

## Parties and Elections in Comparative Perspective

Winter Term 2019/2020

Time: Wednesday, 10:00 AM – 11:30 AM  
Location: IBW Gebäude, Seminar Room 3.40

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Office Hours: Wednesday, 1:00 PM – 3:00 PM and by appointment

**Overview.** What factors influence vote choice? Why do voters around the world face such different options at the ballot box? Do campaigns matter? Do elections? In this course, we will explore the social, political and institutional determinants of voting behaviour, and of variation in the number and types of political parties that exist. We will also discuss the different electoral strategies available to politicians around the world – from ‘priming’ to pork – and discuss their effectiveness and prevalence in different contexts. Examples will be drawn from both developed and developing countries, from established democracies as well as hybrid regimes.

**Prerequisites.** There are no formal prerequisites for this class, but a good foundational knowledge of general political science concepts, theories, and basic quantitative and qualitative methods would be advantageous. Moreover, students should be able to understand and express themselves in English, as this will be the classroom language – though perfection is neither expected nor required. The term paper should also be written in English.

**Assessment.** Your grade in this class will be based on (i) in-class participation (20%) and (ii) a term paper of not more than 10,000 words on one (or more) topics covered in the class (80%).

*Participation.* As this is a graduate seminar, and not a lecture, the success of the seminar will hinge entirely on your active participation in class discussion. In addition, participants will be asked to lead discussion for one session over the course of the semester (with potentially more than one participant charged with leading the discussion in some sessions). Discussion leaders should facilitate discussion of the compulsory readings for the week by (i) identifying key themes and concept; (ii) guiding class discussion of the strengths and shortcomings of the various readings, and (iii) encouraging reflection on how the readings relate to one another (or even to topics covered in earlier weeks). If more than one student is responsible for leading discussion in a particular week, each will receive a separate grade. Your participation grade based will be based on the quality of the discussion questions you propose and how well you are able to facilitate discussion, as well as evidence of engagement throughout the seminar. I will allocate discussion responsibilities to seminar participants shortly after the first session (though you are free to coordinate an exchange with another participant – just let me know prior to the session).

*Term paper.* You will be expected to submit a one-page proposal to the instructor outlining the (i) research question/puzzle, (ii) theory and/or hypotheses and (iii) research design for your term paper by 23:55 CET on 13 December 2019. The paper should be submitted electronically

in PDF format by email to the instructor by 23:55 CET on 28 February 2020. References and appendices will not count towards the word limit. Late submissions will be penalised unless previously arranged with the instructor. Paper submissions will be checked for plagiarism.

**Readings.** Readings will be made available to enrolled students via ILIAS, and students will be expected to have completed the week's compulsory readings before each session. We will read excerpts from classic texts, as well as more recent studies from the research frontier. You will be expected to read about 100 pages of material per week. Further reading is also suggested (in chronological order) for participants who may want to deepen their knowledge of a particular topic, especially if considering writing a term paper on that topic.

### **Key Dates.**

- 9 October 2019: first session
- 13 December 2019: deadline for one-page proposal (23:55 CET)
- 29 January 2020: last session
- 28 February 2020: deadline for term paper (23:55 CET)

## **Course Schedule**

### **9 October: Why Elections?**

- Bernard Manin, Adam Przeworski and Susan C. Stokes. 1999. 'Elections and representation,' in Manin et al. (eds.), *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*, pp. 29-54.
- Adam Przeworski. 1999. 'Minimalist conception of democracy: a defense,' in Shapiro and Hacker-Cordón (eds.), *Democracy's Value*, pp. 23-55.
- G. Bingham Powell Jr. 2019. 'Elections and ideological congruence in parliamentary democracies,' in *Ideological Representation: Achieved and Astray*, pp. 1-30.
- Carl Henrik Knutsen. 2012. 'Democracy and economic growth: A survey of arguments and results.' *International Area Studies Review* 15(4): 393-415.

