

PSCI 7222: Comparative Political Behavior

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University of Colorado at Boulder
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Ketchum 1B31
M 3:30PM – 6:00PM

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COURSE OBJECTIVES

How do citizens approach the labyrinthine world of politics? What shapes their attitudes about politicians, political issues, and political systems? What explains why some citizens participate in politics and others do not? For those who do vote, how do they choose parties and candidates? In this course, we will explore these and related questions about the political attitudes and behaviors of the masses. Although it is impossible to cover every topic in comparative political behavior in a single semester, this course is designed to be as eclectic and diverse as possible. We will focus on mass political behavior in countries from all over the world, although students will also read some of the foundational texts on mass politics in the United States. We will cover a wide variety of theoretical perspectives and not privilege any single one. We will do readings that collectively have a diverse array of methodological approaches.¹ To understand the nature of different scholarly outlets, we will read short articles, long articles, chapters from edited volumes, and entire books, and we will read texts from many different scientific journals and different scholarly eras. Finally, the course will expose students to some of the scholarship on comparative political behavior conducted by CU faculty. Overall, the course is designed to help students on the Comparative Politics and American Politics comprehensive exam, to teach research skills, and to implant project ideas.

READING REQUIREMENTS

Weekly seminars will center on readings, student reactions to them, student reactions to other students' reactions to them, and so on. The instructor will spur and guide discussions somewhat, but usually these will be launched by student presentations. All students are expected to have completed all of the **REQUIRED READINGS** listed each week. (Students are urged to read each week's readings in the order they appear on the syllabus.) On this syllabus, books are followed by the chapters that students are required to read.

The following four books, which are on sale at the CU bookstore, will be read in their entirety or near-entirety, so you may wish to buy them (listed in order of appearance on syllabus):

- Zaller, John R. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 2018. *Cultural Evolution: People's Motivations are Changing and Reshaping the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Achen, Christopher and Larry Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

All four of these books, and a few others from which we will read, are also available at Norlin reserves for 2-hour checkout. All readings besides these books will be posted as .pdf files to Canvas.

¹ I am grateful to Jennifer Fitzgerald, whose syllabus for her own version of this course I relied upon when designing this current syllabus.

GRADING

Your final grade will be based on four criteria, distributed in the following manner:

(1)	Class Participation	20%
(2)	Two Short Papers	20%
(3)	Final Paper	50%
(4)	Final Paper Presentation	10%

Final grades will be determined using the following percentage scale: A=94-100, A-=90-94, B+=87-90, B=84-87, B-=80-84, C+=77-80, C=74-77, C-=70-74, D+=67-70, D=64-67, D-=60-64, F=<60. Please note that these are true cut-offs and there is no rounding.

(1) Class participation is based on how often you voluntarily speak in class discussions. This obviously requires you to come prepared with questions/thoughts/reactions/criticisms from the readings.

(2) Each student is required to write **two short papers** and present them in class. The papers should critically assess, in about 600 words (i.e., two pages; definitely no more than 800 words), at least one of the readings for that week. These papers should be logically structured with a coherent argument that unifies the paper. They should not be a laundry list of random thoughts or criticisms, nor must they cover every reading for that week. Also, the papers should keep summary of the readings to a minimum. The best papers will focus on one topic while drawing in two or more of the week's readings. The papers may raise problems in research design or methodology, gaps in reasoning, omission of important events or facts, etc. They may also contrast different authors' approaches to the same question or apply an argument to a particular empirical case.

Each student will present their two short papers in class. Student presenters will lead off the discussion each week by giving a three- to five-minute presentation that draws from their paper. You may not simply read your paper as your presentation. Also, keep in mind that everyone will have done the readings, so you should not summarize them in your presentation. Rather, treat these presentations as a launching pad for the seminar's discussion. Presentations that end with a question for colleagues to grapple with are preferred.

Each short paper is due as a digital submission to Canvas at the beginning of the seminar in which you present it.

