

# Voting, Campaigns, and Elections

## PS 4060

Tuesdays and Thursdays  
10:30 - 11:50  
Coates 218

**Last Updated: January 8, 2019**

### **Instructor Information**

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Office Hours: Thursday 1:00-3:00 and by appointment

### **Course Description**

Why do some people turn out to vote while others don't? What explains citizens' voting behavior and vote decisions? In what ways do candidates and parties mobilize voters? In this course, we will explore these fundamental questions of mass and elite political behavior in democracies. While some readings draw on American politics, we will also learn about cross-national differences and similarities in electoral processes and electoral institutions. The first part of this course will examine different models to explain individual and cross-national variations in electoral participation. Next, we will study patterns of voting behavior and vote choice and how electoral rules and context affect those. Finally, we will examine politicians and their relationship with voters as well as the choices they make in campaigns and elections.

### **Course Structure**

1. You *are required* to read the assigned reading carefully each session.
2. There will be in-class group activities related to the materials from the reading or lecture. Your participation in in-class discussions and activities will be essential.
3. There are two take-home exams scheduled for the semester.
4. I will hold weekly office hours on Thursdays 1:00-3:00 PM. Please drop by during my office hours, if you have any questions and issues with the course material. Also, I encourage you to seek out assistance at the first sign of difficulty with the course material. I will be happy to discuss the material with you.

### **Course Materials**

All reading materials will be posted on Moodle.

## Course Policies

### LSU Learning Competency Statement for the Social Sciences

LSU graduates will demonstrate an understanding of the informing factors of global interdependence, including economic forces, political dynamics, and cultural and linguistic difference.

### Academic Honesty

Cheating and plagiarism will not be tolerated. Students are required to abide by the academic conduct policies outlined in the LSU Code of Student Conduct [Link]. I strongly encourage you to review these policies. All violations of the university's academic conduct policies are turned over to the Dean of Students. When in doubt about plagiarism, paraphrasing, quoting, collaboration, or any other form of cheating, consult the course instructor.

### Special Accommodations

For students who have special needs or who require accommodations through Disability Services, please advise me of your situation so arrangements can be made. To request academic accommodations, students must contact Disability Services (<https://www.lsu.edu/disability/>), located in 124 Johnston Hall.

### Late Submissions

Because you know the deadline so far in advance, late submissions will result in 0 points. Extensions will only be granted if you approach me at least one day before the deadline and only in case of personal illness or death in the immediate family. In each case, I require proof (e.g., a written note from a doctor).

### Classroom Etiquette

- Arriving late or leaving during class is disruptive. Please make every effort to be on time. If you know in advance that you have to leave early, please let me know before class begins.
- Please be sure to silence your cell phone during class. Please put your phone away before class starts and don't bring it out.
- Please be respectful to your instructor and your peers by using your laptops only for class-related purposes.

### Grade Dispute Policy

- If you are going to dispute a grade, you will need to submit a written explanation for doing so *within one week* of the exam being handed back to the class. I will not consider grade disputes after this one-week period.
- You will receive a response within one week of submitting it. Please be warned, however, that a reassessment does not automatically result in a higher grade; your grade could stay the same, go up or be lowered.

## Requirements and Evaluation

### Grading scale

Score	Grade	Score	Grade	Score	Grade	Score	Grade	Score	Grade
≥ 97	A+	87 - 89	B+	77-79	C+	67-69	D+	<60	F
93 - 96	A	83-86	B	73-76	C	63-66	D		
90 - 92	A-	80-82	B-	70-72	C-	60-62	D-		

### Grading breakdown

- In-Class Participation (15%): You are expected to have completed the assigned readings and actively participate in class discussions. In-class participation will be assessed using participation rubric, which will be posted on Moodle.

*Note:* If you are uncomfortable with speaking up in class, please let me know at the beginning of the semester. You will then be able to supplement your participation grade by attending office hours to demonstrate your engagement with the assigned readings.

To ensure productive, inclusive, and enlightening class discussions, I ask you to follow a few basic discussion guidelines:

- Work to create a friendly climate for class discussion. Avoid personal attacks and insults. Please respect your peers whether you agree with what they say or not.
  - Try not to interrupt others or dominate discussions.
  - When making an argument, try to provide evidence or reasons.
  - Do not over-focus on the criticisms of the readings. Our goal in discussion is to better understand the readings and draw their implications.
- Weekly Response Memo (15%): From Week 3, students are required to submit a short response memo on *one* reading per week. You will need to select one of the assigned readings each week and submit one paragraph response to it. The responses can include discussion questions, a critique of the reading, or connecting the reading to a current event. In order to receive credit for a response memo for a particular class, you must submit the memo to Moodle by 9:00 PM the night before class. For example, if you choose to submit a memo on a reading assigned for January 22, then you will need to submit your memo by 9PM on January 21.
  - Group Project: A team of 3-4 students will work together to analyze a recent election. You can choose any recent presidential or parliamentary race from any part of the world. For example, you can choose to analyze the congressional race in your district in the last midterm election. Or you can choose to analyze the presidential election in Brazil or Swedish general election that were held in 2018.

