: CUP.

\*Alternatively, all chapters are available on Norris's website--

<https://sites.google.com/site/pippanorris3/publications/books/democratic-phoenix>

## Course Requirements

**Reading and Participation.** Do the readings and come to class prepared to discuss, debate, and ask questions. Please bring the week's readings with you either on an electronic device or a hard copy. Although this is a large class, I will do my best to ensure that everyone has an opportunity to participate and please do your best to participate whenever possible. Participation is 15% of your grade.

**Response Papers.** Each student will complete two written critiques of the readings. Each will be 5 double-spaced pages (roughly 1250 words). To ensure even coverage, we will coordinate the schedule of papers during the first session. Each student will write one response paper for each half of the class. Each response paper is 12.5% of your grade.

These papers are meant to be analytical response papers and not simply restatements of the readings. You should work to synthesize the readings by focusing on one issue, debate, concept, etc. in the readings. You do not need to include all of the readings for a given week, but cannot just focus on one. You may include readings from the *Further Reading* list, but this is not required.

**Discussion Leader.** For one of the weeks that you write a response paper, you will also be in charge of helping to lead discussion. For half of the weeks, there will be one discussion leader and for the other half, there will be two. The role of discussion leader is to jump start the week's discussion of the readings, key themes, etc. Please circulate your questions (5-10) via CourseWeb by 7pm Weds. evening. If you are a co-discussion leader with another student, please coordinate your questions to minimize repetition and ensure coverage of all of the readings. All students must bring a copy of the questions to class (either on an electronic device or a hard copy). Serving as discussion leader will be 5% of your grade. Your grade will be based on the quality of questions and how well you are able to facilitate discussion. If you are a co-discussion leader, each student will receive a separate grade. Should you need to change the week that you are a discussion leader, please coordinate with each other and let me know of the change.

**Research Design and Presentation.** Each student will write a research design between 12-15 double-spaced pages (roughly 3000-3750 words) not including abstract, references, tables, and figures. The goal of the research design is to give you an opportunity to focus in depth on a question related to the course and how you would design a project to study this. The paper will take the form of an empirical journal article or conference paper and have a research question, brief literature review, hypotheses, discussion of the research method, variables, cases, and potential sources of data you would use to answer your question. Papers can also include some preliminary analysis. If your research method, data availability, and your skills allow for it, you may conduct the analysis. However, this is not required. The paper can focus on any of the literatures or questions discussed in the class. The research design is 40% of your grade.

You will also present your research design either on the last day of class (4/20) or on a second (third) day that we agree on to meet during/before exam week using presentation software, such

as PowerPoint or Beamer. The presentations will be conference-style, which means 10-12 minutes in length. You will also serve as discussant of another student's paper. Your comments should be about 5 minutes. You will give a written copy of your comments to the both me and the other student. The presentation and discussant comments are 15% of your grade.

The proposal for the project is due Feb. 2<sup>nd</sup>. This should be about 1 double-spaced page in length, in which you briefly describe your question/hypothesis and what your cases/unit of analysis will be. The date when paper drafts will be circulated will depend on when the second (third) presentation date is. The final paper will be due April 24<sup>th</sup> at noon.

### **Evaluation**

All work will be weighted according to the break-down described above. Your final grade will thus be out of 100 possible points.

Grades will be calculated on a scale of A-C, etc. broken down as follows:

97-100=A+	87-89=B+	77-79=C+
94-96=A	84-86=B	74-76=C
90-93=A-	80-83=B-	70-73=C-

### **Class Policies**

**Expectations.** I expect you to come to class prepared to participate. Please bring all readings with you and make sure you have looked at the discussion questions before class. When you're in class, I expect you to be fully engaged. You may use your laptop or other device to take notes. Please turn your phone off while you are in class and do not text, check Facebook, Twitter, or look up information that is not relevant to class. If I find you are doing something non-class related on your device, I will no longer allow you to bring it to class.

**Attendance.** As this is a graduate seminar, I expect you to attend *all* sessions. Should something come up that will prevent you from attending class, please let me know in advance. We will make arrangements to meet outside of class to discuss the material.

**Extensions and Alternate Dates.** In general, I will not allow extensions on assignments. However, should you find yourself in a situation where you will not be able to turn an assignment in on-time, please advise me of this as soon as you can, and not the day the assignment is due. We will work together to come up with a solution.