(3) Students will hand in a **Final paper** (4,000 to 10,000 words) on a topic of their choosing that relates to comparative political behavior. You may make this paper an expansion of one of the short papers you wrote during the semester, but you may NOT hand in or have handed in any part of your paper to another seminar or class. This paper should be an original research paper, the likes of which are published in professional social science journals. You should consult with me after you have a research idea but before conducting extensive work on the project. *This paper is due December 13 at 11:59PM, and you will hand it in as a digital submission to Canvas.*

(4) During the last two weeks of class, each student will make their **Final paper presentation** to the entire class. These presentations will be about 12 minutes long with 5 minutes for questions and answers.

I will not tolerate academic dishonesty. If you engage in academic dishonesty, you will receive an "F" in the class and may be expelled. Academic dishonesty includes, but is not limited to, passing off the work of others (especially current or former students or published work) as your own, whether it be on a paper or a presentation. A common practice in this day and age that you must nonetheless avoid is "cut-and-paste plagiarism," in which students directly copy and paste portions of an online source into their papers without quoting and citing it properly. If you copy four or more words from another author/person without putting the copied text in quotation marks AND immediately citing the source, you have committed plagiarism. Also note that you are not allowed to plagiarize yourself: In other words, your writing for this class must be original and cannot be from a paper you have written or are writing for another class.

COURSE SCHEDULE

AUGUST 23 INTRODUCTION

REQUIRED READINGS (READ THESE BEFORE COMING TO THE FIRST CLASS!):

Overview

- Dalton, Russell J., and Hans-Dieter Klingeman. 2009. "Citizens and Political Behavior." In Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2009. "Research Resources in Comparative Political Behavior." In Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Part I: SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES

AUGUST 30 PARTISANSHIP

REQUIRED READINGS:

Overview

- Johnston, Richard. 2006. "Party Identification: Unmoved Mover or Sum of Preferences?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1): 329-351.

Substance

- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. Chicago: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. **Chapters 6 & 7 only.**
- Converse, Philip E. 1969. "Of Time and Partisan Stability." *Comparative Political Studies* 2(2): 139-171.
- Schickler, E. and Green, Donald P. 1997. "The Stability of Party Identification in Western Democracies: Results from Eight Panel Surveys." *Comparative Political Studies* 30(4), pp.450-483.

Critique

- Noam Lupu. 2014. "Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America." *World Politics* 66(4): 561-602.

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Thomassen, J. 1976. "Party Identification as a Cross-national Concept: Its Meaning in the Netherlands." In Ian Budge, Ivor Crew, and Dennis Farlie, eds., *Party Identification and Beyond: Representations of Voting and Party Competition*, pp. 63– 80
- Zuckerman, Alan S., Josip Dasović, and Jennifer Fitzgerald. 2007. *Partisan Families*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lupu, Noam. 2016. *Party Brands in Crisis: Partisanship, Brand Dilution, and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2008. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. Yale University Press.
- Hatemi, Peter K., et al. 2008. "Is there a 'Party' in Your Genes?" *Political Research Quarterly* 62(3): 584-600.
- Bankert, Alexa, Leonie Huddy, and Martin Rosema. 2017. "Measuring Partisanship as a Social Identity in Multi-Party Systems." *Political Behavior* 39(1): 103-132.
- Michelitch, Kristin and Stephen Utych. 2018 "Electoral Cycle Fluctuations in Partisanship: Global Evidence from 86 Countries." *Journal of Politics* 80(2): 412-427.
- Carlson, Elizabeth. 2016. "Finding partisanship where we least expect it: Evidence of partisan bias in a new African democracy." *Political Behavior* 38(1): 129-154.

- Hagopian, Frances. 2009. "Parties and Voters in Emerging Democracies." In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

SEPTEMBER 6
NO CLASS

SEPTEMBER 13
ELITE CUES

REQUIRED READINGS:

Background

- Converse, Philip E. 2006 [1964]. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." *Critical Review: A Journal of Politics and Society* 18(1): 1-74.

Substance

- Zaller, John R. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press. **Entire**
- Posner, Daniel. 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.
- Blaydes, Lisa, and Drew Linzer. 2012. "Elite Competition, Religiosity, and Anti-Americanism in the Islamic World." *American Political Science Review* 106(2): 225-243.

