

## 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: Monday, 12:00 - 13:30, Autumn 2015.

Room: B6, A102

Office hours: Wednesday 11:00-12:00, or by appointment.

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

### Course Outline

Week 1 (7 Sept)	Introduction
Week 2 (14 Sept)	Electoral systems
Week 3 (21 Sept)	Turnout
Week 4 (28 Sept)	Biology of voting
Week 5 (5 Oct)	Economics and voting
Week 6 (12 Oct)	Clarity of responsibility
Week 7 (19 Oct)	Media and campaigns
Week 8 (26 Oct)	Party leadership
Week 9 (2 Nov)	Elections in partial and non-democracies
Week 10 (9 Nov)	Elections in times of war and terrorism
Week 11 (16 Nov)	Second-order elections
Week 12 (23 Nov)	Referendums
Week 13 (30 Nov)	Forecasting
Week 14 (7 Nov)	Student presentations of final papers

There are many other topics that could be covered during the course, such as primary elections, leadership elections, split-ticket voting, incumbency, corruption, finances of elections/parties, small parties/independent candidates, gender differences, electoral accountability, the timing of elections, geography of voting, electoral reform, electoral cycles, political advertising, partisanship, social class, issue voting, rational voting, strategic voting, social networks and many more possible topics. If the majority of students would prefer another relevant topic or topics than those covered above we can change the module

accordingly after the first class. Therefore, until after our first meeting the substantive content of the syllabus could change.

### **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.

#### 2. Case studies (Pass/Fail)

Choose a country and outline 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), 16 October 2015.

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 Tuesday (noon), 1 December 2015.

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 for your research question.

The paper is due at 12:00 (noon) on Friday, 8 January 2016. 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 (14 September): Electoral systems

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

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.

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.

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.

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 (21 September): Turnout**

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.

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.

Gray, Mark & Miki Caul. 2000. Declining voter turnout in advanced industrialized democracies, 1950 to 1997. *Comparative Political Studies* 33: 1091-1122.

#### *Recommended:*

Clarke, Harold, David Sanders, Marianne Stewart & Paul Whiteley. 2009. Voting and political participation. In *Performance Politics and the British Voter*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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 & Sara B. Hobolt. 2011. The legacy of lethargy: How elections to the European Parliament depress turnout. *Electoral Studies* 30(1): 67-76.

Gerber, Alan, Gregory Huber, David Doherty & Conor Dowling. Forthcoming. Why People Vote: Estimating the Social Returns to Voting. *British Journal of Political Science*.

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

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

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.

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

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 (28 September): 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:*

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 5 (5 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*.

Jansen, Giedo, Geoff Evans & Nan Dirk de Graaf. 2013. Class voting and Left–Right party positions: A comparative study of 15 Western democracies, 1960–2005. *Social Science Research* 42: 376-400.

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.

*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.

Duch, Ray & Randy Stevenson. 2008. *The Economic Vote: How Political and Economic Institutions Condition Election Results*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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.

Nieuwbeerta, Paul & Nan Dirk De Graaf. 1999. Traditional Class Voting in Twenty Postwar Societies. In Geoff Evans ed. *The End of Class Politics?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 25-55.

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

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 6 (12 October): Clarity of responsibility**

Alcañiz, Isabella & Timothy Hellwig. 2011. Who's to Blame? The Distribution of Responsibility in Developing Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science* 41(2): 389-411.

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.

Tilley, James & Sara Binzer Hobolt. 2011. Is the Government to Blame? An Experimental Test of How Partisanship Shapes Perceptions of Performance and Responsibility. *Journal of Politics* 73: 316-330.

*Recommended:*

Hobolt, Sara Binzer & James Tilley. 2014. Who Is Responsible? In *Blaming Europe?: Responsibility Without Accountability in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 8-28.

Hobolt, Sara Binzer & James Tilley. 2014. Who's in Charge? How Voters Attribute Responsibility in the European Union. *Comparative Political Studies* 47: 795-819.

Hobolt, Sara Binzer, James Tilley & Jill Wittrock. 2013. Listening to the Government: How Information Shapes Responsibility Attributions. *Political Behavior* 35: 153-174.

Hobolt, Sara Binzer, James Tilley & Susan Banducci. 2013. Clarity of Responsibility: How Government Cohesion Conditions Performance Voting. *European Journal of Political Research* 52: 164-187.