**Late Policy.** A late assignment will be penalized 1/3 of a grade for each day it is late. After 1 week, I will no longer accept it.

**Grade Appeals.** Should you want to appeal a grade you've received, it must be in writing. You will need to explain why you believe you deserve a grade that is different than the one you received.

**Academic Integrity.** Students in this course are expected to comply with the University of Pittsburgh's Policy on Academic Integrity. Cheating, plagiarism, or other acts of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. Any student suspected of violating this obligation for any reason during the semester will be required to participate in the procedural process, initiated by the instructor, as outlined in the University Guidelines on Academic Integrity. More information and the complete policy can be found at <http://www.provost.pitt.edu/info/ai1.html>.

**Accommodations.** If you have a disability for which you are or may be requesting an accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both me and the Office of Disability Resources and Services (DRS), 140 William Pitt Union, (412-648-7890, 412-228-5347 for P3 ASL users), [drsrec@pitt.edu](mailto:drsrec@pitt.edu), as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course. For more information, please see <https://www.studentaffairs.pitt.edu/drs/>

**Classroom Recording.** To ensure free and open discussion of ideas, students may not record classroom lectures, discussion and/or activities without the advance permission of the instructor. Any such recording properly approved in advance can be used solely for the student's own private use.

## Syllabus

<b>Part. 1: Voter Behavior</b>
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**Jan. 5. Introduction and Preliminaries: What are the big questions in studying (mass and party) behavior?**

**Jan. 12. Voter Turnout**

Norris, Pippa. 2002. *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. New York: CUP. Ch. 3-5.

Aldrich, John H. 1993. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *AJPS*. 37.1: 246-278.

Fornos, Carolina A., Timothy J. Power, and James C. Garand. 2004. "Explaining Voter Turnout in Latin America, 1980 to 2000". *Comparative Political Studies*. 37: 909-940.

Pacek, Alexander C., Grigore Pop-Eleches, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2008. "Disenchanted or

Discerning? Turnout in Post-Communist Elections, 1990-2004." *Journal of Politics*. 71.2: 473-491.

### ***Further Reading***

Blais, André. 2006. "What Affects Turnout?" *Annual Review of Political Science*. 9: 111-125.

Brady, Henry E., Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation." *APSR*. 89.2: 271-94.

Ferejohn, John and Morris Fiorina. 1974. "The Paradox of Not Voting: A Decision Theoretic Analysis." *APSR*. 68.2: 525-536.

Franklin, Mark N. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jackman, Robert. 1987. "Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies." *APSR*. 81:405-23.

Powell, G. Bingham. 1986. "American Voting Turnout in Comparative Perspective." *APSR*. 80.1: 17-43.

Riker, William H. and Peter C. Ordeshook. 1968. "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting." *APSR*. 62.1: 25-42.

### **Jan. 19. Sociological Models of Vote Choice: Class, Religion, Gender, Ethnicity**

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967 [1990]. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments." In *The West European Party System*, Peter Mair, ed. Pgs. 91-138. [CW]

Lijphart, Arend. 1979. "Religious vs. Linguistic vs. Class Voting: The "Crucial Experiment" of Comparing Belgium, Canada, South Africa, and Switzerland." *APSR*. 73.2: 442-458.

Evans, Geoffrey and James Tilley. 2012. "How Parties Shape Class Politics: Explaining the Decline of the Class Basis of Party Support." *BJPS*. 42.1: 137-161.

Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2000. "The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women's and Men's Voting Behavior in Global Perspective." *International Political Science Review*. 21.4: 441-463.

Birnir, Jóhanna Kristín. 2007. "Divergence in Diversity? The Dissimilar Effects of Cleavages on Electoral Politics in New Democracies." *AJPS*. 51.3: 602-619.

### *Further Reading*

Eiffert, Benn, Edward Miguel, and Daniel N. Posner. 2010. "Political Competition and Ethnic Identification in Africa." *AJPS*. 54.2: 494-510.

Manza, Jeff, Michael Hout, and Clem Brooks. 1995. "Class Voting in Capitalist Democracies Since World War II: Dealignment, Realignment, or Trendless Fluctuation?" *Annual Review of Sociology*. 21: 137-162.