Method

- Brader, Ted, Joshua A. Tucker, and Dominik Duell. 2013. "Which Parties Can Lead Opinion? Experimental Evidence on Partisan Cue Taking in Multiparty Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 46(11): 1485-1517.

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Lenz, Gabriel S. 2013. *Follow the Leader? How Voters Respond to Politicians, Policies and Performance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Adams, James. 2012. "Causes and Electoral Consequences of Party Policy Shifts in Multiparty Elections: Theoretical Results and Empirical Evidence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15(1): 401-419.
- Andy Baker, Barry Ames, Anand E. Sokhey, 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.
- Rune Slothuus. 2010. "When Can Political Parties Lead Public Opinion? Evidence from a Natural Experiment." *Political Communication* 27:2, 158-177
- Samuels, David, and Cesar Zucco Jr. 2014. "The Power of Partisanship in Brazil: Evidence from Survey Experiments." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(1): 212-225.

SEPTEMBER 20
GROUP IDENTITIES

REQUIRED READINGS:

Substance

- Achen, Christopher, and Larry M. Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists. Chapters 8 through 11.*
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2012. "Introduction." In Chandra (ed.), *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-50.
- Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 709-725

Method

- Cramer Walsh, Katherine. 2012. "Putting Inequality in Its Place: Rural Consciousness and the Power of Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 106(3): 517-532.
- Alrababa'h, Ala', William Marble, Salma Mousa, and Alexandra A. Siegel. 2021. "Can Exposure to Celebrities Reduce Prejudice? The Effect of Mohamed Salah on Islamophobic Behaviors and Attitudes." *American Political Science Review*

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Fitzgerald, Jennifer. 2018. *Close to Home: Local Ties and Voting Radical Right in Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1979. "Religious vs. Linguistic vs. Class Voting." *American Political Science Review* 73: 442-58.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2007. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cramer, Katherine J. 2016. *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2009. *Coethnicity: Diversity and the Dilemmas of Collective Action*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Duverger, Maurice. 1959. *Political Parties*. New York: Wiley (1951).
- Gibson, James L., and Amanda Gouws. 2005. *Overcoming Intolerance in South Africa: Experiments in Democratic Persuasion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Madrid, Raul. 2008. "The Rise of Ethnopolitics in Latin America" *World Politics* 60(3): 475-508.
- Posner, Daniel. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

SEPTEMBER 27 CULTURE AND VALUES

REQUIRED READINGS:

Overview

- Fuchs, Dieter. 2009. "The Political Culture Paradigm." In Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Substance

- Inglehart, Ronald. 2018. *Cultural Evolution: People's Motivations are Changing, and Reshaping the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Entire

Critique

- Jackman, Robert W., and Ross A. Miller. 1995. "Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies during the 1980s." *Comparative Political Studies* 27(4): 467-492.

Method

- Simmons, Erica S. 2016. "Market Reforms and Water Wars." *World Politics* 68(1): 37-73.

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Almond, Gabriel A., and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*.
- Hatemi, Peter K., and Rose McDermott. 2016. "Give Me Attitudes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19:331-350.
- Avdeenko, Alexandra, and Michael J. Gilligan. 2015. "International Interventions to Build Social Capital: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Sudan." *American Political Science Review* 109(3): 427-449.

- Pinker, Steven. 2012. *The Better Angels of our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined*. New York: Penguin.
- Simmons, Erica S. 2016. *Meaningful Resistance: Market Reforms and the Roots of Social Protest in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2011. *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Booth, John A., and Mitchell A. Seligson. 2009. *The Legitimacy Puzzle in Latin America: Political Support and Democracy in Eight Nations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

OCTOBER 4 SOCIAL NETWORKS

REQUIRED READINGS:

Overview

- **Huckfeldt, Robert. 2009. "Information, Persuasion, and Political Communication Networks." In Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.**