Group project will be assessed in two ways:

- Presentation (15%): Each group will produce a PowerPoint presentation and deliver the presentation to the class in the week of April 9. I will provide a handout with detailed information and a rubric for the presentation. Within a given group, every student will receive the same grade.

- Peer Assessment (5%): To help ensure that all members of the team are actively contributing, students will be asked to evaluate their teammates' contributions.

Timeline for the group project:

01/24: Students will be assigned to groups. A handout with detailed guidelines will be distributed.

02/07: Each group needs to submit their choice of election to analyze (Each group must consult with me regarding their choice before this date).

04/09 & 04/11: Group presentations will take place.

- Midterm Takehome Exam (20%)
- Final Takehome Exam (30%)

## Course Schedule

- Week 1 (01/10): Course Introduction
- Week 2

01/15: How to Read Political Science Research.

- \* Brancati, Dawn (2018). *Social Scientific Research*. SAGE (chapter 1).
- \* "Reading and Understanding Political Science" (by Leanne Powner).

01/17: The Role of Elections in Democracies

- \* Przeworski, Adam, Susan Stokes, & Bernard Manin (1999). *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 1-2).
- \* Powell, G. Bingham (2000). *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven: Yale University Press (chapter 1).

- Week 3

01/22: Models of Political Participation

- \* Rosenstone, Steven J., John Mark Hansen, and Keith Reeves. "Mobilization, participation, and democracy in America." (1993) (Chapter 2).
- \* McClendon, Gwyneth, and Rachel Beatty Riedl. "Religion as a stimulant of political participation: Experimental evidence from Nairobi, Kenya."

01/24: Individual-Level Determinants of Voter Turnout

- \* Aldrich, John H. "Rational choice and turnout." *American journal of political science* (1993): 246-278.
- \* Gerber, Alan S., Donald P. Green, and Christopher W. Larimer. "Social pressure and voter turnout: Evidence from a large-scale field experiment." *American political Science review* 102, no. 1 (2008): 33-48.

- Week 4

01/29: Institutional Determinants of Voter Turnout

- \* Blais, André. 2006. "What Affects Voter Turnout?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 111-125.
- \* Jackman, Robert W. "Political institutions and voter turnout in the industrial democracies." *American Political Science Review* 81, no. 2 (1987): 405-423.

01/31: Unequal Participation

- \* Verba, Sidney, Nancy Burns, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. "Knowing and caring about politics: Gender and political engagement." *The Journal of Politics* 59, no. 4 (1997): 1051-1072.
- \* Fraga, Bernard L. (2018) *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters to be assigned).

• Week 5

02/05: Electoral Rules and Participation

- \* Kittilson, Miki Caul, and Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. 2010. "Engaging citizens: The role of power-sharing institutions." *The Journal of Politics* 72 (4): 990-1002.
- \* Bechtel, Michael M., Dominik Hangartner, and Lukas Schmid. 2017. "Compulsory voting, habit formation, and political participation." *Review of Economics and Statistics*.
- \* Hopkins, Daniel J. "Translating into Votes: The Electoral Impacts of Spanish-Language Ballots." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 4 (2011): 814-830.

02/07: Behavioral Effects of Electoral Institutions – Proportionality and Strategic Voting

- \* Cox, Gary (1997). *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 2-4).

• Week 6

02/12 Strategic Voting (cont'd)

- \* Abramson, Paul R., John H. Aldrich, André Blais, Matthew Diamond, Abraham Diskin, Indridi H. Indridason, Daniel J. Lee, and Renan Levine. "Comparing strategic voting under FPTP and PR." *Comparative Political Studies* 43, no. 1 (2010): 61-90.
- \* "Could a third-party candidate win the U.S. presidency? That's very unlikely. (by Amanda Skuldt)" *New York Times*. 08/26/2016.
- \* "A Congress for Every American: One way to improve the "People's House": elect multiple members per district." *New York Times*. 11/10/2018.

02/14 Proximity and Directional Voting

- \* Downs, Anthony. 1957. *Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper Collins. Ch. 7-8
- \* Rabinowitz, George, and Stuart Elaine Macdonald. "A directional theory of issue voting." *American political science review* 83, no. 1 (1989): 93-121.

• Week 7 (02/19 & 02/21): Take-Home Midterm Exam

- Week 8: Performance-Based Voting

02/26: Economic Voting & Electoral Accountability

- \* Lewis-Beck, Michael S., and Mary Stegmaier. "Economic determinants of electoral outcomes." *Annual review of political science* 3, no. 1 (2000): 183-219.
- \* Healy, Andrew, and Neil Malhotra. "Myopic voters and natural disaster policy." *American Political Science Review* 103, no. 3 (2009): 387-406.

