

Voting and Elections
Political Science 9535B
University of Western Ontario
Winter 2022

Class Information:

Thursday, 9:30am-12:30pm
SSC 4105

Note: There is an OWL site for this course.

Instructor Information:

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Office Hours: Tuesday, 1-2:30 or by appointment

Course Description:

Elections and voting, because of their intrinsic importance to government, policy, and the representation of citizens, are fascinating topics. Even more fascinating is attempting to understand how individuals come to make their vote choice: what role do parties, interest groups, campaigns, issues, information and institutions have on the entire process? This course is intended to introduce students to the academic study of elections and political behaviour at different levels of government. This course will survey some of the vast number of issues surrounding elections and voting that are significant for the study of politics in any country, such as electoral systems, political participation, theories of vote choice, party organization, partisan identification, and interest groups. Special emphasis will be placed on understanding how these topics are studied empirically using individual-level data.

Learning Objectives:

The objectives of this course are twofold, and each class will be divided into two parts. First, students will learn about the academic study of voting and elections. This will entail a review of some of the major topics that have been studied around the world and at different levels of government. We will focus on analysis at the individual level, but not exclusively. By the end of the course students will understand the evolution of this subfield, be able to describe the main models of voting behaviour, and understand the regularities (and irregularities) that have been demonstrated in the literature. They will have a basic understanding of what motivates voters when faced with having to decide how to vote.

The second objective is to gain an understanding of the data that is used to study voting and elections at the individual level. For the most part, this means election surveys. A significant part of the course will include hands-on examination of survey data in order to look at how some of the theories play out in particular elections and at different levels of government. By the end of the course students will have conducted their own analyses for a research project and will be familiar with the types of data that are commonly included in election studies.

Course Format:

This course is designed to occur in person, but if that becomes impossible we will move the discussions online. If you are feeling ill or do not pass the UWO campus screening, please do not come to class. We can arrange for a hybrid option that week.

Required Readings:

There is no textbook for the course. All readings will be available through OWL and/or the library electronically.

Assignments:

Overview

Participating in Class Discussion – 10%

Data Analysis Assignment – 25%

Comparative Election Report – 25%

Research Paper – 40%

Participating in Class Discussion – 10%

Participation will be awarded for participating in class and submitting weekly discussion questions.

Every week students are required to submit 2 discussion questions about the week's readings. These questions are meant to show that the students read the material and should indicate any commentary or questions that the student has about the material for the week. The questions must be submitted through OWL by **12 noon on the day of class**. Late submissions will not be accepted. There are 11 weeks when discussion questions due but only 10 will count for your grade; therefore, you can miss a week's submission without penalty. If a student is unable to complete these assignments for an extended period, they should seek Academic Accommodation (see below).

Data Analysis Assignment – 25%

This assignment is designed to illuminate some aspects of survey design through a hands-on examination of data. A list of specific topics that can be studied with the 2019 Canadian Election Study will be provided for students to choose from. Students must produce a data analysis report (drawing upon skills developed in 9590) of approximately 3-6 pages that includes an explanation of the issue, an empirical data analysis, and an interpretation of the results.

Due: January 27

Comparative Elections Assignment – 25%

The purpose of this assignment is to go beyond the class materials to learn more about how specific concepts in the study of elections and voting are realized in different elections. The goal here is to also think about how voters can be influenced by differences across countries or levels of government. The expectation is that students will consider a narrow research question in the context of at least two elections that have unique contextual features (institutions, society, economy, etc.). The assignment is to take the form of a 5-10 page report that compares empirical

analysis conducted in both contexts. The report must include an explanation of the research question, a short literature review that explains the hypotheses/expectations, an empirical data analysis, and an interpretation of the results.

Due: March 3

Research Paper - 40%

Students will write a research paper on a question of their choice. Papers are expected to include original data analysis. This paper (15-25 pages) is expected to be written as an academic article. Students are encouraged to look to course readings and browse journals for examples of how researchers usually structure such papers. Students must submit their topic with a brief outline (1-2 pages) on March 10. The outline should contain the research question, an explanation of the hypotheses that will be investigated, the data source(s) to be used, and a data analysis plan.

Due: April 7

Resources:

The Writing Support Centre at UWO is available to help students with their assignments (<http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/writing/index.html?main>).

Various support services are also available through UWO. You can access information about the Registrar's Office at <http://www4.registrar.uwo.ca> and Student Development Services at <http://www.sdc.uwo.ca>.