Substance

- **Huckfeldt, Robert, and John Sprague. 1991 "Discussant Effects on Vote Choice: Intimacy, Structure, and Interdependence." *The Journal of Politics* 53(1): 122-158.**
- **Baker, Andy, Barry Ames, and Lúcio Rennó. 2020. *Persuasive Peers: Social Communication and Voting in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 and 4 only.**
- **Fitzgerald, Jennifer. 2011. "Family Dynamics and Swiss Parties on the Rise: Exploring Party Support in a Changing Electoral Context." *Journal of Politics* 73(3): 783-796.**

Method

- **Cruz, Cesi, Julien Labonne, and Pablo Querubin. 2020. "Social Network Structures and the Politics of Public Goods Provision: Evidence from the Philippines." *American Political Science Review* 114(2): 486 - 501**

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. 1948. *The People's Choice*. Duell, Sloan & Pearce.
- Berelson, Bernard, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. 1954. *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*
- Huckfeldt, R. Robert, and John Sprague. 1995. *Citizens, Politics and Social Communication: Information and Influence in an Election Campaign*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gunther, Richard, José Ramón Montero, and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.). 2007. *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mutz, Diana C. 2006. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative Versus Participatory Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pattie, Charles, and Ron Johnston. 2000. "People Who Talk Together Vote Together: An Exploration of Contextual Effects in Great Britain." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90(1): 41-66.
- Kloststad, Casey A., Anand Edward Sokhey, and Scott D. McClurg. 2013. "Disagreeing about Disagreement: How Conflict in Social Networks Affects Political Behavior." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 120-134
- Sinclair, Betsy. 2012. *The Social Citizen: Peer Networks and Political Behavior*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Part II: ECONOMISTIC APPROACHES

OCTOBER 11

SPATIAL MODELS OF VOTING BEHAVIOR

REQUIRED READINGS:

Overview

- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper Collins. Chapters 3 and 8.

Substance

- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction." In Lipset and Rokkan (eds.) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. Toronto: Free Press, pp. 1-63.
- Macdonald, Stuart Elaine, George Rabinowitz, and Ola Listhaug. 1998. "On Attempting to Rehabilitate the Proximity Model: Sometimes the Patient Just Can't Be Helped." *Journal of Politics* 60 (3): 653-90.
- Luna, Juan P., and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2005. "Political Representation in Latin America: A Study of Elite-mass Congruence in Nine Countries." *Comparative Political Studies* 38(4): 388-416.

Critique

- Achen, Christopher, and Larry M. Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists*. Chapters 1 and 2.

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Adams, James F., Samuel Merrill III, and Bernard Grofman. 2005. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition: A Cross-National Analysis Integrating Spatial and Behavioral Factors*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnston, Richard et al. 1992. *Letting the People Decide: Dynamics of a Canadian Election*. Stanford University Press.
- Tomz, Michael, and Robert P. Van Houweling. 2008. "Candidate Positioning and Voter Choice." *American Political Science Review* 102 (3): 303-18.
- Chou, Winston, Rafaela Dancygier, Naoki Egami, and Amaney A. Jamal. 2021. "Competing for Loyalists? How Party Positioning Affects Populist Radical Right Voting." *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Domínguez, Jorge I., and James A. McCann. 1996. *Democratizing Mexico: Public Opinion and Electoral Choices*. Baltimore: JHU Press.
- Kedar, Orit. 2005. "When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections." *American Political Science Review* 99 (2): 185-99.
- Greene, Kenneth F. 2007. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, and Anthony J. McGann. 1997. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

OCTOBER 18

ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS

REQUIRED READINGS:

Overview

- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., and Mary Stegmaier. 2019. "Economic Voting." In Roger D. Congleton, Bernard Grofman, and Stefan Voigt (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Choice*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Substance: Performance and Retrospective Voting

- Powell Jr, G. Bingham, and Guy D. Whitten. 1993. "A Cross-national Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(2): 391-414.
- Duch, Raymond M. and Randy Stevenson. 2006. "Assessing the Magnitude of the Economic Vote over Time and across Nations." *Electoral Studies* 25: 528-547.

Substance: Interests and Cleavages

- Iversen, Torben and David Soskice. 2001. "An Asset Theory of Social Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 95(4): 875-893.