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.

Royed, Terry, Kevin Leyden & Stephen Borrelli. 2000. Is 'Clarity of Responsibility' Important for Economic Voting? Revisiting Powell and Whitten's Hypothesis. *British Journal of Political Science* 30: 669-698.

Rudolph, Thomas. 2003. Who's Responsible for the Economy? The Formation and Consequences of Responsibility Attributions. *American Journal of Political Science* 47: 698-713.

Tillman, Erik. 2008. Economic Judgments, Party Choice, and Voter Abstention in Cross-National Perspective. *Comparative Political Studies* 41: 1290-1309.

Wilson, Traci & Sara Hobolt. 2015. Allocating Responsibility in Multilevel Government Systems: Voter and Expert Attributions in the European Union. *Journal of Politics* 77(1): 102-113.

**Week 7 (19 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. 2015. The Timeline of Election Campaigns: A Comparative Perspective. *American Journal of Political Science*.

*Recommended:*

Ansolabehere, Stephen & Shanto Iyengar. 1995. *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements shrink the electorate*, New York: Free Press, 1995.

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.



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.

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

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.

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. Forthcoming. Constituency candidates in comparative perspective – How personalized are constituency campaigns, why, and does it matter? *Electoral Studies*.

### **Week 8 (26 October): Party leadership**

Costa, Patrício & Frederico Ferreira da Silva. Forthcoming. The Impact of Voter Evaluations of Leaders' Traits on Voting Behaviour: Evidence from Seven European Countries. *West European Politics*.

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.

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.

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.

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.

### **Week 9 (2 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.

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

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.

de Miguel, Carolina, Amaney Jamal & Mark Tessler. 2015. Elections in the Arab World: Why Do Citizens Turn Out? *Comparative Political Studies*.

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

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

Lindberg, Staffan. 2006. The Surprising Significance of African Elections. *Journal of Democracy* 17: 139-151.

Lindberg, Staffan. 2009. Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Little, Andrew. 2012. Elections, Fraud, and Election Monitoring in the Shadow of Revolution. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7: 249-283.

Miller, Michael. 2015. Democratic Pieces: Autocratic Elections and Democratic Development since 1815. *British Journal of Political Science* 45(3): 501-530.

Schedler, Andreas. 2002. Elections Without Democracy: The Menu of Manipulation. *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 36-50.

### **Week 10 (9 November): Elections in times of war and terrorism**

Bali Valentina & Johann Park. 2014. The Effects of the Electoral Calendar on Terrorist Attacks. *Electoral Studies* 35: 346-361.

Newman, Lindsay Shorr. 2013. Do Terrorist Attacks Increase Closer to Elections? *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25: 8-28.

Robbins, Joseph, Lance Hunter & Gregg Murray. 2013. Voters Versus Terrorists: Analyzing The Effect of Terrorist Events on Voter Turnout. *Journal of Peace Research* 50: 495-508.

#### *Recommended:*

Aksoy, Deniz & David Carter. 2014. Electoral Institutions and the Emergence of Terrorist Groups. *British Journal of Political Science* 44: 181-204.

Bali, Valentina. 2007. Terror and Elections: Lessons from Spain. *Electoral Studies* 26: 669-687.

Berrebi Claude & Esteban Klor. 2008. Are Voters Sensitive to Terrorism? Direct Evidence from the Israeli Electorate. *American Political Science Review* 102: 279-301.

Gelpi, Christopher, Jason Reifer & Peter Feaver. 2007. Iraq the Vote: Retrospective and Prospective Foreign Policy Judgments on Candidate Choice and Casualty Tolerance. *Political Behavior* 29:151-174.

Getmansky, Anna & Thomas Zeitzoff. 2014. Terrorism and Voting: The Effect of Rocket Threat on Voting in Israeli Elections. *American Political Science Review* 108: 588-604.

Norpoth, Helmut & Andrew Sidman. 2007. Mission Accomplished: The Wartime Election of 2004. *Political Behavior* 29: 175-195.

Williams, Laron, Michael Koch & Jason Smith. 2013. The Political Consequences of Terrorism: Terror Events, Casualties, and Government Duration. *International Studies Perspectives* 14: 343-361.