Nieuwbeerta, Paul and Wout Ultee. 1999. "Class Voting in Western Industrialized Democracies, 1945-1990: Systematizing and Testing Explanations." *European Journal of Political Research*. 35.1: 123-160.

Pepinsky, Thomas B., R. William Liddle, and Saiful Mujani. 2012. "Testing Islam's Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia." *AJPS*. 56.3: 584-600.

### **Jan. 26. Partisanship Models of Vote Choice and Dealignment**

Clarke, Harold D., David Sanders, Marianne C. Stewart, and Paul Whiteley. 2009. "The American Voter's British Cousin." *Electoral Studies*. 28: 632-641.

Huber, John D., Georgia Kernell, and Eduardo L. Leoni. 2005. "Institutional Context, Cognitive Resources, and Party Attachments across Democracies." *Political Analysis*. 13: 365-386.

Miller, Arthur H. and Thomas F. Klobucar. 2000. "The Development of Party Identification in Post-Soviet Societies." *APSR*. 44.4: 667-686.

Baker, Andy, Barry Ames, and Lucio R. Renno. 2006. "Social Context and Campaign Volatility in New Democracies: Networks and Neighborhoods in Brazil's 2002 Elections." *AJPS*. 50.2: 382-399.

Dalton, Russell and Martin Wattenberg. 2000. *Parties without Partisans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 2 & 3. [CW]

### *Further Reading*

Baker, Andy, Anand E. Sokhey, Barry Ames, and Lucio R. Renno. 2016. "The Dynamics of Partisan Identification when Party Brands Change: The Case of the Workers Party in Brazil." *AJPS*. 78.1: 197-213.

Bartels, Larry. 2009. "Beyond the Running Tally: Partisan Bias in Political Perceptions." *Political Behavior*. 24.2: 117-150.

Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and E. Donald Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley. Ch. 6-7. [The classic]

Clarke, Harold D., David Sanders, Marianne C. Stewart, and Paul F. Whitely. 2004. *Political Choice in Britain*. New York: OUP. Ch. 1-3.

Franklin, Charles and John Jackson. 1983. "The Dynamics of Party Identification." *APSR*. 77:957-973.

MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson James A. Stimson. 1989. "Macropartisanship." *APSR*. 83.4: 1125-1142.

## **Feb 2. Proximity and Directional Voting**

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper Collins. Ch. 7-8 . [CW]

Rabinowitz, George and Stuart MacDonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *APSR*. 83.1: 93-121.

Iversen, Torben. 1994. "Political Leadership and Representation in West European Democracies: A Test of Three Models of Voting." *AJPS*. 38.1: 45-74.

Kedar, Orit. 2005. "When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections." *APSR*. 99.2: 185-99.

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

### ***Further Reading***

Kedar, Orit. 2009. *Voting for Policy, Not Parties: How Voters Compensate for Power Sharing*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Lacy, Dean and Philip Paolino. 2010. "Testing Proximity versus Directional Voting Using Experiments." *Electoral Studies*. 29.3: 460-471.

Lau, Richard and David Redlawsk. 1997. "Voting Correctly." *APSR*. 91.3: 585-598.

Macdonald, Stuart Elaine, George Rabinowitz, and Ola Listhaug 1998. "On Attempting to Rehabilitate the Proximity Model: Sometimes the Patient Just Can't Be Helped." *JOP*. 60.3: 653-90.

Merrill, Samuel and Bernard Grofman. 1999. *A Unified Theory of Voting: Directional and Proximity Spatial Models*. Cambridge UP.

## **Feb. 9. Strategic and Expressive Voting**

Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. New York: Cambridge UP. Ch. 1-7

Alvarez, R. Michael and Jonathan Nagler. 2000. "A New Approach for Modelling Strategic Voting in Multiparty Elections." *BJPS*. 30: 57-75.

Schuessler, Alexander. 2000. "Expressive Voting." *Rationality and Society*. 12.1. 87-119.

### ***Further Reading***

Blais, André, Richard Nadeau, Elisabeth Gidengil, and Neil Nevitte. 2001. "Measuring Strategic Voting in Multiparty Plurality Elections." *Electoral Studies*. 20: 343-352.