Topics and Readings:

January 6: Introduction

1. No readings

January 13: Studying Elections

1. LeDuc, Lawrence. 2012. "To Ann Arbor...and Back: A Comparative Perspective on Election Studies." In *The Canadian Election Studies? Assessing Four Decades of Influence*, ed. Mebs Kanji, Antoine Bilodeau and Thomas J. Scotto, 44-68. Vancouver: UBC Press.
2. Knight, Kathleen and Michael Marsh. 2002. "Varieties of election studies," *Electoral Studies* 21: 169-187.
3. Marsh, Michael. 2002, "Electoral context," *Electoral Studies* 21: 202-217.
4. Kritzinger, Sylvia. 2018. "National Election Studies: Valuable Data Machineries and their Challenges." *Swiss Political Science Review* 24(4): 565-574.
5. Krosnick, Jon A. and Arthur Lupia. 2012. "The American National Election Studies and the Importance of New Ideas." In *Improving Public Opinion Surveys*, ed. John H. Aldrich and Kathleen M. McGraw, 9-22. New Haven: Princeton University Press.
6. Breton, Charles, Fred Cutler, Sarah Lachance, and Alex Mierke-Zatwarnicki. 2017. "Telephone versus online survey modes for election studies: Comparing Canadian public opinion and vote choice in the 2015 federal election." *Canadian Journal of Political*

Science 50(4):1005-1036.

- Dataset: American National Election Study Cumulative File
https://electionstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/anes_timeseries_cdf_codebook_var_20211118.pdf

January 20: Predicting Elections (Guest: Dr. Matt Lebo)

1. Lebo, Matthew and Stephen Fisher. 2019. "Is Boris Johnson popular enough to win the Tories a fourth successive election?" (Available through OWL)
 2. Lebo, Matthew and Helmut Norpoth. 2006. "The PM and the Pendulum: Dynamic Forecasting of British Elections." *British Journal of Political Science* 37: 71-87.
 3. Norpoth, Helmut. 2016. "Primary Model Predicts Trump Victory." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 49(4): 655-58.
 4. Lewis-Beck, Michael S. and Charles Tien. 2021. "The Political Economy Model: A Blue Wave Forecast for 2020." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 54: 59-62.
- Dataset: Lebo British Election Dataset. To be provided.

January 27: Turnout

1. Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Ch. 3
 2. 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.
 3. Blais, André. 2000. *To Vote or Not to Vote*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. *Read Introduction to Chapter 5 only.*
 4. Dassonneville, Ruth and Marc Hooghe. 2017. "Voter turnout decline and stratification: Quasi-experimental and comparative evidence of a growing educational gap." *Party Politics* 37(2): 184-200.
 5. Morin-Chassé, Alexandre, Damien Bol, Laura B. Stephenson, and Simon Labbé St-Vincent. 2017. "How to survey about electoral turnout? The efficacy of the face-saving response items in 19 different contexts." *Political Science Research and Methods* 5(3): 575-584.
- Dataset: Making Electoral Democracy Work
<https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/RRONN>
[Q](#)

February 3: Electoral Process: Ballots and Institutions

1. Jackman, Robert W. 1987. "Political institutions and voter turnout in the industrial democracies." *American Political Science Review* 81(2): 405-423.
2. Reynolds, Andrew and Marco Steenbergen. 2006. "How the world votes: The political consequences of ballot design, innovation and manipulation." *Electoral Studies* 25(3): 570-598.
3. Córdova, Abby, and Gabriela Rangel. 2017. "Addressing the Gender Gap: The Effect of Compulsory Voting on Women's Electoral Engagement." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(2): 264-290.
4. Carey, John M. and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to cultivate a personal vote: A rank ordering of electoral formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14(4): 417-439.
5. Lewis-Beck, Michael S. and Richard Nadeau. 2000. "French electoral institutions and the

economic vote." *Electoral Studies* 19(2–3): 171-182.