## Part I. Institutions

### **16 October: Electoral Rules & Party Systems**

- Arendt Lijphart. 1990. 'The political consequences of electoral laws, 1945-1985.' *American Political Science Review* 84(2): 481-496.
- Gary W. Cox. 1997. *Making Votes Count*, chs. 2, 3 and 7 (pp. 13-68, 139-148).
- Octavio Amorim Neto and Gary W. Cox. 1997. 'Electoral institutions, cleavage structures, and the number of parties.' *American Journal of Political Science* 41(1): 149-74.

*Further reading (including on the origins of electoral institutions):*

- Rein Taagepera and Matthew S. Shugart. 1989. *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*.
- Carles Boix. 1999. 'Setting the rules of the game: The choice of electoral systems in advanced democracies.' *American Political Science Review* 93(3): 609-624.
- Robert Moser. 1999. 'Electoral systems and the number of parties in postcommunist systems.' *World Politics* 51(3): 359-384.

- Kenneth Benoit. 2004. 'Models of electoral system change.' *Electoral Studies* 23(3): 363-389.
- Robert Moser and Ethan Scheiner. 2004. 'Mixed electoral systems and electoral system effects: controlled comparison and cross-national analysis.' *Electoral Studies* 23(4): 575-599.
- Giovanni Sartorio. 2005. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*.
- Thomas R. Cusack, Torben Iversen and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic interests and the origins of electoral systems." *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 373-391.
- Ernesto Calvo. 2009. 'The competitive road to proportional representation: Partisan biases and electoral regime change under increasing party competition.' *World Politics* 61(2): 254-295.

### **23 October: Presidentialism, Parliamentarism and Parties**

- Matthew S. Shugart. 2008. 'Comparative executive-legislative relations', in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*, pp. 344-365.
- David J. Samuels and Matthew S. Shugart. 2010. *Presidents, Parties, and Prime Ministers: How the Separation of Powers Affects Party Organization and Behavior*, pp. 22-61, 123-161.

#### *Further reading:*

- John D. Huber. 1996. 'The vote of confidence in parliamentary democracies.' *American Political Science Review* 90(2): 269-282.
- Arendt Lijphart. 2012 [1999]. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*, pp. 105-129.
- Alan Siaroff. 2003. 'Comparative presidencies: The inadequacy of the presidential, semi-presidential and parliamentary distinction.' *European Journal of Political Research* 42(3): 287-312.
- John M. Carey. 2007. 'Competing principals, political institutions, and party unity in legislative voting.' *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1): 92-107.
- Margit Tavits. 2009. *Presidents with Prime Ministers: Do Direct Elections Matter?*
- Samuels and Shugart. 2010. *Presidents, Parties, and Prime Ministers*, remaining chapters.

### **30 October: Party System Nationalisation**

- Pradeep Chhibber and Kenneth Kollman. 1998. 'Party aggregation and the number of parties in India and the United States.' *American Political Science Review* 92(2): 329-342.
- Allen Hicken. 2009. *Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies*, pp. 26-85.
- Scott Morgenstern and Stephen M. Swindle. 2005. 'Are politics local? An analysis of voting patterns in 23 democracies.' *Comparative Political Studies* 38(2): 143-70.

#### *Further reading:*

- Gary W. Cox. 1999. 'Electoral rules and electoral coordination.' *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 145-161.
- Brian J. Gaines. 1999. 'Duverger's law and the meaning of Canadian exceptionalism.' *Comparative Political Studies* 32(7): 835-861.
- Daniele Caramani. 2004. *The Nationalization of Politics: The Formation of National Electorates and Party Systems in Western Europe*.