02/28: Cross-national Comparison of Electoral Accountability

- \* Powell Jr, G. Bingham, and Guy D. Whitten. "A cross-national analysis of economic voting: taking account of the political context." *American Journal of Political Science* (1993): 391-414.
- \* Hellwig, Timothy, and David Samuels. "Electoral accountability and the variety of democratic regimes." *British Journal of Political Science* 38, no. 1 (2008): 65-90.

- Week 9

03/05: No Class (Mardi Gras)

03/07: War and Voting

- \* Blattman, Christopher. "From violence to voting: War and political participation in Uganda." *American political Science review* 103, no. 2 (2009): 231-247.
- \* Hadzic, Dino, and Margit Tavits. "The Gendered Effects of Violence on Political Engagement." *Journal of Politics*, Forthcoming (2018).

- Week 10

03/12: Identity-Based Voting

- \* Bobo, Lawrence, and Franklin D. Gilliam. "Race, sociopolitical participation, and black empowerment." *American Political Science Review* 84, no. 2 (1990): 377-393.
- \* Gay, Claudine. "The effect of black congressional representation on political participation." *American Political Science Review* 95, no. 3 (2001): 589-602.
- \* McConaughy, Corrine M., Ismail K. White, David L. Leal, and Jason P. Casellas. "A Latino on the ballot: Explaining coethnic voting among Latinos and the response of White Americans." *The Journal of Politics* 72, no. 4 (2010): 1199-1211.

03/14: Party and Voter Mobilization

- \* Adams, James, Merrill and Grofman. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 6.
- \* Miller, Gary, and Norman Schofield. "Activists and partisan realignment in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 2 (2003): 245-260.

- Week 11

03/19: Personalistic Linkage

- \* Kitschelt, Herbert. "Linkages between citizens and politicians in democratic polities." *Comparative political studies* 33, no. 6-7 (2000): 845-879.

- \* Van der Brug, Wouter, and Anthony Mughan. "Charisma, leader effects and support for right-wing populist parties." *Party Politics* 13, no. 1 (2007): 29-51.

#### 03/21: Clientelistic Linkage

- \* Brusco, Valeria, Marcelo Nazareno, and Susan C. Stokes. "Vote buying in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* (2004): 66-88.
- \* Nichter, Simeon. "Vote buying or turnout buying? Machine politics and the secret ballot." *American Political Science Review* 102, no. 1 (2008): 19-31.

### • Week 12: Party Competition

#### 03/26: Issue Ownership

- \* Hobolt, Sara B., and Catherine E. De Vries. "Issue entrepreneurship and multiparty competition." *Comparative Political Studies* 48, no. 9 (2015): 1159-1185.
- \* Somer-Topcu, Zeynep. "Everything to everyone: The electoral consequences of the broad-appeal strategy in Europe." *American Journal of Political Science* 59, no. 4 (2015): 841-854.

#### 03/28: Dynamics of Party Platforms

- \* Tavits, Margit. "Principle vs. pragmatism: Policy shifts and political competition." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 1 (2007): 151-165.
- \* Meguid, Bonnie M. "Competition between unequals: The role of mainstream party strategy in niche party success." *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (2005): 347-359.

### • Week 13

#### 04/02: Elite Responsiveness

- \* Thomson, Robert, Terry Royed, Elin Naurin, Joaquín Artés, Rory Costello, Laurenz Ennser-Jedenastik, Mark Ferguson et al. 2017. "The fulfillment of parties' election pledges: A comparative study on the impact of power sharing." *American Journal of Political Science* 61 (3): 527-542.
- \* Butler, Daniel M., and David W. Nickerson. 2011. "Can Learning Constituency Opinion Affect how Legislators Vote? Results from a Field Experiment." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 6 (1): 55-83.
- \* Giger, Nathalie, and Heike Klüver. 2016. "Voting against your constituents? How lobbying affects representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (1): 190-205.

#### 04/04: No Class (MPSA Conference)

### • Week 14 (04/09 & 04/11) : Student Presentations

### • Week 15: No Class (Spring Break)

### • Week 16

#### 04/23: Electoral Consequences of Immigration

- \* Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. "Trump, Brexit, and the rise of populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash."

- \* Dal Bó, Ernesto, Frederico Finan, Olle Folke, Torsten Persson, and Johanna Rickne. "Economic Losers and Political Winners: Sweden's Radical Right." Working Paper (2018).
- \* Dinas, Elias, Konstantinos Matakos, Dimitrios Xefteris, and Dominik Hangartner. 2018. "Waking Up the Golden Dawn: Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Increase Support for Extreme-Right Parties?" *American Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming).

04/25: Review Session. *Take-Home final exam will be distributed.*

- Take-Home Final Exam: Due May 2 5PM.