

# Comparative perspectives on elite rhetoric and democratic competition

Winter Term 2023/24

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**Instructor:** Hauke Licht, Ph.D.

**Email:** [hauke.licht@wiso.uni-koeln.de](mailto:hauke.licht@wiso.uni-koeln.de)

**Place:** IBW Building, Room 3.40

**Time:** Thursdays, 10:00 – 13:30 <sup>bi-weekly</sup>

**ILIAS:** [5364505](#)

**KLIPS:** [463346](#)

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**Course short description** Politicians choose their words carefully to emphasize which issues matter to them, frame political choices, undermine their opponents' support, and appeal to voters. This course provides students with an overview of contemporary debates and unanswered questions in research on the role that rhetorical strategies play in political competition. The course is divided into one introductory and three topical blocks. We will first discuss how and why politicians strategically manipulate language to pursue their political goals. In the first topical block, we will turn to how politicians use *emotive rhetoric and sentiment* in contemporary political debates. In the second block, we will then cover the topic of *valence politics* and learn about when, how, and why parties and their representatives attack their opponents. In the last topical block, we will learn about *group-based political rhetoric* and discover how and why politicians talk about and appeal to specific social groups. Overall, the course will cover a range of observational and experimental (quantitative) studies on the use and effects of elite rhetoric in contemporary democratic politics. It thus provides participants with a solid foundation in this very active and growing field of comparative political science research.

# Course Description

This Masters-level course provides participants with an overview of contemporary scholarly debates and unanswered questions in research on the role that rhetorical strategies play in democratic competition and representation. Thinking about politics as competition over alternative policies along ideological lines of conflict has a long tradition in political science. But researchers increasingly focus on how politicians' rhetorical, non-positional appeals shape contemporary politics. Among others, scholars have emphasized the relevance of voters' perceptions of candidates' and incumbents' character, integrity, and ability (so-called "valence" characteristics) in determining electoral turnout and behavior, the role that emotions and the tone of the debate play in shaping political outcomes, and how important it is to understand politicians' group-based rhetorical strategies to understand the age of identity politics.

The course is separated into four blocks — one serving introduction to the course's main theme, the other three blocks focusing on particular topics. In the introductory block, we address the question of why observers of contemporary democratic politics should be interested in politicians' rhetorical strategies. In the first topical block, we will then discuss how and why emotive rhetoric and sentiment shape contemporary political debates, covering research documenting observational evidence on politicians' strategic use of emotive language and sentiment. The second topical block focuses on valence politics, and we will cover readings on valence attacks, negative campaigning, and (populist) anti-elite appeals. In the third and last topical block, we will dive into the literature on group-based appeals and their effects on voters.

The course is targeted at Master's students in Political Science but open to students from neighboring fields such as communication science, sociology, economics, and public policy. After the initial course sign-up deadlines, the course might also be opened to early-stage Ph.D. researchers.

## Prerequisites

1. Participants should have prior knowledge of theories of political competition and democratic representation.
2. Participants should have prior knowledge of the principles of quantitative political science and comparative research design. While there exists a large body of qualitative, interpretivist, and/or critical scholarship on the role that rhetoric and discourse play in politics, we will focus on contributions in the quantitative (positive) political science tradition.
3. Participants should have a strong command of English. All course readings are in English, all discussions and presentations will be held in English, and participants are expected to write their final paper in English.

## Course Dates and Times

The seminar will take place in **room 3.40 in the IBW building** (Herbert-Lewin-Straße 2, 50931 Cologne). We will meet once for a 90-minutes kick-off session on 12. October 2023. Afterward, we will meet bi-weekly for 2×90 minutes (plus a 30-minute break), starting 19. October 2023. The exception is January 2024, where we will meet two weeks in a row. The exact course dates and times are listed in Table 1.