- Pradeep Chhibber and Kenneth Kollman. 2004. *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India and United States*.
- Dawn Brancati. 2007. 'The origins and strengths of regional parties.' *British Journal of Political Science* 38(1): 135-159.
- Scott Morgenstern, Stephen M. Swindle and Andrea Castagnola. 2009. 'Party nationalization and institutions.' *Journal of Politics* 71(4): 1322-1341.
- Imke Harbers. 2010. 'Decentralization and the development of nationalized party systems in new democracies: Evidence from Latin America.' *Comparative Political Studies* 43(5): 606-627.

## **6 November: Parties and Elections under Authoritarianism**

- Jennifer Gandhi and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. 'Elections under authoritarianism.' *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 403-422.
- Ellen Lust-Okar. 2006. 'Elections under authoritarianism: preliminary lessons from Jordan.' *Democratization* 13(3): 456-71.
- Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski. 2006. 'Cooperation, cooptation and rebellion under dictatorship.' *Economics and Politics* 18(1): 1-26.
- Carles Boix and Milan Svobik. 2013. 'The foundations of limited authoritarian government: Institutions, commitment and power-sharing in dictatorships.' *Journal of Politics* 75(2): 300-316.

### *Further reading:*

- Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. 2002. 'The rise of competitive authoritarianism.' *Journal of Democracy* 9(3): 112-26.
- Andreas Schedler. 2002. 'Elections without democracy: The menu of manipulation.' *Journal of Democracy*. 13(2): 36-50.
- Stephen Haber. 2006. 'Authoritarian government,' in the *Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*, pp. 693-707.
- Beatriz Magaloni. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico* (esp. Introduction and ch. 1).
- Jason Brownlee. 2007. *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*.
- Jennifer Gandhi. 2008. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*, pp. 73-101 (ch. 3).
- Kenneth McElwain. 2008. 'Manipulating electoral rules to manufacture single party dominance.' *American Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 32-47.
- Roger B. Myerson. 2008. 'The autocrat's credibility problem and foundations of the constitutional state.' *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 125-139.
- Edmund Malesky and Paul Schuler. 2011. 'The single-party dictator's dilemma: information in elections without opposition.' *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36(4): 491-530.
- Milan Svobik. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*, pp. 1-52, 85-100, 110-117.
- Melanie Manion. 2017. "'Good types" in authoritarian elections: The selectoral connection in Chinese local congresses.' *Comparative Political Studies* 50(3): 362-394.

## Part II. Values and Identities

### **13 November: The 'Freezing Hypothesis' & Its Critics**

- Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan. 1967. 'Cleavage structures, party systems and voter alignments: an introduction' in *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*.
- Ronald Inglehart and Jacques-René Rabier. 1986. 'Political realignment in advanced industrial society: From class-based politics to quality-of-life politics.' *Government and Opposition* 21(4): 456-479.
- Herbert Kitschelt. 1988. 'Left-libertarian parties: Explaining innovation in competitive party systems.' *World Politics* 40(2): 194-234.
- Peter Mair. 1993. 'Myths of electoral change and the survival of traditional parties.' *European Journal of Political Research* 24: 121-133.

#### *Further reading:*

- Ronald Inglehart. 1971. 'The silent revolution in Europe.' *American Political Science Review*.
- Herbert Kitschelt. 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*.
- Hanspeter Kriesi. 1998. 'The transformation of cleavage politics.' *European Journal of Political Research* 33(2): 165-185.
- Nick Sitter. 2002. 'Cleavages, party strategy and party system change in Europe, East and West', in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 3(3): 425-451.
- Mark N. Franklin, Thomas T. Mackie and Henry Valen. 2009. *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*.
- Hanspeter Kriesi. 2010. 'Restructuration of partisan politics and the emergence of a new cleavage based on values.' *West European Politics* 3: 673-685.

### **20 November: Party Attachments and Partisanship**

- Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds). 2000. *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, pp. 19-61.
- John D. Huber, Georgis Kernell and Eduardo L. Leoni. 2005. 'Institutional context, cognitive resources and party attachments across democracies.' *Political Analysis* 13(4): 365-386.
- Jeremy J. Albright. 2009. 'Does political knowledge erode party attachments? A review of the cognitive mobilization thesis.' *Electoral Studies* 28(2): 248-260.

