

Reading List for POLS633, Foreign and Security Policy

Matt Malis

January 2, 2026 (Version 1)

Topics

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Political Agency
- 3 Audience Costs
- 4 Legislatures and Domestic Opposition
- 5 Interest Groups and Lobbying
- 6 Opportunity Costs, Time, and Attention
- 7 Perception, Information Processing and Decision-Making
- 8 Bureaucracy and Delegation
- 9 Civil-Military Relations
- 10 Conflict Exposure and Motivation to Fight
- 11 Colonialism
- 12 Nation-Building
- 13 Foreign Influence
- 14 Election Monitoring

1 Introduction

- Fearon, J. D. (1995). Rationalist explanations for war. *International Organization*, 49(3):379–414
- Fearon, J. D. (1999). Electoral accountability and the control of politicians: selecting good types versus sanctioning poor performance. *Democracy, accountability, and representation*, 55:61
- Ashworth, S., Berry, C. R., and De Mesquita, E. B. (2021). *Theory and credibility: Integrating theoretical and empirical social science*. Princeton University Press, ch. 5
- Lake, D. A. (2011). Why “isms” are evil: Theory, epistemology, and academic sects as impediments to understanding and progress. *International Studies Quarterly*, 55(2):465–480
- Samii, C. (2023). Methodologies for “political science as problem solving”

2 Political Agency

Main readings:

- Downs, G. W. and Rocke, D. M. (1994). Conflict, agency, and gambling for resurrection: The principal-agent problem goes to war. *American Journal of Political Science*, pages 362–380
- Hess, G. D. and Orphanides, A. (1995). War politics: An economic, rational-voter framework. *The American Economic Review*, pages 828–846
- Jackson, M. O. and Morelli, M. (2007). Political bias and war. *American Economic Review*, 97(4):1353–1373
- Marinov, N., Nomikos, W. G., and Robbins, J. (2015). Does electoral proximity affect security policy? *The Journal of Politics*, 77(3):762–773
- Tomz, M., Weeks, J. L., and Yarhi-Milo, K. (2020). Public opinion and decisions about military force in democracies. *International Organization*, 74(1):119–143

Background and additional readings:

- Ashworth, S. (2012). Electoral accountability: recent theoretical and empirical work. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 15:183–201
- Chiozza, G. and Goemans, H. E. (2004). International conflict and the tenure of leaders: Is war still ex post inefficient? *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(3):604–619
- Smith, A. (2016). Leader turnover, institutions, and voting at the UN General Assembly. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 60(1):143–163

3 Audience Costs

Main readings:

- Fearon, J. D. (1994). Domestic political audiences and the escalation of international disputes. *American Political Science Review*, 88(3):577–592
- Smith, A. (1998). International crises and domestic politics. *American Political Science Review*, 92(3):623–638
- Ashworth, S. and Ramsay, K. W. (2022). The accountability of politicians in international crises and the nature of audience cost. *Political Science Research and Methods*, pages 1–26
- Levenotoglu, B. and Tarar, A. (2005). Prenegotiation public commitment in domestic and international bargaining. *American Political Science Review*, 99(3):419–433

- Slantchev, B. L. (2006). Politicians, the media, and domestic audience costs. *International Studies Quarterly*, 50(2):445–477
- Debs, A. and Weiss, J. C. (2016). Circumstances, domestic audiences, and reputational incentives in international crisis bargaining. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 60(3):403–433
- Schultz, K. A. (2001). Looking for audience costs. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(1):32–60
- Tomz, M. (2007). Domestic audience costs in international relations: An experimental approach. *International Organization*, 61(4):821–840
- Kertzer, J. D. and Brutger, R. (2016). Decomposing audience costs: Bringing the audience back into audience cost theory. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(1):234–249
- Croco, S. E., Hanmer, M. J., and McDonald, J. A. (2021). At what cost? reexamining audience costs in realistic settings. *The Journal of Politics*, 83(1):8–22
- Nomikos, W. G. and Sambanis, N. (2019). What is the mechanism underlying audience costs? incompetence, belligerence, and inconsistency. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56(4):575–588

Background and additional readings:

- Snyder, J. and Borghard, E. D. (2011). The cost of empty threats: A penny, not a pound. *American Political Science Review*, 105(3):437–456
- Levendusky, M. S. and Horowitz, M. C. (2012). When backing down is the right decision: Partisanship, new information, and audience costs. *The Journal of Politics*, 74(2):323–338
- Trachtenberg, M. (2012a). Audience costs: An historical analysis. *Security Studies*, 21(1):3–42
- Gartzke, E. and Lupu, Y. (2012). Still looking for audience costs. *Security Studies*, 21(3):391–397
- Schultz, K. A. (2012). Why we needed audience costs and what we need now. *Security Studies*, 21(3):369–375
- Levy, J. S. (2012). Coercive threats, audience costs, and case studies. *Security Studies*, 21(3):383–390
- Mercer, J. (2012). Audience costs are toys. *Security Studies*, 21(3):398–404
- Slantchev, B. L. (2012). Audience cost theory and its audiences. *Security Studies*, 21(3):376–382
- Trachtenberg, M. (2012b). A comment on the comments. *Security Studies*, 21(3):405–415

4 Legislatures and Domestic Opposition

Main readings:

- Hulme, M. P. (2025). War and responsibility. *American Political Science Review*, pages 1–24
- Ramsay, K. W. (2004). Politics at the water’s edge: Crisis bargaining and electoral competition. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(4):459–486
- Myrick, R. (2021). Do external threats unite or divide? Security crises, rivalries, and polarization in American foreign policy. *International Organization*, 75(4):921–958
- Schultz, K. A. (2005). The politics of risking peace: Do hawks or doves deliver the olive branch? *International Organization*, 59(1):1–38
- Milner, H. V. and Tingley, D. (2015). *Sailing the Water’s Edge*. Princeton University Press, ch. 2 & ch. 4

Background and additional readings:

- Schultz, K. A. (1998). Domestic opposition and signaling in international crises. *American Political Science Review*, 92(4):829–844
- Putnam, R. D. (1988). Diplomacy and domestic politics: the logic of two-level games. *International Organization*, 42(3):427–460
- Baliga, S. and Sjöström, T. (2012). The strategy of manipulating conflict. *American Economic Review*, 102(6):2897–2922
- Shea, P., Teo, T. K., and Levy, J. S. (2014). Opposition politics and international crises: a formal model. *International Studies Quarterly*, 58(4):741–751
- Di Lonardo, L. and Tyson, S. A. (2022). Political instability and the failure of deterrence. *The Journal of Politics*, 84(1):000–000
- Kreps, S. E., Saunders, E. N., and Schultz, K. A. (2018). The ratification premium: Hawks, doves, and arms control. *World Politics*, 70(4):479–514
- Clare, J. (2014). Hawks, doves, and international cooperation. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 58(7):1311–1337
- Bertoli, A., Dafoe, A., and Trager, R. F. (2019). Is there a war party? Party change, the left–right divide, and international conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 63(4):950–975

5 Interest Groups and Lobbying

Main readings:

- Thrall, C. (2024). Informational lobbying and commercial diplomacy. *American Journal of Political Science*
- Lee, J. (2023). Foreign direct investment in political influence. *International Studies Quarterly*, 67(1):sqad005
- Grotteria, M., Miller, M., and Naaraayanan, S. L. (2024). Foreign Influence in US Politics. *Jacobs Levy Equity Management Center for Quantitative Financial Research Paper*. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4058658
- Schnakenberg, K. E. and Turner, I. R. (2024). Formal theories of special interest influence. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 27(1):401–421
- Kustra, T. (2022). Sanctioning the homeland: Diasporas’ influence on american economic sanctions policy. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 66(3):443–472
- Kennard, A. (2020). The enemy of my enemy: When firms support climate change regulation. *International Organization*, 74(2):187–221
- Milner, H. V. and Tingley, D. (2015). *Sailing the Water’s Edge*. Princeton University Press, ch. 3

Background and additional readings:

- Kim, I. S. (2017). Political cleavages within industry: Firm-level lobbying for trade liberalization. *American Political Science Review*, 111(1):1–20
- Kim, I. S. and Milner, H. V. (2019). Multinational corporations and their influence through lobbying on foreign policy. *Multinational Corporations in a Changing Global Economy*, pages 497–536
- de Figueiredo, J. M. and Richter, B. K. (2014). Advancing the empirical research on lobbying. *Annual review of political science*, 17:163–185
- Bombardini, M. and Trebbi, F. (2020). Empirical models of lobbying. *Annual Review of Economics*, 12:391–413

- You, H. Y. (2020). Foreign agents registration act: a user’s guide. *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, 9(3):302–316
- Lee, J. (2022a). Foreign lobbying through domestic subsidiaries. *Economics & Politics*