6. Aldrich, John H., André Blais and Laura B. Stephenson. 2018. "Strategic Voting and Political Institutions." In *The Many Faces of Strategic Voting*, ed. Laura B. Stephenson, John H. Aldrich and André Blais, 1-27. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
 - Dataset: CSES Module 5 <https://cses.org/data-download/cses-module-5-2016-2021/>

February 10: Models of Vote Choice

1. Anderson, Cameron D. and Laura B. Stephenson. 2010. "The Puzzle of Elections and Voting in Canada." In *Voting Behaviour in Canada*, ed. Cameron D. Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson, 1-39. Vancouver: UBC Press.
2. Fournier, Patrick, Fred Cutler, Stuart Soroka, Dietlind Stolle and Éric Bélanger. 2013. "Riding the Orange Wave: Leadership, Values, Issues, and the 2011 Canadian Election." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 46(4): 863–97.
3. Krämer, Jürgen and Hans Rattinger. 1997. "The proximity and the directional theories of issue voting: Comparative results for the USA and Germany." *European Journal of Political Research* 32: 1-29.
4. Sanders, David, 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.
5. Roy, Jason and David McGrane. 2015. "Explaining Canadian Provincial Voting Behaviour: Nuance or Parsimony?" *Canadian Political Science Review* 9(1): 75-91.
6. Van der Eijk, Cees, Wouter van der Brug, Martin Kroh and Mark Franklin. 2006. "Rethinking the dependent variable in voting behaviour: On the measurement and analysis of electoral utilities." *Electoral Studies* 25: 424-447.
 - Dataset: British Election Study
https://www.britishelectionstudy.com/data/#.Yap89_HMJmA

February 17: "Throw the Rascals Out" (Guest: Dr. Matt Lebo)

1. Kramer, Gerald H. 1983. "The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate versus Individual-Level Findings on Economics and Elections and Sociotropic Voting." *American Political Science Review* 77:92-111.
2. MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1992. "Peasants or bankers? The American electorate and the US economy." *American Political Science Review* 86(3): 597-611.
3. Anderson, Cameron D. 2010. "Economic Voting in Canada: Assessing the Effects of Subjective Perceptions and Electoral Context." In *Voting Behaviour in Canada*, ed. Cameron D. Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson, 139-162. Vancouver: UBC Press.
4. Donovan, Kathleen, Paul M. Kellstedt, Ellen M. Key, and Matthew J. Lebo. 2020. "Motivated reasoning, public opinion, and presidential approval." *Political Behavior* 42: 1201-21.
5. Lewis-Beck, Michael S. and Richard Nadeau. 2011. "Economic voting theory: Testing new dimensions." *Electoral Studies* 30(2): 288-294.
6. Dassonneville, Ruth and Michael S. Lewis-Beck. 2017. "Rules, institutions and the economic vote: clarifying clarity of responsibility." *West European Politics* 40(3): 534-559.

- Dataset: Donovan, Kellsted, Key and Lebo. To be provided.

February 22: Reading Week. Enjoy some time off!

March 3: Partisanship

1. Johnston, Richard. 2006. "Party Identification: Unmoved Mover or Sum of Preferences?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1): 329-351.
2. Klar, Samara. 2014. "Partisanship in a social setting." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(3): 687-704.
3. Bowler, Shaun and David J. Lanoue. 1996. "New Party Challenges and Partisan Change: The Effects of Party Competition on Party Loyalty." *Political Behavior* 18(4): 327-343.
4. Anderson, Cameron D., R. Michael McGregor, and Laura B. Stephenson. Online 2021. "Us versus them: Do the rules of the game encourage negative partisanship?" *European Journal of Political Research*.
5. Knudsen, Erik. 2021. "Affective Polarization in Multiparty Systems? Comparing Affective Polarization Towards Voters and Parties in Norway and the United States." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 44(1): 34-44.
6. Huddy, Leonie, Alexa Bankert, and Caitlin Davies. 2018. "Expressive Versus Instrumental Partisanship in Multiparty European Systems." *Political Psychology* 39(S1): 173-199.
 - Dataset: Canadian Election Study 2019
<https://search1.odesi.ca/#/details?uri=%2Fodesi%2FCES-E-2019-online.xml>