Critique

- Achen, Christopher, and Larry M. Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists. Chapters 4 through 6.*
- Sears, David O. and Carolyn Funk (1990). "The Limited Effect of Economic Self-interest on the Political Attitudes of the Mass Public" *Journal of Behavioral Economics* 19(3): 247-271.

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Duch, Raymond, and Randolph T. Stevenson. 2008. *The Economic Vote: How Political and Economic Institutions Condition Election Results.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tucker, Joshua A. 2006. *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, 1990-1999.* Cambridge.
- Bratton, Michael, Robert Mattes, and Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi. 2005. *Public Opinion, Democracy, and Market Reform in Africa.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Van der Brug, Wouter, Cees van der Eijk, and Mark Franklin. 2007. *The Economy and the Vote.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S. 1990. *Economics and Elections: The Major Western Democracies.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections.* New Haven: Yale University Press
- Benton, Allyson Lucinda. 2005. "Dissatisfied Democrats or Retrospective Voters? Economic Hardship, Political Institutions, and Voting Behavior in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 38(4): 417-442.
- Hellwig, Timothy. 2008. "Globalization, Policy Constraints, and Vote Choice." *Journal of Politics* 70 (4): 1128-41.
- Baker, Andy. 2009. *The Market and the Masses in Latin America: Policy Reform and Consumption in Liberalizing Economies.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cusack, Thomas R., Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems." *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 373-391.
- Carlin, Ryan E., Matthew M. Singer, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister (eds.). 2015. *The Latin American Voter: Pursuing Representation and Accountability in Challenging Contexts.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Morgan, Jana. 2011. *Bankrupt Representation and Party System Collapse.* University Park: Penn State Press.

OCTOBER 25
CLIENTELISM

REQUIRED READINGS:

Overview

- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities." *Comparative Political Studies* 33(6-7): 845-879.

Substance

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

- Stokes, Susan C. 2005. "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 315-325.
- Auerbach, Adam Michael, and Tariq Thachil. 2018. "How Clients Select Brokers: Competition and Choice in India's Slums." *American Political Science Review* 112(4):775-791.

Method

- Gonzalez-Ocantos, Ezequiel, Chad Kiewiet De Jonge, Carlos Meléndez, Javier Osorio, and David W. Nickerson. 2012. "Vote Buying and Social Desirability Bias: Experimental Evidence from Nicaragua." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(1): 202-217.

Critique

- Greene, Kenneth F. 2021. "Campaign Effects and the Elusive Swing Voter in Modern Machine Politics." *Comparative Political Studies* 54(1): 77-109.

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Nichter, Simeon. *Votes for Survival: Relational Clientelism in Latin America*. 2018. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Baldwin, Kate. 2013. "Why Vote with the Chief? Political Connections and Public Goods Provision in Zambia." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 794-809.
- Stokes, Susan, Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, and Steven I. Wilkinson, eds. 2007. *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nichter, Simeon. 2008. "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot." *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 19-31.
- Gans-Morse, Jordan, Sebastian Mazzuca, and Simeon Nichter. 2014. "Varieties of Clientelism: Machine Politics during Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(2): 415-432.
- Scheiner, Ethan. 2006. *Democracy without Competition in Japan: Opposition Failure in a One-party Dominant State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stokes, Susan C. 2009. "Political Clientelism." In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

NOVEMBER 1

ELECTORAL RULES AND STRATEGIC VOTING

REQUIRED READINGS:

Overview

- Cox, Gary W. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2 only

Substance

- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge University Press. Entire, but skim 8 through 10 if you wish.

Critique

- Milazzo, Caitlin, Robert G. Moser, and Ethan Scheiner. 2018. "Social Diversity Affects the Number of Parties Even under First-past-the-post Rules." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(7): 938-974.

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Westholm, Anders, and Richard G. Niemi. 1992. "Political Institutions and Political Socialization: A Cross-National Study." *Comparative Politics* 25(1): 25-41.
- Huber, John, Georgia Kernell and Eduardo Leoni. 2003. "Institutional Context, Cognitive Resources, and Party Attachments across Democracies." *Political Analysis* 13(4): 365-386.