6 Opportunity Costs, Time, and Attention

Main readings:

- Lindsey, D. and Hobbs, W. (2015). Presidential effort and international outcomes: Evidence for an executive bottleneck. *The Journal of Politics*, 77(4):1089–1102
- Bubeck, J., Elshehawy, A., Marinov, N., and Nanni, F. (2025). The importance of a liberal power’s attention to democratic elections around the world. *The Journal of Politics*, 87(4):000–000
- Durante, R. and Zhuravskaya, E. (2018). Attack when the world is not watching? US news and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. *Journal of Political Economy*, 126(3):1085–1133
- Malis, M. and Smith, A. (2021). State visits and leader survival. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(1):241–256

Background and additional readings:

- Peake, J. S. (2001). Presidential agenda setting in foreign policy. *Political Research Quarterly*, 54(1):69–86
- Wood, B. D. and Peake, J. S. (1998). The dynamics of foreign policy agenda setting. *American Political Science Review*, 92(1):173–184
- Kelley, J. G. and Pevehouse, J. C. (2015). An opportunity cost theory of US treaty behavior. *International Studies Quarterly*, 59(3):531–543

7 Perception, Information Processing and Decision-Making

Main readings:

- Goldfien, M. A., Joseph, M. F., and McManus, R. W. (2023). The domestic sources of international reputation. *American Political Science Review*, 117(2):609–628
- Jost, T., Kertzer, J. D., Min, E., and Schub, R. (2024). Advisers and aggregation in foreign policy decision making. *International Organization*, 78(1):1–37
- Kertzer, J. D., Renshon, J., and Yarhi-Milo, K. (2021). How do observers assess resolve? *British Journal of Political Science*, 51(1):308–330
- Yarhi-Milo, K., Kertzer, J. D., and Renshon, J. (2018). Tying hands, sinking costs, and leader attributes. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62(10):2150–2179
- Yoon, H. (2024). Anger expressions and coercive credibility in international crises. *American Journal of Political Science*
- Carson, A., Min, E., and Van Nuys, M. (2024). Racial tropes in the foreign policy bureaucracy: A computational text analysis. *International Organization*, 78(2):189–223

Background and additional readings:

- Goldfien, M. A. and Joseph, M. F. (2023). Perceptions of Leadership Importance: Evidence from the CIA’s President’s Daily Brief. *Security Studies*, 32(2):205–238

- Yarhi-Milo, K. (2013). In the eye of the beholder: How leaders and intelligence communities assess the intentions of adversaries. *International Security*, 38(1):7–51
- Kertzer, J. D. and Renshon, J. (2022). Experiments and surveys on political elites. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 25:529–550
- Kertzer, J. D. (2022). Re-assessing elite-public gaps in political behavior. *American Journal of Political Science*, 66(3):539–553
- Saunders, E. N. (2017). No substitute for experience: presidents, advisers, and information in group decision making. *International Organization*, 71(S1):2118–2149
- Jervis, R. (2017). *How statesmen think: The psychology of international politics*. Princeton University Press
- Landau-Wells, M. (2024). Building from the brain: Advancing the study of threat perception in international relations. *International Organization*, 78(4):627–667

8 Bureaucracy and Delegation

Main readings:

- Carcelli, S. P. (2024). Bureaucratic structure and compliance with international agreements. *American Journal of Political Science*, 68(1):177–192
- Lindsey, D. (2017). Diplomacy through agents. *International Studies Quarterly*, 61(3):544–556
- Lindsey, D. (2024). Who decides who gets in? diplomats, bureaucrats, and visa issuance. *Political Science Research and Methods*, pages 1–15
- Schub, R. (2022). Informing the leader: Bureaucracies and international crises. *American Political Science Review*, 116(4):1460–1476
- Arias, S. B. (2025). Who sets the agenda? diplomatic experience and small power influence in the united nations. *World Politics*
- Malis, M. (2024). Foreign policy appointments. *International Organization*, 78(3):501–537
- Voth, J. and Xu, G. (2022). Discretion and destruction: Promotions, performance, and patronage in the Royal Navy. Technical report, CEPR Discussion Paper No. DP13963

Background and additional readings:

- Joseph, M. F., Poznansky, M., and Spaniel, W. (2022). Shooting the messenger: The challenge of national security whistleblowing. *The Journal of Politics*, 84(2):846–860
- Malis, M. (2021). Conflict, cooperation, and delegated diplomacy. *International Organization*, 75(4):1018–1057
- Gailmard, S. and Patty, J. W. (2007). Slackers and zealots: Civil service, policy discretion, and bureaucratic expertise. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(4):873–889
- Brierley, S., Lowande, K., Potter, R. A., and Toral, G. (2023). Bureaucratic politics: Blind spots and opportunities in political science. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 26:271–290
- Gailmard, S. and Patty, J. W. (2012). Formal models of bureaucracy. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 15:353–377
- Saunders, E. N. (2022). Elites in the making and breaking of foreign policy. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 25:219–240

- Allison, G. T. (1969). Conceptual models and the Cuban missile crisis. *American Political Science Review*, 63(3):689–718
- Krasner, S. D. (1972). Are bureaucracies important? (or Allison Wonderland). *Foreign Policy*, (7):159–179
- Bendor, J. and Hammond, T. H. (1992). Rethinking Allison’s models. *The American Political Science Review*, pages 301–322
- Halperin, M. H. and Clapp, P. (2006). *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*. Brookings Institution Press

9 Civil-Military Relations

Main readings:

- Mattingly, D. C. (2022). How the Party Commands the Gun: The Foreign–Domestic Threat Dilemma in China. *American Journal of Political Science*
- Jost, T., Meshkin, K., and Schub, R. (2022). The character and origins of military attitudes on the use of force. *International Studies Quarterly*, 66(2):sqac005
- Altman, D. and Lee, M. M. (2022). Why territorial disputes escalate: The causes of conquest attempts since 1945. *International Studies Quarterly*, 66(4):sqac076
- Lin-Greenberg, E. (2021). Soldiers, pollsters, and international crises: Public opinion and the military’s advice on the use of force. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 17(3):orab009
- Jost, T. and Mattingly, D. (2025). Networks of coercion: Military ties and civilian leadership challenges in china. *American Journal of Political Science*

Background and additional readings:

- Feaver, P. (2009). *Armed servants: Agency, oversight, and civil-military relations*. Harvard University Press
- Albrecht, H. and Eibl, F. (2018). How to keep officers in the barracks: Causes, agents, and types of military coups. *International Studies Quarterly*, 62(2):315–328
- Brooks, R. A. (2019). Integrating the civil–military relations subfield. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 22:379–398
- Brooks, R. (2020). Paradoxes of professionalism: Rethinking civil-military relations in the united states. *International Security*, 44(4):7–44
- Kenwick, M. R. and Maxey, S. (2022). You and whose army? how civilian leaders leverage the military’s prestige to shape public opinion. *The Journal of Politics*, 84(4):1963–1978

10 Conflict Exposure and Motivation to Fight

- Huff, C. (2024). Counterinsurgency tactics, rebel grievances, and who keeps fighting. *American Political Science Review*, 118(1):475–480
- Shelef, N. and vanderWilden, E. (2025). Re-evaluating the impact of collective victimhood on conflict attitudes: Results from a natural experiment, a survey experiment, and panel study using israel’s holocaust memorial day. *American Journal of Political Science*, 69(4):1235–1253
- Krick, B. C., Petkun, J. B., and Revkin, M. R. (2025). Civilian harm and military legitimacy: Evidence from the battle of mosul. *International Organization*, 79(2):332–357

- De Juan, A., Haass, F., Koos, C., Riaz, S., and Tichelbaecker, T. (2024). War and nationalism: How ww1 battle deaths fueled civilians’ support for the nazi party. *American Political Science Review*, 118(1):144–162
- Hall, A. B., Huff, C., and Kuriwaki, S. (2019). Wealth, slaveownership, and fighting for the confederacy: An empirical study of the american civil war. *American Political Science Review*, 113(3):658–673
- Krick, B. C., Petkun, J. B., and Revkin, M. R. (2025). Civilian harm and military legitimacy: Evidence from the battle of mosul. *International Organization*, 79(2):332–357
- Dill, J., Howlett, M., and Müller-Crepon, C. (2024). At any cost: How ukrainians think about self-defense against russia. *American Journal of Political Science*, 68(4):1460–1478
- McAlexander, R. J., Rubin, M. A., and Williams, R. (2024). They’re still there, he’s all gone: American fatalities in foreign wars and right-wing radicalization at home. *American Political Science Review*, 118(3):1577–1583
- Mahmood, R. and Jetter, M. (2023). Gone with the wind: The consequences of us drone strikes in pakistan. *The Economic Journal*, 133(650):787–811
- Adena, M., Enikolopov, R., Petrova, M., and Voth, H.-J. (2021). Bombs, broadcasts and resistance: Allied intervention and domestic opposition to the nazi regime during world war ii. *Available at SSRN 3661643*