**Table 1:** Course dates and times and **deadlines**

<b>Intro block</b>	12. Oct 2023	10:00 – <u>11:30</u> CEST
	19. Oct 2023	10:00 – 13:30 CEST
	23. Oct 2023	sign up for reaction papers
	1. Nov 2023	sign up for poster presentation groups
<b>Block I</b>	2. Nov 2023	10:00 – 13:30 CET
	16. Nov 2023	10:00 – 13:30 CET
<b>Block II</b>	30. Nov 2023	10:00 – 13:30 CET
	6. Dec 2023	register for examination
	14. Dec 2023	10:00 – 13:30 CET
<b>Block III</b>	11. Jan 2024	10:00 – 13:30 CET
	<u>18.</u> Jan 2024	10:00 – 13:30 CET
<b>Paper deadline</b>	1. Mar 2024	23:59 CET

## Course Requirements

The coursework comprises two reaction papers, one poster presentation, a final paper, and active participation during our bi-weekly meetings. Only the final paper will be graded. All other coursework will be graded with pass/fail.

**Two reaction papers (each pass/fail)** You will need to select two double sessions from topical blocks I-III (except 16. November 2023) and write one reaction paper for one required reading of each double session. The reaction paper should be a critical evaluation of *one* of the required readings assigned for the given double session. You can find a number of guiding questions in [Appendix A1](#) at the end of this document. Each reaction paper should be about two pages long (1.5 line space, 12pt font size).

The **deadline for submitting a reaction paper** is always Tuesday, 13:00, in the week of the double session you chose. For example, if you choose to write a reaction paper for the first double session of block II on 30. November 2023, then you will need to submit your reaction paper by 28. November 2023, 13:00.

You can **sign up** for two readings for which you want to write reaction papers on ILIAS ([link](#)). The **deadline for selecting the readings** for which you want to write a reaction paper is 23. October 2023. But be quick! Each reading “slot” has a cap of three people. So first come, first served!

**Poster presentation (pass/fail)** In the last meeting of the first topical block (16. November 2023), we will cover text-as-data methods to measure the sentiment and emotions expressed in political speech and texts. Participants will be required to (a) prepare an academic poster<sup>1</sup> for this session in groups of 2-4 persons and (b) present the poster in the double session on 16. November 2023.

Participants’ posters and presentations should summarize (i) the motivation and research question of the paper they present, (ii) its methodology and empirical strategy, and (iii) its key findings. The presentation should take no longer than 12 minutes, and the group presenting should be prepared to respond to audience questions.

You can **sign up** for the reading for which you want to prepare the poster (and the group) on ILIAS ([link](#)). The **deadline for selecting a reading and its group** is 1. November 2023. But be quick! Each reading/group has a cap of four people. So first come, first served!

**Final paper (graded)** For the final submission for the course, you will write a term paper. In the term paper, you are expected to identify, discuss, and address (a) an open theoretical question in the extant literature *or* (b) an empirical question. The term paper should be **3500–4500 words** long, including in the count the title page, text body, footnotes, and figure and table captions, but excluding the list of references and any appendices.<sup>2</sup>

You are expected to address the research question of your term paper with the appropriate methodology. For example, for a type-(a) (“theory”) paper, you will need to conduct a comprehensive review of the literature, compare and synthesize different strands and arguments in this literature, and condense them into a discussion of currently open questions in this field. For a type-(b) (“empirical”) paper, you will need to formulate a research question, develop a theoretical argument that leads to a falsifiable hypothesis, and test this hypothesis with comparative and/or quantitative methods.

The **deadline for submitting the final paper** is 1 March 2024, 23:59 CET. Participants will be expected to discuss their term paper idea with the instructor in the week of 22.-26. January 2024 during office hours (by appointment).

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<sup>1</sup> You can view an example of an academic poster [here](#).

<sup>2</sup>Count the words in your document with [this online tool](#).

# Course Outline

## Introductory Block

### Kick-off session (12. Oct 2023)

In this kick-off meeting of the course, you will learn about (i) the course's overall topic, (ii) its learning objectives, and (iii) what you are expected to do to earn credits.

**Required readings** The course syllabus (i.e., this document).

### Rhetoric and voters (19. Oct 2023)

Before we dive into the course's three topical blocks, we will engage with experimental evidence that motivates the study of rhetorical strategies in political competition.