#### *Further reading:*

- Philip Converse. 1969. 'Of time and partisan stability.' *Comparative Political Studies* 2(2): 139-171.
- William Shively. 1979. 'The development of party identification among adults: Exploration of a functional model.' *American Political Science Review* 73(4): 1039-1054.
- Morris Fiorina. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*, chs. 4-5.
- Arthur Miller and Thomas Klobucar. 2000. 'The development of party identification in post-Soviet societies.' *American Journal of Political Science* 44(4): 667-686.

- André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, Richard Nadeau and Neil Nevitte. 2001. 'Measuring party identification: Britain, Canada and the United States.' *Political Behavior* 23(1): 5-22.
- Christopher Achen. 2002. 'Parental socialization and rational party identification.' *Political Behavior* 24(2): 151-170.
- Donald P. Green, Bradley Palmquist and Eric Schickler. 2004. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*.
- Noam Lupu. 2015. 'Party polarization and mass partisanship: A comparative perspective.' 37(2): 331-356.
- Andy Baker, 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.' *Journal of Politics* 78(1): 197-213.
- Elizabeth Carlson. 2016. 'Finding partisanship where we least expect it: Evidence of partisan bias in a new African democracy.' *Political Behavior* 38(1): 129-154.
- Michael Barber and Jeremy C. Pope. 2019. 'Does party trump ideology? Disentangling party and ideology in America.' *American Political Science Review* 113(1): 38-54.

## 27 November: Class Dealignment in Industrial Democracies

- Martin Elff. 2007. 'Social structure and electoral behavior in comparative perspective: The decline of social cleavages in Western Europe revisited.' *Perspectives on Politics* 5(2): 277-294.
- Robin Best. 2011. 'The declining electoral relevance of traditional cleavage groups.' *European Political Science Review* 3(2): 279-300.
- Geoffrey Evans and James Tilley. 2012. 'The depoliticization of inequality and redistribution: Explaining the decline of class voting.' *Journal of Politics* 74(4): 963-976.
- Jamie Furlong. 2019. 'The changing electoral geography of England and Wales: Varieties of "left-behindedness".' *Political Geography*, in press.

### Further reading:

- George Orwell. 1937. *The Road to Wigan Pier*, chs. 8-10.
- Larry M. Bartels. *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*.
- David Rueda. 2005. 'Insider-outsider politics in industrialized democracies: The challenge to Social Democratic parties.' *American Political Science Review* 99(1): 61-74.
- Daniel Oesch. 2008. 'The changing shape of class voting: An individual-level analysis of party support in Britain, Germany and Switzerland.' *European Societies* 10(3): 329-355.
- Herbert Kitschelt and Philipp Rehm. 2014. 'Occupations as a site of political preference formation.' *Comparative Political Studies* 47(12): 1670-1706.
- Geoffrey Evans and James Tilley. 2017. *The New Politics of Class: The Political Exclusion of the British Working Class*.
- Jane Gingrich. 2017. 'A new progressive coalition? The European left in a time of change.' *Political Quarterly* 88(1): 39-51.
- Tom O'Grady. 2019. 'Careerists versus coal-miners: Welfare reforms and the substantive representation of social groups in the British Labour party.' *Comparative Political Studies* 52(4): 544-78.

#### 4 December: The Rise of the Radical Right

- Matt Golder. 2016. 'Far right parties in Europe.' *Annual Review of Political Science* 19: 477-497.
- Matt Golder. 2003. 'Explaining variation in the success of extreme right parties in Western Europe.' 36(4): 432-466.
- Bonnie Meguid. 2005. 'Competition between unequals: The role of mainstream party strategy in niche party success.' *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 346-359
- Geertje Lucassen and Marcel Lubbers. 2012. 'Who fears what? Explaining far-right-wing preference in Europe by distinguishing perceived cultural and economic ethnic threats.' *Comparative Political Studies* 45(5): 547-574.