- Duverger, Maurice. 1954. *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*. New York: Wiley.
- Laura B. Stephenson, John H. Aldrich, and André Blais (eds.). 2018. *The Many Faces of Strategic Voting: Tactical Behavior in Electoral Systems Around the World*. University of Michigan Press.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Jonathan Nagler. 2000. "A New Approach for Modelling Strategic Voting in Multiparty Elections." *British Journal of Political Science* 30(1): 57-75.
- Neto, Octavio Amorim, and Gary W. Cox. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 41(1): 149-174.

Part III: SPECIAL TOPICS

NOVEMBER 8

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

REQUIRED READINGS:

Overview

- Blais, André. 2009. "Turnout in Elections." In Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 621-635.

Substance

- Boulding, Carew. 2010. "NGOs and Political Participation in Weak Democracies: Subnational Evidence on Protest and Voter Turnout from Bolivia." *Journal of Politics* 71(2): 456-468.
- Kasara, Kimuli, and Pavithra Suryanarayan. 2015. "When Do the Rich Vote Less Than the Poor and Why? Explaining Turnout Inequality across the World." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (3): 613-27.
- De Miguel, Carolina, Amaney A. Jamal, and Mark Tessler. 2015. "Elections in the Arab World: Why Do Citizens Turn Out?" *Comparative Political Studies* 48(11): 1355-1388.
- Tsai, Lily L., and Yiqing Xu. 2018. "Outspoken Insiders: Political Connections and Citizen Participation in Authoritarian China." *Political Behavior* 40(3): 629-657.

Method

- Nickerson, David W. 2008. "Is Voting Contagious? Evidence from Two Field Experiments." *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 49-57.

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Tarrow, Sidney G. 2011. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Carreras, Miguel, and Néstor Castañeda-Angarita. 2014. "Who Votes in Latin America? A Test of Three Theoretical Perspectives." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(8): 1079-1104.
- Boulding, Carew. 2014. *NGOs, Political Protest, and Civil Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Boulding, Carew, and Claudio Holzner. 2021. *Voice and Inequality: Poverty and Political Participation in Latin American Democracies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Aldrich, John H. 1993. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 246-78.
- Jennings, M. Kent. 1997. "Political Participation in the Chinese Countryside." *American Political Science Review* 91(2): 361-372.

NOVEMBER 15
GENDER AND SEXUAL IDENTITY

REQUIRED READINGS:

Overview

- 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.

Substance

- Iverson, Torben, and Frances Rosenbluth. 2006. "The Political Economy of Gender: Explaining Cross-National Variation in the Gender Division of Labor and the Gender Voting Gap." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(1): 1-19.
- Tripp, Aili Mari, and Alice Kang. 2008. "The Global Impact of Quotas: On the Fast Track to Increased Female Legislative Representation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(3): 338-361.
- Masoud, Tarek, Amaney Jamal, and Elizabeth Nugent. 2016. "Using the Qur'an to Empower Arab Women? Theory and Experimental Evidence from Egypt." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(12): 1555-1598.

Method

- Turnbull-Dugarte, Stuart James, and Joshua Townsley. (2020). "Political Engagement and Turnout among Same-Sex Couples in Western Europe." *Research and Politics*

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. 2003 *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Morgan, Jana, and Melissa Buice. 2013. "Latin American Attitudes toward Women in Politics: The Influence of Elite Cues, Female Advancement, and Individual Characteristics." *American Political Science Review* 107(4): 644-662.
- Teele, Dawn L. 2018. *Forging the Franchise: The Political Origins of the Women's Vote*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lawless, Jennifer L., and Richard L. Fox. 2005. *It Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

NOVEMBER 29
PAPER PRESENTATIONS

DECEMBER 6
PAPER PRESENTATIONS

MISCELLANEOUS

Classroom Behavior

Both students and faculty are responsible for maintaining an appropriate learning environment in all instructional settings, whether in person, remote or online. Those who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with race, color, national origin, sex, pregnancy, age, disability, creed, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, veteran status, political affiliation or political philosophy. For more information, see the policies on [classroom behavior](#) and the [Student Conduct & Conflict Resolution policies](#).