March 10: Candidates and Leaders

1. Roy, Jason and Christopher Alcantara. 2015. "The Candidate Effect: Does the Local Candidate Matter?" *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* 25(2): 195-214.
2. Balmas, Meital and Tamir Sheafer. 2010. "Candidate image in election campaigns: Attribute agenda setting, affective priming, and voting intentions." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 22(2): 204-229.
3. Badas, Alex and Katelyn Stauffer. 2019. "Voting for women in nonpartisan and partisan elections." *Electoral Studies* 57: 245-255.
4. Gidengil, Elisabeth and André Blais. 2007. "Are Party Leaders Becoming More Important to Vote Choice in Canada?" in Hans J. Michelmann, Jeffrey S. Steeves and Donald C. Story, eds., *Political Leadership and Representation in Canada: Essays in Honour of John C. Courtney*. University of Toronto Press.
5. Blais, André, Elisabeth Gidengil, Agnieszka Dobrzynska, Neil Nevitte, and Richard Nadeau. 2003. "Does the local candidate matter? Candidate effects in the Canadian election of 2000." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 36(3): 657-664.
6. Aguilar, Rosario, Saul Cunow, Scott Desposato, and Leonardo Sangali Barone. 2015. "Ballot Structure, Candidate Race, and Vote Choice in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review* 50(3): 175-202.
 - Dataset: Local Parliament Project
https://loewenlab.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8kVV3zuwA0YpC3b?Q_JFE=qdg

March 17: Campaigns and Campaign Effects

1. Iyengar, Shanto, and Adam F. Simon. 2000. "New perspectives and evidence on political communication and campaign effects." *Annual review of psychology* 51(1): 149-169.
2. Lau, Richard R., Lee Sigelman and Ivy Brown Rovner. 2007. "The Effects of Negative Political Campaigns: A Meta-Analytic Reassessment." *The Journal of Politics* 69(4): 1176-1209.
3. Johnston, Richard, André Blais, Henry E. Brady, and Jean Crête. 1992. *Letting the People Decide*. McGill-Queen's University Press. *Read Chapters 1, 4, and 8 only*.
4. Fournier, Patrick, Richard Nadeau, André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, and Neil Nevitte. 2004. "Time-of-voting decision and susceptibility to campaign effects." *Electoral Studies* 23(4): 661-681.
5. Johnston, Richard and Henry E. Brady. "The rolling cross-section design." *Electoral Studies* 21(2): 283-295.
 - Dataset: 1988 Canadian Election Study
<https://search2.odesi.ca/#/details?uri=%2Fodesi%2FCES-E-1988.xml>

March 24: Multi-level Governance: Second-Order Elections, Voting Cues and Accountability

1. Reif, Karlheinz and Hermann Schmitt. 1980. "Nine Second-Order National Elections – A Conceptual Framework For The Analysis Of European Election Results." *European Journal Of Political Research* 8(1): 3-44.
2. Ehin, Piret and Liisa Talving. 2021. "Still second-order: European elections in the era of populism, extremism and Eurosceptism." *Politics* 41(4): 467-485.
3. Anderson, Cameron D. 2006. "Economic voting and multilevel governance: A comparative individual-level analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 449-463.
4. Cutler, Fred. 2008. "One voter, two first-order elections?" *Electoral Studies* 27(3): 492-504.
5. Bechtel, Michael M. 2012. "Not always second order: Subnational elections, national-level vote intentions, and volatility spillovers in a multi-level electoral system." *Electoral Studies* 31(1): 170-183.
6. Chan, Ka Ming. 2021. "The Rise of Radical Right and Bottom-Up Spillover Effect in a Multi-Level System: Evidence from Germany." SSRN
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3884395
 - Dataset: MEDW Bavarian Panel Study 2013-14
<https://dataverse.harvard.edu/file.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/YAHN5S/QPJ6LF&version=1.0>

March 31: Low-Information Elections

1. Lau, Richard R., and David P. Redlawsk. "Voting Correctly." *American Political Science Review* 91(3): 585–98.
2. McDermott, Monika L. 1997. "Voting cues in low-information elections: Candidate gender as a social information variable in contemporary United States elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 41(1): 270-283.
3. Schaffner, Brian F., and Matthew J. Streb. 2002. "The partisan heuristic in low-information elections." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 66(4): 559-581.
4. Bird, Karen, Samantha D. Jackson, R. Michael McGregor, Aaron A. Moore, and Laura B.

- Stephenson. 2016. "Sex (And Ethnicity) in the City: Affinity Voting in the 2014 Toronto Mayoral Election." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 49(2): 359–83.
5. Brockington, David. 2003. "A Low Information Theory of Ballot Position Effect." *Political Behavior* 25(1): 1–27.
 6. Moore, Aaron A., R. Michael McGregor, and Laura B. Stephenson. 2017. "Paying attention and the incumbency effect: Voting behavior in the 2014 Toronto Municipal Election." *International Political Science Review* 38(1): 85-98.
 - Dataset: Comparative Municipal Election Study
<https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/HK9GJA>