#### *Further reading:*

- Cas Mudde. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*.
- Elisabeth Ivarsflaten. 2008. 'What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe? Re-examining mobilization models in seven successful cases.' *Comparative Political Studies* 41(1): 3-23.
- Rafaela Dancygier. 2010. *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*.
- Lena Bustikova. 2014. 'Revenge of the radical right.' *Comparative Political Studies* 47: 1738-1765.
- Sergi Pardos Prado. 2015. 'How can mainstream parties prevent niche party success?'
- Daniel Oesch and Linn Rennwald. 2018. 'Electoral competition in Europe's new tripolar political space: Class voting for the left, centre-right and radical right.' *European Journal of Political Research* 57(4): 783-807.
- Cas Mudde. 2019. *The Far Right Today*.

#### 11 December: Ethnic Parties and Ethnic Voting

- Kanchan Chandra. 2011. 'What is an ethnic party?' *Party Politics* 17(2): 151-169.
- Daniel Posner. 2004. 'The political salience of cultural difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi.' *American Political Science Review* 98(4): 529-545.
- Nahomi Ichino and Noah L. Nathan. 2013. 'Crossing the line: Local ethnic geography and voting in Ghana.' *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 344-361.
- John Huber and Pavithra Suryanarayan. 2016. 'Ethnic inequality and the ethnification of political parties: Evidence from India.' *World Politics* 68(1): 149-188.

#### *Further reading:*

- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*, pp. 255-279.
- Rogers Brubaker. 2002. 'Ethnicity without groups.' *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 43(2): 163-189.
- Kanchan Chandra. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*.
- Henry Hale. 2004. 'Explaining ethnicity.' *Comparative Political Studies* 37(4): 458-485.
- Daniel Posner. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa* (esp. chs. 4, 5 and 8).
- Kanchan Chandra. 2006. 'What is ethnic identity and does it matter?' *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 397-424.
- Karen E. Ferree. 2006. 'Explaining South Africa's racial census.' *Journal of Politics* 68(4): 803-815.

- Cedric de Leon, Manali Desai and Cihan Tuğal. 2009. 'Political articulation: Parties and the constitution of cleavages in the United States, India and Turkey.' *Sociological Theory* 27(3): 193-219.
- Thad Dunning and Lauren Harrison. 2010. 'Cross-cutting cleavages and ethnic voting: An experimental study of cousinage in Mali.' *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 21-39.
- John Huber. 2012. 'Measuring ethnic voting: Do proportional electoral laws politicize ethnicity?' *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4): 986-1001.

### Part III. How to Win an Election

#### **18 December: Parties and Party Competition**

- Susan C. Stokes. 1999. 'Political parties and democracy.' *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 243-67.
- Anthony Downs. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, pp. 96-141 (chs. 7-8).
- Donald Stokes. 1963. 'Spatial models of party competition.' *American Political Science Review* 57(2): 368-377.
- David Sanders, Harold D. Clarke, Marianne C. Stewart and Paul Whiteley. 2011. 'Downs, Stokes and the dynamics of electoral choice.' *British Journal of Political Science* 41(2): 287-314.

#### *Further reading:*

- Andrew Hindmoor. 2005. 'Reading Downs: New Labour and *An Economic Theory of Democracy*.' *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 7(3): 402-17.
- Roni Lehrer. 2012. 'Intra-party democracy and party responsiveness.' *West European Politics* 35(6): 1295-1319.
- Lawrence Ezrow 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.
- Lorenzo de Sio and Till Weber. 2014. 'Issue yield: A model of party strategy in multidimensional space.' *American Political Science Review* 104(4): 870-885.
- Ian Budge. 2015. 'Issue emphasis, saliency theory and issue ownership: A historical and conceptual analysis.' *West European Politics* 38(4): 761-777.
- Sara B. Hobolt and Catherine E. de Vries. 2015. 'Issue entrepreneurship and multiparty competition.' *Comparative Political Studies* 48(9): 1159-1185.
- Tobias Böhmelt, Lawrence Ezrow, Roni Lehrer and Hugh Ward. 2016. 'Party policy diffusion.' *American Political Science Review* 110(2): 397-410.
- Heike Klüver and Jae-Jae Spoon. 2016. 'Who responds? Voters, parties and issue attention.' *British Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 633-654.