### **Week 11 (16 November): Second-Order Elections**

Hix, Simon & Michael Marsh. 2011. Second-order effects plus pan-European political swings: An analysis of European Parliament elections across time. *Electoral Studies* 30(1): 4-15.

Hobolt, Sara Binzer & Jill Wittrock. 2011. The second-order election model revisited: An experimental test of vote choices in European Parliament elections. *Electoral Studies* 30(1): 29-40.

Schakel, Arjan & Charlie Jeffery. 2013. Are Regional Elections really 'Second-Order' Elections? *Regional Studies* 47(3): 323-341.

#### *Recommended:*

Brunsbach, Sandra, Stefanie John & Annika Werner. 2012. The Supply Side of Second-Order Elections: Comparing German National and European Election Manifestos. *German Politics* 21(1): 91-115.

Carrubba Cliff & Richard Timpone. 2005. Explaining Vote Switching Across First- And Second-Order Elections: Evidence From Europe. *Comparative Political Studies* 38: 260-281.

Clark, Nick & Robert Rohrschneider. 2009. Second-Order Elections versus First-Order Thinking: How Voters Perceive the Representation Process in a Multi-Layered System of Governance. *Journal of European Integration* 31: 645-64

Koepke Jason & Nils Ringe. 2006. The second-order election model in an enlarged Europe. *European Union Politics* 7: 321-346.

Marsh, Michael. 1998. Testing the Second-Order Election Model after Four European Elections. *British Journal of Political Science* 28: 591-607.

Reif, Karlheinz & Hermann Schmitt. 1980. Nine Second-Order National Elections – A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results. *European Journal of Political Research* 8: 3-44.

Schakel, Arjan. 2013. Congruence between Regional and National Elections. *Comparative Political Studies* 46(5): 631-662.

### **Week 12 (23 November): Referendums**

Hobolt, Sara Binzer. 2006. How Parties Affect Vote Choice in European Integration Referendums. *Party Politics* 12: 623-647.

Qvortrup, Matt. 2012. Voting on Electoral Reform: A Comparative Perspective on the Alternative Vote Referendum in the United Kingdom. *The Political Quarterly* 83(1): 108-116.

Schuck, Andreas & Claes de Vreese. 2015. Public support for referendums in Europe: A cross-national comparison in 21 countries. *Electoral Studies* 38: 149-158.

#### *Recommended:*

Christin, Thomas & Simon Hug. 2002. Referendums and Citizen Support for European integration. *Comparative Political Studies* 35: 586-617.

Garry, John. 2014. Emotions and voting in EU referendums. *European Union Politics* 15: 235-254.

- Hobolt, Sara Binzer. 2009. *Europe in Question: Referendums on European Integration*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hug, Simon & Pascal Sciarini. 2000. Referendums on European Integration: Do Institutions Matter in the Voter's Decision? *Comparative Political Studies* 33: 3-36.
- LeDuc, Lawrence. 2002. Opinion Change and Voting Behaviour in Referendums. *European Journal of Political Research* 41: 711-732.
- LeDuc, Lawrence. 2015. Referendums and deliberative democracy. *Electoral Studies* 38: 139-148.
- Rose, Richard & Gabriela Borz. 2013. What Determines Demand for European Union Referendums? *Journal of European Integration* 35(5): 619-633.
- Schuck, Andreas & Claes de Vreese. 2011. Public Support for Referendums: The Role of the Media. *West European Politics* 34:2: 181-207.
- Szczerbiak, Aleks & Paul Taggart. 2004. Towards a Model of (European) Referendums. *West European Politics* 27(4): 749-777.
- Tverdova, Yuliya & Christopher Anderson. 2004. Choosing the West? Referendum Choices on EU Membership in East-Central Europe. *Electoral Studies* 23: 185-208.

### **Week 13 (30 November): Forecasting**

- Lewis-Beck, Michael & Ruth Dassonneville. 2015. Forecasting Elections in Europe: Synthetic Models. *Research & Politics* 2(1): 1-11.
- Murr, Andreas Erwin. 2015. The Party Leadership Model: An early forecast of the 2015 British General Election. *Research & Politics* 2(2): 1-9.
- Hill, Timothy Martyn. 2015. Forecast Error: The UK General Election. *Significance* 12(3): 10-15.
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