Brennan, Geoffrey, and Alan Hamlin. 1998. "Expressive Voting and Electoral Equilibrium." *Public Choice* 95.1: 149-75.

Gschwend, Thomas. 2007. "Ticket-Splitting and Strategic Voting under Mixed Electoral Rules: Evidence from Germany." *European Journal of Political Research*. 46.1: 1-23.

Hamlin, Alan, and Colin Jennings. 2011. "Expressive Political Behaviour: Foundations, Scope and Implications." *BJPS*. 41.3: 645-670.

Meirowitz, Adam and Joshua A. Tucker. 2007. "Run Boris Run: Strategic Voting in Sequential Elections." *JOP*. 69.1: 88-99.

Schuessler, Alexander. 2000. *The Logic of Expressive Choice*. Princeton UP.

## **Feb. 16. Economic Voting and Clarity of Responsibility**

Powell, G. Bingham and Guy D. Whitten. 1993. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context." *AJPS*. 37.2: 391-414.

Anderson, Christopher J. 2000. "Economic Voting and Political Context: A Comparative Perspective." *Electoral Studies*. 19.2/3:151-70.

Tucker, Joshua A. 2006. *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Czech Republic, 1990-1999*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 2. [CW]



Timothy Hellwig and David Samuels. 2008. "Electoral Accountability and the Variety of Democratic Regimes." *BJPS*. 38: 65-90.

Duch, Raymond M. and Randy Stevenson. 2010. "The Global Economy, Competency, and the Economic Vote." *Journal of Politics*. 72: 105-123.

### ***Further Reading***

Duch, Raymond and Randy Stevenson. 2008 *The Economic Vote: How Political and Economic Institutions Condition Election Results*. Cambridge: CUP.

Hellwig, Timothy. 2012. "Constructing Accountability: Party Position Taking and Economic Voting". *Comparative Political Studies*. 45: 91-118.

Lewis-Beck, Michael S. and Guy D. Whitten, eds. 2013. "Economics and Elections: Effects Deep and Wide." *Electoral Studies* Special Issue. 32.3: 391-562.

Nadeau, Richard, Richard G. Niemi, and Antoine Yoshinaka. 2002. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context across Time and Nations." *Electoral Studies* 21:403-23.

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.

Whitten, Guy D. and Harvey D. Palmer. 1999. "Cross-National Analyses of Economic Voting." *Electoral Studies* 18:49-67.

<b>Part 2: Party Behavior</b>
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### **Feb. 23. Why Parties?**

Aldrich, John. *Why Parties? A Second Look*. 2011. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Ch. 1-2. [CW]

Madison, James. *Federalist Paper 10*.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chap. 2. [CW]

Schlesinger, Joseph. 1984. "On the Theory of Party Organization." *Journal of Politics*. 46: 369-400.

Stokes, Susan. 1999. "Political Parties and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 243-267.

### ***Further Reading***

Gunther, Richard, José Ramon Montero, and Juan J. Linz, eds. 2002. *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lawson, Kay. 1980. "Political Parties and Linkage." In *Political Parties and Linkage: A Comparative Perspective*, Kay Lawson, ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lenin, Vladimir I. 1902. *What Is To Be Done?* New York: International Publishers.

### **March 2. Party-Voter Linkage**

Norris. *Democratic Phoenix*. Ch. 6-7.

Poguntke, Thomas, Susan E. Scarrow, Paul D. Webb. 2016. "Party Rules, Party Resources and the Politics of Parliamentary Democracies: How Parties Organize in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." *Party Politics*. 22.6: 661-678.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities." *CPS*. 33:6-7: 845-879.

Thachil, Tariq. 2014. "Elite Parties, Poor Voters: Theory and Evidence from India." *APSR*. 108.2: 454-477.

Lupu, Noam. 2014. "Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America." *World Politics*. 66.4: 561-602.

### ***Further Reading***

Dalton, Russell J., David M. Farrell, and Ian McAllister. 2011. *Political Parties and Democratic Linkage: How Parties Organize Democracy*. New York: OUP.

Luna, Juan Pablo. 2014. *Segmented Representation: Political Party Strategies in Unequal Democracies*. New York: OUP.

Lupu, Noam. 2016. *Party Brands in Crisis: Partisanship, Brand Dilution, and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America*. New York: CUP.