#### Required readings

B. N. Bakker, G. Schumacher, and M. Rooduijn (2021). "Hot Politics? Affective Responses to Political Rhetoric". In: *American Political Science Review* 115.1, pp. 150–164. DOI:

[10.1017/S0003055420000519](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055420000519)

J. Blumenau and B. E. Lauderdale (2022). "The Variable Persuasiveness of Political Rhetoric". In: *American Journal of Political Science* First View. DOI: [10.1111/ajps.12703](https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12703)

M. Hameleers, L. Bos, and C. H. de Vreese (2017). "'They Did It': The Effects of Emotionalized Blame Attribution in Populist Communication". In: *Communication Research* 44.6, pp. 870–900. DOI: [10.1177/0093650216644026](https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650216644026)

#### Further reading (optional)

W. H. Riker (1996). *The strategy of rhetoric: campaigning for the American Constitution*. Yale University Press

C. Boussalis, T. G. Coan, M. R. Holman, and S. Müller (2021). "Gender, Candidate Emotional Expression, and Voter Reactions During Televised Debates". In: *American Political Science Review* 115.4, pp. 1242–1257. DOI: [10.1017/S0003055421000666](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000666)

## Block I: Sentiment and Emotive Rhetoric

More often than not, how we understand what is said depends on how it's said. A large body of academic research thus studies the tone and affective polarity of political communication and its role in political

competition. In this first topical block of the course, we take a closer look at this literature to gain a deeper understanding of how politicians strategically use sentiment and emotive rhetoric.

## **Sentiment and emotive rhetoric (2. Nov 2023)**

In the first double sessions, we examine how politicians use affective language and emotive appeals to shape their political fortunes. In particular, we will learn (i) what the concepts of “sentiment,” “affect,” and “emotiveness” mean; (ii) why they matter for understanding political competition; and (iii) what explains the sentiment and emotiveness of politicians’ political communication.

### **Required readings**

- C. Crabtree, M. Golder, T. Gschwend, and I. H. Indridason (2019). “It Is Not Only What You Say, It Is Also How You Say It: The Strategic Use of Campaign Sentiment”. In: *The Journal of Politics* 82.3, pp. 1044–1060. DOI: [10.1086/707613](https://doi.org/10.1086/707613)
- S. Kosmidis, S. Hobolt, A. Molloy, and S. Whitefield (2019). “Party competition and emotive rhetoric”. In: *Comparative Political Studies* 52, pp. 811–837. DOI: [10.1177/0010414018797942](https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414018797942)
- M. Osnabrügge, S. B. Hobolt, and T. Rodon (2021). “Playing to the Gallery: Emotive Rhetoric in Parliaments”. In: *American Political Science Review* 115.3, pp. 885–899. DOI: [10.1017/S0003055421000356](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000356)

### **Further readings (optional)**

- G. Gennaro and E. Ash (2022). “Emotion and Reason in Political Language”. In: *The Economic Journal* 132.643, pp. 1037–1059. DOI: [10.1093/ej/ueab104](https://doi.org/10.1093/ej/ueab104)
- V. Valentim and T. Widmann (2023). “Does Radical-Right Success Make the Political Debate More Negative? Evidence from Emotional Rhetoric in German State Parliaments”. In: *Political Behavior* 45.1, pp. 243–264. DOI: [10.1007/s11109-021-09697-8](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-021-09697-8)

## **Measuring expressed emotions and sentiment (16. Nov 2023)**

In the second double session of this block, we review text-as-data methods for measuring the emotions and sentiments expressed in political texts and speeches.

The session will be organized as a series of **poster presentations** with follow-up Q&A rounds. You will work together in groups of 2-3 in the weeks leading up to the double session and prepare an academic poster that summarizes *one* of the papers listed below. You will then present your poster to your peers during the double session.

Posters and presentations should summarize (i) the motivation and research question of the paper being presented, (ii) its methodology and empirical strategy, and (iii) its key findings. Each presentation should take no more than 12 minutes, and the group presenting should be prepared to respond to audience questions.