11 Colonialism

- Xu, G. (2018). The costs of patronage: Evidence from the british empire. *American Economic Review*, 108(11):3170–3198
- Queralt, D. (2025). Her majesty’s aid: Imperial subsidies and state building in the late british empire. https://www.didacqueralt.com/_files/ugd/8b1fc6_2602c8ba328a4041b854f61b9e232aef.pdf
- Hartnett, A. S. and Saleh, M. (2025). Precolonial elites and colonial redistribution of political power. *American Political Science Review*, pages 1–19
- Koehler-Derrick, G. and Lee, M. M. (2023). War and welfare in colonial algeria. *International Organization*, 77(2):263–293
- Paine, J., Qiu, X., and Ricart-Huguet, J. (2025). Endogenous colonial borders: precolonial states and geography in the partition of africa. *American Political Science Review*, 119(1):1–20
- Garfias, F. and Sellars, E. A. (2021). Fiscal legibility and state development: Theory and evidence from colonial mexico. *American Journal of Political Science*
- Spirling, A. (2012). Us treaty making with american indians: Institutional change and relative power, 1784–1911. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(1):84–97

12 Nation-Building

- Blair, C. W. (2024). The fortification dilemma: Border control and rebel violence. *American Journal of Political Science*, 68(4):1366–1385
- Blair, C. W. (2025). Border fortification and legibility: Evidence from afghanistan. *American Journal of Political Science*, 69(4):1559–1580
- Sexton, R. and Zürcher, C. (2024). Aid, attitudes, and insurgency: Evidence from development projects in northern afghanistan. *American Journal of Political Science*, 68(3):1168–1182
- Dell, M. and Querubin, P. (2018). Nation building through foreign intervention: Evidence from discontinuities in military strategies. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 133(2):701–764

- Berman, E., Shapiro, J. N., and Felter, J. H. (2011). Can hearts and minds be bought? The economics of counterinsurgency in Iraq. *Journal of Political Economy*, 119(4):766–819
- Grasse, D., Sexton, R., and Wright, A. (2024). Courting civilians during conflict: evidence from taliban judges in afghanistan. *International Organization*, 78(1):134–169
- Russell, K. and Sambanis, N. (2021). Stopping the violence but blocking the peace: Dilemmas of foreign-imposed nation building after ethnic war. *International Organization*, pages 1–38
- Lee, M. M. (2022b). International statebuilding and the domestic politics of state development. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 25(1):261–281

13 Foreign Influence

Main readings:

- Dube, O. and Naidu, S. (2015). Bases, bullets, and ballots: The effect of US military aid on political conflict in Colombia. *The Journal of Politics*, 77(1):249–267
- Lee, M. M. (2018). The international politics of incomplete sovereignty: How hostile neighbors weaken the state. *International Organization*, 72(2):283–315
- Berger, D., Easterly, W., Nunn, N., and Satyanath, S. (2013). Commercial imperialism? Political influence and trade during the Cold War. *American Economic Review*, 103(2):863–96
- Dube, A., Kaplan, E., and Naidu, S. (2011). Coups, corporations, and classified information. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 126(3):1375–1409

Background and additional readings:

- Gourevitch, P. (1978). The second image reversed: the international sources of domestic politics. *International Organization*, 32(4):881–912
- Malis, M., Querubin, P., and Satyanath, S. (2021). Persistent failure? International interventions since World War II. In Bisin, A. and Federico, G., editors, *Handbook of Historical Economics*. Elsevier
- Aidt, T. S., Albornoz, F., and Hauk, E. (2021). Foreign influence and domestic policy. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 59(2):426–487
- Boix, C. (2011). Democracy, development, and the international system. *American Political Science Review*, 105(4):809–828
- Ahlquist, J. S. and Wibbels, E. (2012). Riding the wave: World trade and factor-based models of democratization. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(2):447–464
- Pevehouse, J. C. (2002a). Democracy from the outside-in? International organizations and democratization. *International Organization*, 56(3):515–549
- Pevehouse, J. C. (2002b). With a little help from my friends? Regional organizations and the consolidation of democracy. *American Journal of Political Science*, pages 611–626
- Thies, C. G. (2005). War, rivalry, and state building in Latin America. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(3):451–465
- Paik, C. and Vechbanyongratana, J. (2019). Path to centralization and development: Evidence from Siam. *World Politics*, 71(2):289–331
- Queralt, D. (2019). War, international finance, and fiscal capacity in the long run. *International Organization*, 73(4):713–753