#### **8 January: Theories of Voting Behaviour**

- George Rabinowitz and Stuart MacDonald. 1989. 'A directional theory of issue voting.' *American Political Science Review* 83(1): 93-121.
- Torben Iversen. 1994. 'Political leadership and representation in West European democracies.' *American Journal of Political Science* 38(1): 45-74.
- Dean Lacy and Philip Paulino. 2010. 'Testing proximity versus directional voting using experiments.' *Electoral Studies* 29(3): 460-471.



- Till Weber. 2015. 'Synergy in spatial models of voting: How critical cases show that proximity, direction and discounting are friends, not foes.' *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 25(4): 504-529.

*Further reading:*

- Alexander Schuessler. 2000. 'Expressive voting.' *Rationality and Society* 12(1): 87-119.
- André Blais, Richard Nadeau, Elisabeth Gidengil and Neil Nevitte. 2001. 'The formation of party preferences: Testing proximity and directional models.' *European Journal of Political Research* 40: 81-91.
- Orit Kedar. 2005. 'When moderate voters prefer extreme parties: Policy balancing in parliamentary elections.' *American Political Science Review* 99(2): 185-99.
- R. Michael Alvarez, Frederick J. Boehmke and Jonathan Nagler. 2006. 'Strategic voting in British elections.' *Electoral Studies* 25(1): 1-19.
- Thomas Gschwend. 2007. 'Ticket-splitting and strategic voting under mixed electoral rules: Evidence from Germany.' *European Journal of Political Research* 46(1): 1-23.
- Alan Hamlin and Colin Jennings. 2011. 'Expressive political behaviour: Foundations, scope and implications.' *British Journal of Political Science* 41(3): 645-670.

## **15 January: Campaigns and Persuasion**

- Gary C. Jacobson. 2015. 'How do campaigns matter?' *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 31-47.
- Joshua Kalla and David E. Broockman. 2018. 'The minimal persuasive effects of campaign contact in general elections: Evidence from 49 field experiments.' *American Political Science Review* 112(1): 148-166.
- Vincent Pons. 2018. 'Will a five-minute discussion change your mind? A countrywide experiment on voter choice in France.' *American Economic Review* 108(6): 1322-1363.
- Yosef Bhatti, Jens Olav Dahlgaard, Jonas Hedegaard Hansen and Kasper M. Hansen. 2019. 'Is door-to-door canvassing effective in Europe? Evidence from a meta-study across six European countries.' *British Journal of Political Science* 49(1): 279-290.

*Further reading:*

- Kevin Arceneaux. 2006. 'Do campaigns help voters learn? A cross-national analysis.' *British Journal of Political Science* 36(1): 159-173.
- Gabriel S. Lenz. 2009. 'Learning and opinion change, not priming: reconsidering the priming hypothesis.' *American Journal of Political Science* 53(4): 821-837.
- Alan S. Gerber, James G. Gimpel, Donald P. Green and Daron W. 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(1): 135-150.
- Ryan D. Enos and Eitan D. Hersch. 2015. 'Party activists as campaign advertisers: The ground campaign as a principal-agent problem.' *American Political Science Review* 109(2): 252-278.
- Donald P. Green, Mary C. McGrath and Peter M. Aronow. 2013. 'Field experiments and the study of voter turnout.' *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 23(1): 27-48.
- Michael Tesler. 2015. 'Priming predispositions and changing policy positions: An account of when mass opinion is primed or changed.' *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4): 806-824.