### Readings (one paper per group)

- L. Young and S. Soroka (2012). “Affective News: The Automated Coding of Sentiment in Political Texts”. In: *Political Communication* 29.2, pp. 205–231. doi: [10.1080/10584609.2012.671234](https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2012.671234)
- L. Rheault, K. Beelen, C. Cochrane, and G. Hirst (2016). “Measuring emotion in parliamentary debates with automated textual analysis”. In: *PloS one* 11.12, e0168843. doi: [10.1371/journal.pone.0168843](https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0168843)
- W. van Atteveldt, M. A. C. G. van der Velden, and M. Boukes (2021). “The Validity of Sentiment Analysis: Comparing Manual Annotation, Crowd-Coding, Dictionary Approaches, and Machine Learning Algorithms”. In: *Communication Methods and Measures* 15.2, pp. 121–140. doi: [10.1080/19312458.2020.1869198](https://doi.org/10.1080/19312458.2020.1869198)
- D. R. Rice and C. Zorn (2021). “Corpus-based dictionaries for sentiment analysis of specialized vocabularies”. In: *Political Science Research and Methods* 9.1, pp. 20–35. doi: [10.1017/psrm.2019.10](https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2019.10)
- C. Cochrane, L. Rheault, J.-F. Godbout, T. Whyte, M. W.-C. Wong, and S. Borwein (2022). “The Automatic Analysis of Emotion in Political Speech Based on Transcripts”. In: *Political Communication* 39.1, pp. 98–121. doi: [10.1080/10584609.2021.1952497](https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2021.1952497)
- T. Widmann and M. Wich (2022). “Creating and Comparing Dictionary, Word Embedding, and Transformer-Based Models to Measure Discrete Emotions in German Political Text”. In: *Political Analysis*, pp. 1–16. doi: [10.1017/pan.2022.15](https://doi.org/10.1017/pan.2022.15)
- S. E. Bestvater and B. L. Monroe (2022). “Sentiment is Not Stance: Target-Aware Opinion Classification for Political Text Analysis”. In: *Political Analysis*, pp. 1–22. doi: [10.1017/pan.2022.10](https://doi.org/10.1017/pan.2022.10)

### Further readings (optional)

- M. Haselmayer and M. Jenny (2017). “Sentiment analysis of political communication: Combining a dictionary approach with crowdcoding”. In: *Quality & Quantity* 51.6, pp. 2623–2646. doi: [10.1007/s11135-016-0412-4](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-016-0412-4)
- C. Rauh (2018). “Validating a sentiment dictionary for German political language—a workbench note”. In: *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* 15.4, pp. 319–343. doi: [10.1080/19331681.2018.1485608](https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2018.1485608)

S.-O. Proksch, W. Lowe, J. Wäckerle, and S. Soroka (2019). “Multilingual Sentiment Analysis: A New Approach to Measuring Conflict in Legislative Speeches”. In: *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 44.1, pp. 97–131. doi: [10.1111/lsq.12218](https://doi.org/10.1111/lsq.12218)

**Note:** If you plan to write an empirical paper for this course, you find lots of inspiration and methodological guidance in the literature listed above. Importantly, many of the methodological approaches discussed in this literature can be applied to measure the other rhetorical strategies we discuss in Blocks II and III.

## Block II: Valence Competition and Attack Behaviors

In this second topical block of the course, we will concentrate on “valence” and its role in political competition. Broadly conceived, the concept of valence is a summary term that captures candidates’ (perceived) character, ability, and competence. Political scientists have recognized early on that how voters perceive candidates’ valence can impact their electoral choices. In European politics, where campaigns are often more party-centered, we typically witness this tendency in the form of negative campaigning and valence attacks. Parties’ representatives routinely criticize their opponents in public in an attempt to convince voters that their rivals are not capable of governing effectively and responsibly. Moreover, with the surge of populist (radical right) parties, many of us have been exposed to anti-elite rhetoric as a more extreme type of valence attack.

### Valence competition (30. Nov 2023)

In the first double session, we will focus on the role valence plays in electoral competition. In particular, we will learn (i) what the concept of valence means, (ii) when and why parties and their representatives choose to emphasize their valence, and (iii) when they attack their opponents.

#### Required readings

C. Bjarnøe, J. Adams, and A. Boydstun (2023). ““Our Issue Positions are Strong, and Our Opponents’ Valence is Weak”: An Analysis of Parties’ Campaign Strategies in Ten Western European Democracies”. In: *British Journal of Political Science* 53.1, pp. 65–84. doi: [10.1017/S0007123421000715](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123421000715)

A. S. Walter, W. Van der Brug, and P. van Praag (2014). “When the stakes are high: Party competition and negative campaigning”. In: *Comparative Political Studies* 47.4, pp. 550–573

J.-H. Jung and M. Tavits (2021). “Valence Attacks Harm the Electoral Performance of the Left but Not the Right”. In: *The Journal of Politics* 83.1, pp. 277–290. doi: [10.1086/709299](https://doi.org/10.1086/709299)