Requirements for COVID-19

As a matter of public health and safety due to the pandemic, all members of the CU Boulder community and all visitors to campus must follow university, department and building requirements and all public health orders in place to reduce the risk of spreading infectious disease. Students who fail to adhere to these requirements will be asked to leave class, and students who do not leave class when asked or who

refuse to comply with these requirements will be referred to [Student Conduct and Conflict Resolution](#). For more information, see the policy on [classroom behavior](#) and the [Student Code of Conduct](#). If you require accommodation because a disability prevents you from fulfilling these safety measures, please follow the steps in the “Accommodation for Disabilities” statement on this syllabus.

As of Aug. 13, 2021, CU Boulder has returned to requiring masks in classrooms and laboratories regardless of vaccination status. This requirement is a temporary precaution during the delta surge to supplement CU Boulder’s COVID-19 vaccine requirement. Exemptions include individuals who cannot medically tolerate a face covering, as well as those who are hearing-impaired or otherwise disabled or who are communicating with someone who is hearing-impaired or otherwise disabled and where the ability to see the mouth is essential to communication. If you qualify for a mask-related accommodation, please follow the steps in the “Accommodation for Disabilities” statement on this syllabus. In addition, vaccinated instructional faculty who are engaged in an indoor instructional activity and are separated by at least 6 feet from the nearest person are exempt from wearing masks if they so choose.

Students who have tested positive for COVID-19, have symptoms of COVID-19, or have had close contact with someone who has tested positive for or had symptoms of COVID-19 must stay home. In this class, if you are sick or quarantined, please email Professor Baker to make arrangements.

Accommodation for Disabilities

If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please submit your accommodation letter from Disability Services to your faculty member in a timely manner so that your needs can be addressed. Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities in the academic environment. Information on requesting accommodations is located on the [Disability Services website](#). Contact Disability Services at 303-492-8671 or dsinfo@colorado.edu for further assistance. If you have a temporary medical condition, see [Temporary Medical Conditions](#) on the Disability Services website.

Preferred Student Names and Pronouns

CU Boulder recognizes that students' legal information doesn't always align with how they identify. Students may update their preferred names and pronouns via the student portal; those preferred names and pronouns are listed on instructors' class rosters. In the absence of such updates, the name that appears on the class roster is the student's legal name.

Honor Code

All students enrolled in a University of Colorado Boulder course are responsible for knowing and adhering to the Honor Code academic integrity policy. Violations of the Honor Code may include, but are not limited to: plagiarism, cheating, fabrication, lying, bribery, threat, unauthorized access to academic materials, clicker fraud, submitting the same or similar work in more than one course without permission from all course instructors involved, and aiding academic dishonesty. All incidents of academic misconduct will be reported to the Honor Code (honor@colorado.edu); 303-492-5550). Students found responsible for violating the academic integrity policy will be subject to nonacademic sanctions from the Honor Code as well as academic sanctions from the faculty member. Additional information regarding the Honor Code academic integrity policy can be found on the [Honor Code website](#).

Sexual Misconduct, Discrimination, Harassment and/or Related Retaliation

The University of Colorado Boulder (CU Boulder) is committed to fostering an inclusive and welcoming learning, working, and living environment. CU Boulder will not tolerate acts of sexual misconduct (harassment, exploitation, and assault), intimate partner violence (dating or domestic violence), stalking, or protected-class discrimination or harassment by or against members of our community. Individuals who believe they have been subject to misconduct or retaliatory actions for reporting a concern should contact the Office of Institutional Equity and Compliance (OIEC) at 303-492-2127 or email cureport@colorado.edu. Information about OIEC, university policies, [reporting options](#), and the campus resources can be found on the [OIEC website](#).

Please know that faculty and graduate instructors have a responsibility to inform OIEC when made aware of incidents of sexual misconduct, dating and domestic violence, stalking, discrimination, harassment

and/or related retaliation, to ensure that individuals impacted receive information about their rights, support resources, and reporting options.

Religious Holidays

Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to deal reasonably and fairly with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. In this class, please email Professor Baker early in the semester to make arrangements.

See the [campus policy regarding religious observances](#) for full details.