- Florian Foos and Eline A. de Rooij. 2017. 'The role of partisan cues in voter mobilization campaigns: Evidence from a randomized field experiment.' *Electoral Studies* 45(1): 63-74.
- Florian Foos and Peter John. 2018. 'Parties are no civic charities: Voter contact and the changing partisan composition of the electorate.' *Political Science Research and Methods* 6(2): 283-298.

## **22 January: The Economic Vote**

- G. Bingham Powell and Guy D. Whitten. 1993. 'A cross-national analysis of economic voting: Taking account of the political context.' *American Journal of Political Science* 37(3): 391-414.
- Raymond Duch and Randy Stevenson. 2006. 'Assessing the magnitude of the economic vote over time and across nations.' *Electoral Studies* 25(3): 528-547.
- Timothy Hellwig and David Samuels. 2008. 'Electoral accountability and the variety of democratic regimes.' *British Journal of Political Science* 38(1): 65-90.
- Raymond Duch and Randy Stevenson. 2010. 'The global economy, competency and the economic vote.' *Journal of Politics* 72: 105-123.

### *Further reading:*

- Raymond Duch, Harvey Palmer and Christopher Anderson. 2000. 'Heterogeneity in perceptions of national economic conditions.' *American Journal of Political Science* 44(4): 635-652.
- Raymond Duch. 2001. 'A developmental model of heterogeneous economic voting in new democracies.' *American Political Science Review* 95(4): 895-910.
- James Tilley and Sara B. Hobolt. 2011. 'Is the government to blame? An experimental test of how partisanship shapes perceptions of performance and responsibility.' *Journal of Politics* 73(2): 316-330.
- Austin Hart. 2013. 'Can candidates activate or deactivate the economic vote? Evidence from two Mexican elections.' *Journal of Politics* 75(4): 1051-1063.
- Matthew M. Singer and Ryan E. Carlin. 2013. 'Context counts: The election cycle, development, and the nature of economic voting.' *Journal of Politics* 75(3): 730-742.
- Andrew Healy and Gabriel S. Lenz. 2017. 'Presidential voting and the local economy: Evidence from two population-based data sets.' *Journal of Politics* 79(4): 1419-1432.

## **29 January: Electoral Accountability in Poor or New Democracies**

- Allen Hicken. 2011. 'Clientelism.' *Annual Review of Political Science* 14: 289-310.
- Philip Keefer. 2007. 'Clientelism, credibility and the policy choices of young democracies.' *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 804-821.
- Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro. 2012. 'What wins votes: Why some politicians opt out of clientelism.' *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3): 568-583.
- Robin Harding. 2015. 'Attribution and accountability: Voting for roads in Ghana.' *World Politics* 67(4): 656-689.

### *Further reading:*

- Guillermo O'Donnell. 1998. 'Horizontal accountability in new democracies.' *Journal of Democracy* 9(3): 112-126.

- Timothy Besley and Robin Burgess. 2002. 'The political economy of government responsiveness: Theory and evidence from India.' *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117(4): 1415-1451.
- Anandi Mani and Sharun Mukand. 2007. 'Democracy, visibility and public good provision.' *Journal of Development Economics* 83(2): 506-529.
- Kate Baldwin. 2013. 'Why vote with the chief? Political connections and public goods provision in Zambia.' *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 794-809.
- Tariq Thachil. 2014. 'Elite parties and poor voters: Theory and evidence from India.' *American Political Science Review* 108(2): 454-477.
- Adam M. Auerbach. 2016. 'Clients and communities: The political economy of party network organization and development in India's urban slums.' *World Politics* 68(1): 111-148.
- Rabia Malik. 2019. 'Transparency, elections and Pakistani politicians' tax compliance.' *Comparative Political Studies*, forthcoming.