**Further reading (optional)**

- J. F. Adams, E. Scheiner, and J. Kawasumi (2016). "Running on character? Running on policy? An analysis of Japanese candidates' campaign platforms". In: *Electoral Studies* 44, pp. 275–283. DOI: [10.1016/j.electstud.2016.06.017](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2016.06.017)
- R. Abney, J. Adams, M. Clark, M. Easton, L. Ezrow, S. Kosmidis, and A. Neundorf (2013). "When does valence matter? Heightened valence effects for governing parties during election campaigns". In: *Party Politics* 19.1, pp. 61–82. DOI: [10.1177/1354068810395057](https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068810395057)
- A. S. Walter (2014). "Choosing the enemy: Attack behaviour in a multiparty system". In: *Party Politics* 20.3, pp. 311–323. DOI: [10.1177/1354068811436050](https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068811436050)
- A. Nai (2018). "Going Negative, Worldwide: Towards a General Understanding of Determinants and Targets of Negative Campaigning". In: *Government and Opposition*, pp. 1–26. DOI: [10.1017/gov.2018.32](https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2018.32)
- D. Weitzel (2023). "Valence attacks in multi-party elections". Working Paper

**Populist and anti-elite rhetoric (14. Dec 2023)**

In this second double session of this block, we will examine the literature on populism and the strategic use of (populist) anti-elite rhetoric. You will learn (i) what role anti-elite rhetoric plays in populist communication, (ii) how much emphasis different types of parties put on elite criticism, and (iii) what explains why politicians use populist and/or anti-elite rhetoric.

**Required readings**

- M. Rooduijn, S. L. de Lange, and W. van der Brug (2014). "A populist Zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in Western Europe". In: *Party Politics* 20.4, pp. 563–575. DOI: [10.1177/1354068811436065](https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068811436065)
- Y. Dai and A. Kustov (2022). "When Do Politicians Use Populist Rhetoric? Populism as a Campaign Gamble". In: *Political Communication* 39.3, pp. 383–404. DOI: [10.1080/10584609.2022.2025505](https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2022.2025505)
- C. E. de Vries and S. B. Hobolt (2020). *Political Entrepreneurs: The Rise of Challenger Parties in Europe*. Princeton University Press, Chapter 6

**Further reading (optional)**

- M. Rooduijn (2014). "The Mesmerising Message: The Diffusion of Populism in Public Debates in Western European Media". In: *Political Studies* 62.4, pp. 726–744. DOI: [10.1111/1467-9248.12074](https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12074)

- J. Polk et al. (2017). “Explaining the salience of anti-elitism and reducing political corruption for political parties in Europe with the 2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey data”. In: *Research & Politics* 4.1, pp. 1–9. doi: [10.1177/2053168016686915](https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168016686915)
- J. Gründl (2020). “Populist ideas on social media: A dictionary-based measurement of populist communication”. In: *New Media & Society*, p. 1461444820976970. doi: [10.1177/1461444820976970](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820976970)
- M. Breyer (2022). “Populist positions in party competition: Do parties strategically vary their degree of populism in reaction to vote and office loss?” In: *Party Politics*, p. 135406882210970. doi: [10.1177/13540688221097082](https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688221097082)
- H. Licht, T. Abou-Chadi, P. Barberá, and W. Hua (2023). “Measuring and understanding parties’ anti-elite strategies”. Working Paper

## Block III: Group-Based Rhetoric

Social groups’ struggle to influence political processes and outcomes has shaped the development of political systems around the world. Understanding the role of social classes, ethnic groups, and political movements in politics is thus a central theme in political science, ranging from political sociology to conflict studies. Accordingly, an increasing body of research studies how parties and politicians relate themselves to social groups in their public communication. In this last topical block of the course, we will dive into the literature on group-based appeals and their effects on voters.

### Parties’ use of group appeals (11. Jan 2024)

In this first double session of this block, we will learn (i) about the concepts of “group appeal,” and (ii) which groups politicians appeal to and why.