Thachil, Tariq. 2014. *Elite Parties, Poor Voters: How Social Services Win Votes in India*. New York: CUP.

**Mar. 9. Spring Break. No class.**

**Mar 16. Party Responsiveness: Policies and Preferences**

Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2004. "Understanding Change and Stability in Party Ideologies: Do Parties Respond to Public Opinion or Past Election Results?" *BJPS*. 34.4: 589-610.

Ezrow, Lawrence and Timothy Hellwig. 2014. "Responding to Voters or Responding to Markets? Political Parties and Public Opinion in an Era of Globalization." *International Studies Quarterly*. 58.4: 816-827.

Klüver, Heike and Jae-Jae Spoon. 2016. "Who Responds? Voters, Parties and Issue Attention." *British Journal of Political Science*. 46.3: 633-654.

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: 343-362.

Somer-Topcu, Zeynep. 2009. "Timely Decisions: The Effects of Past National Elections on Party Policy Change." *JOP*. 71.1: 238-248

***Further Reading***

Bevan, Shaun and Will Jennings. 2014. "Representation, Agendas and Institutions." *European Journal of Political Research*. 53.1: 37-56.

Böhmelt, Tobias, Lawrence Ezrow, Roni Lehrer, and Hugh Ward. 2016. "Party Policy Diffusion." *APSR*. 106.2: 397-410.

Ezrow, Lawrence, Catherine de Vries, Marco Steenbergen, and Erica Edwards. 2011. "Mean Voter Representation and Partisan Constituency Representation: Do Parties Respond to the Mean Voter Position or to Their Supporters?" *Party Politics*. 17.3: 275-301.

Hutter, Swen and Rens Vliegthart. 2016. "Who Responds to Protest? Protest Politics and Party Responsiveness in Western Europe." *Party Politics*. DOI: 10.1177/1354068816657375

Lehrer, Ron. 2012. "Intra-party Democracy and Party Responsiveness." *West European Politics*. 35.6: 1295-1319.

### **March 23: Issue Ownership, Campaigns, and Appeals**

Budge, Ian. 2015. "Issue Emphases, Saliency Theory and Issue Ownership: A Historical and Conceptual Analysis." *West European Politics*. 38.4: 761-777.

Hobolt, Sara B. and Catherine E. de Vries. 2015. "Issue Entrepreneurship and Multiparty Competition." *Comparative Political Studies*. 48.9: 1159-1185.

Somer-Topcu, Zeynep. 2015. "Everything to Everyone: The Electoral Consequence of the Broad Appeal Strategy in Europe." *AJPS*. 59.4: 841-854.

Rovny, Jan. 2012. "Who Emphasizes and Who Blurs? Party Strategies in Multidimensional Competition." *European Union Politics*. 13.2: 269-292.

Wagner, Markus and Thomas M. Meyer. 2014. "Which Issues Do Parties Emphasise? Saliency Strategies and Party Organisation in Multiparty Systems." *West European Politics*. 37.5: 1019-1045.

#### ***Further Reading***

Abou-Chadi, Tarik. 2016. "Niche Party Success and Mainstream Party Policy Shifts—How Green and Radical Right Parties Differ in Their Impact." *BJPS*. 46.2: 417-436.

Bélanger, Eric and Bonnie M. Meguid. 2008. "Issue Saliency, Issue Ownership, and Issue-Based Vote Choice." *Electoral Studies*. 27.3: 477-91.

De Sio, Lorenzo and Till Weber. 2014. "Issue Yield: A Model of Party Strategy in Multidimensional Space." *APSR*. 108.4: 870-885.

Lefevre, Jonas, Anke Tresch, and Stefann Walgrave, eds. 2015. "Issue Ownership: How the Public Links Parties to Issues and Why It Matters." *West European Politics* Special Issue. 38.4: 755-932.

Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *AJPS*. 40: 825-50.

Spoon, Jae-Jae, Sara B. Hobolt, Catherine E. de Vries. 2014. "Going Green: Explaining Issue Competition on the Environment." *European Journal of Political Research*. 53.2: 363-380.

Walgrave, Stefaan, Jonas Lefevre, and Anke Tresch. 2012. "The Associative Dimension of Issue Ownership." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 76.4: 771-782.