- Corstange, D. and Marinov, N. (2012). Taking sides in other people’s elections: The polarizing effect of foreign intervention. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(3):655–670
- Tomz, M. and Weeks, J. L. (2020). Public opinion and foreign electoral intervention. *American Political Science Review*
- Bush, S. S. and Prather, L. (2020). Foreign meddling and mass attitudes toward international economic engagement. *International Organization*, 74(3):584–609
- Levin, D. H. (2016). When the great power gets a vote: The effects of great power electoral interventions on election results. *International Studies Quarterly*, 60(2):189–202
- Levin, D. H. (2019). Partisan electoral interventions by the great powers: Introducing the PEIG dataset. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 36(1):88–106
- Shulman, S. and Bloom, S. (2012). The legitimacy of foreign intervention in elections: the Ukrainian response. *Review of International Studies*, 38(2):445–471
- Bubeck, J. and Marinov, N. (2017). Process or candidate: the international community and the demand for electoral integrity. *American Political Science Review*, 111(3):535–554
- Buisseret, P. and Bernhardt, D. (2018). Reelection and renegotiation: International agreements in the shadow of the polls. *American Political Science Review*, 112(4):1016–1035
- Di Lonardo, L., Sun, J. S., and Tyson, S. A. (2020). Autocratic stability in the shadow of foreign threats. *American Political Science Review*, 114(4):1247–1265

14 Election Monitoring

Main readings:

- Brancati, D. and Penn, E. M. (2023). Stealing an election: Violence or fraud? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 67(5):858–892
- Morrison, K., Donno, D., Savun, B., and Davutoglu, P. (2025). Competing judgments: Multiple election observers and post-election contention. *The Review of International Organizations*, 20(2):293–321
- Idrobo, N., Kronick, D., and Rodríguez, F. (2022). Do shifts in late-counted votes signal fraud? evidence from bolivia. *The Journal of Politics*, 84(4):2202–2215
- Idrobo, N., Kronick, D., and Rodríguez, F. (2026). On unfounded claims of electoral fraud. *World Development*, 198:107155
- Hyde, S. D. and Marinov, N. (2014). Information and self-enforcing democracy: The role of international election observation. *International Organization*, 68(2):329–359
- Luo, Z. and Rozenas, A. (2018). The election monitor’s curse. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(1):148–160
- Yukawa, T. and Sakamoto, T. (2023). The evolution of monitoring: Evidence from text analysis of election monitoring reports. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 20(1):orad034

Background and additional readings:

- Hyde, S. D. (2011). Catch us if you can: Election monitoring and international norm diffusion. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(2):356–369
- Simpson, A. and Donno, D. (2012). Can international election monitoring harm governance? *The Journal of Politics*, 74(2):501–513

- Bush, S. S. and Prather, L. (2018). Who's there? Election observer identity and the local credibility of elections. *International Organization*, 72(3):659–692
- Bush, S. S. and Prather, L. (2017). The promise and limits of election observers in building election credibility. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(3):921–935
- Bush, S. S. and Prather, L. (2022). *Monitors and Meddlers: How Foreign Actors Influence Local Trust in Elections*. Cambridge University Press
- Beaulieu, E. and Hyde, S. D. (2009). In the shadow of democracy promotion: Strategic manipulation, international observers, and election boycotts. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(3):392–415
- Hyde, S. D. (2007). The observer effect in international politics: Evidence from a natural experiment. *World Politics*, 60(1):37–63
- Kelley, J. G. (2012). International influences on elections in new multiparty states. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 15:203–220
- Chernykh, S. and Svolik, M. W. (2015). Third-party actors and the success of democracy: How electoral commissions, courts, and observers shape incentives for electoral manipulation and post-election protests. *The Journal of Politics*, 77(2):407–420
- Nielson, D. L., Hyde, S. D., and Kelley, J. (2019). The elusive sources of legitimacy beliefs: Civil society views of international election observers. *The Review of International Organizations*, 14(4):685–715