#### Required readings

- M. Thau (2017). “How Political Parties Use Group-Based Appeals: Evidence from Britain 1964–2015”. In: *Political Studies*, pp. 1–20. doi: [10.1177/0032321717744495](https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321717744495)
- L. M. Huber (2021). “Beyond Policy: The Use of Social Group Appeals in Party Communication”. In: *Political Communication* 0.0, pp. 1–18. doi: [10.1080/10584609.2021.1998264](https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2021.1998264)
- S. Stuckelberger and A. Tresch (2022). “Group Appeals of Parties in Times of Economic and Identity Conflicts and Realignment”. In: *Political Studies*, p. 00323217221123147. doi: [10.1177/00323217221123147](https://doi.org/10.1177/00323217221123147)

#### Further reading (optional)

- L. M. Huber and A. O. Dolinsky (2023). “How parties shape their relationship with social groups: A roadmap to the study of group-based appeals”. Working Paper
- R. Heinisch and A. Werner (2019). “Who Do Populist Radical Right Parties Stand for? Representative Claims, Claim Acceptance and Descriptive Representation in the Austrian FPÖ and German AfD”. in: *Representation* 55.4, pp. 475–492. doi: [10.1080/00344893.2019.1635196](https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893.2019.1635196)
- M. Thau (2021). “The Social Divisions of Politics: How Parties’ Group-Based Appeals Influence Social Group Differences in Vote Choice”. In: *The Journal of Politics* 83.2, pp. 675–688. doi: [10.1086/710018](https://doi.org/10.1086/710018)
- A. Horn, A. Kevins, C. Jensen, and K. Van Kersbergen (2021). “Political parties and social groups: New perspectives and data on group and policy appeals”. In: *Party Politics* 27.5, pp. 983–995. doi: [10.1177/1354068820907998](https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068820907998)
- P. J. Howe, E. Szöcsik, and C. I. Zuber (2022). “Nationalism, Class, and Status: How Nationalists Use Policy Offers and Group Appeals to Attract a New Electorate”. In: *Comparative Political Studies* 55.5, pp. 832–868. doi: [10.1177/00104140211036033](https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140211036033)
- A. O. Dolinsky (2022). “Parties’ group appeals across time, countries, and communication channels—examining appeals to social groups via the Parties’ Group Appeals Dataset”. In: *Party Politics*, p. 13540688221131982. doi: [10.1177/13540688221131982](https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688221131982)

## **(In)effectiveness of group appeals and targeting (18. Jan 2024)**

In the second double session of this last topical block, we will learn about how politicians’ group-based rhetoric influences voters.

### **Required readings**

- J. Robison, R. Stubager, M. Thau, and J. Tilley (2021). “Does Class-Based Campaigning Work? How Working Class Appeals Attract and Polarize Voters”. In: *Comparative Political Studies* 54.5, pp. 723–752. doi: [10.1177/0010414020957684](https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414020957684)
- E. D. Hersh and B. F. Schaffner (2013). “Targeted campaign appeals and the value of ambiguity”. In: *The Journal of Politics* 75.2, pp. 520–534. doi: [10.1017/s0022381613000182](https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022381613000182)
- L. M. Huber, T. M. Meyer, and M. Wagner (2022). “Social group appeals in party rhetoric: Effects on policy support and polarization”. working paper

### **Further reading (optional)**

- M. S. Jackson (2011). “Priming the Sleeping Giant: The Dynamics of Latino Political Identity and Vote Choice”. In: *Political Psychology* 32.4, pp. 691–716. doi: [10.1111/j.1467-9221.2011.00823.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2011.00823.x)

- M. R. Holman, M. C. Schneider, and K. Pondel (2015). "Gender Targeting in Political Advertisements". In: *Political Research Quarterly* 68.4, pp. 816–829. doi: [10.1177/1065912915605182](https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912915605182)
- C. D. Kam, A. M. N. Archer, and J. G. Geer (2017). "Courting the Women's Vote: The Emotional, Cognitive, and Persuasive Effects of Gender-Based Appeals in Campaign Advertisements". In: *Political Behavior* 39.1, pp. 51–75. doi: [10.1007/s11109-016-9347-7](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-016-9347-7)

# Appendix

## A1: Reaction paper guiding questions

### 1. Summarize

- What are the main arguments and hypotheses presented in the reading?
- What research methods were applied?
- What key empirical findings were presented?

### 2. Assess

- What new insights to the study of political elites' communication strategies and democratic competition does the reading contribute?
- What potential shortcomings in the reading's argument(s), method(s), or finding(s) do you see?

### 3. Discuss

- How does the reading relate to other research discussed in the course so far?