### **March 30. Clientalism and Vote Buying**

Stokes, Susan. 2005. "Perverse Accountability. A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina." *APSR*. 99.3: 315-325.

Nichter, Simeon. 2008. "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and Secret Ballots." *APSR*. 102.1: 19-31.

Sadanandan, Anoop. 2012. "Patronage and Decentralization: The Politics of Poverty in India." *Comparative Politics*. 44.2: 211-228.

Chang, Eric C. C. 2005. "Electoral Incentives for Political Corruption under Open-List Proportional Representation." *Journal of Politics*. 67.3: 716-730.

Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2007. "Meet the New Boss, Same as the Old Boss? The Evolution of Political Clientalism in Africa." In Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson, eds. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies*. New York: CUP. [CW]

#### ***Further Reading***

Bratton, Michael. 2008. "Vote Buying and Violence in Nigerian Electoral Campaigns" *Electoral Studies*. 27.4: 621-632.

Brusco, Valeria, Marcelo Nazareno and Susan C. Stokes. 2004. "Vote Buying in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review*. 39.2: 66-88.

Gans-Morse, Jordan, Sebastian Mazzuca, and Simeon Nichter. 2013. "Varieties of Clientelism: Machine Politics during Elections." *AJPS*. 58.2: 415-432.

Golden, Miriam and Eric C.C. Chang. 2003. "Electoral Connections: The Effects of the Personal Vote on Political Patronage, Bureaucracy and Legislation in Postwar Italy." *BJPS*. 33.2.

Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven Wilkinson, eds. 2007. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies. Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Larreguy, Horacio, John Marshall, and Pablo Querubín. 2016. "Parties, Brokers, and Voter Mobilization: How Turnout Buying Depends upon the Party's Capacity to Monitor Brokers." *APSR*. 110.1: 160-179.

Levitsky, Steven R. and Lucan A. Way. 2012. "Beyond Patronage: Violent Struggle, Ruling Party Cohesion, and Authoritarian Durability." *Perspectives on Politics*. 10.4: 869-889.

### **April 6. MPSA. No class. Work on research designs**

### **April 13. Electoral Rules: Types, Origins, and Outcomes**

Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. New York: CUP. Ch. 1-3. [CW]

Boix, Carles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *APSR*. 93.3: 609-624.

Cusack, Thomas, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems." *APSR*. 101.3: 373-91.

McElwain, Kenneth Mori. 2008. "Manipulating Electoral Rules to Manufacture Single-Party Dominance." *AJPS*. 52.1: 32-47.

#### ***Further Reading***

Bawn, Kathleen. 1993. "The Logic of Institutional Preferences: The German Electoral Law as a Social Choice Outcome." *AJPS*. 37.4: 965-89.

Benoit, Kenneth and John W. Schiemann. 2001. "Institutional Choice in New Democracies." *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 13.2: 153-182.

Calvo, Ernesto. 2009. "The Competitive Road to Proportional Representation: Partisan Biases and Electoral Regime Change under Increasing Party Competition." *World Politics*. 61.2: 254-295.

Duverger, Maurice. 1963 [1951]. *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*. New York: John Wiley and Sons. Pgs. 206-255.

Ezrow, Lawrence. 2008. "Parties' Policy Programmes and the Dog that Didn't Bark: No Evidence that Proportional Systems Promote Extreme Party Positioning." *BJPS*. 38.3: 479-497.

Folke, Olle, Torsten Persson, and Johanna Rickne. 2016. "The Primary Effect: Preference Votes and Political Promotions." *APSR*. 110.3: 559-578.

Mainwaring, Scott. 1991. "Politicians, Parties, and Electoral Systems: Brazil in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics*. 24.1: 21-43.

Mozaffar, Shaheen, James R. Scarritt, and Glen Galaich. 2003. "Electoral Institutions, Ethnopolitical Cleavages, and Party Systems in Africa's Emerging Democracies." *APSR*. 97.3: 379-390.

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

Samuels, David. J. 1999. "Incentives to Cultivate a Party Vote in Candidate-Centric Electoral Systems: Evidence from Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies*. 32.4: 487-518.

Taagepera, Rein and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1989. *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. New Haven: Yale UP.

**April 20 (plus another 1-2 additional days TBD).**

Student Presentations

**\*\*Papers due April 24<sup>th</sup> @ noon\*\***