

Seminar in Comparative Political Behavior and Elections

Political Science 257

Spring 2021

Professor Miguel Carreras

Thursday 1:00-3:50 PM

Office Hours: 9:30-11:30 AM Tuesday or by appointment

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Course Description

This is an introduction to the study of elections and comparative political behavior. The seminar will discuss the determinants of political participation and vote choice from a comparative perspective. We will also discuss other topics in the area of comparative public opinion. Many of the theories of political behavior were originally developed in the U.S. Several of the contextual factors that are taken for granted in the American literature (e.g. solid democracy, two-party system, presidentialism, etc.) vary in cross-national analyses. One of the main objectives of this seminar is to investigate the institutional, political, or cultural factors that influence the explanatory power of different models of political behavior in different contexts. Many of the studies we will read develop theoretical statements and test them using observational data. Other studies rely on experimental methods (e.g., vignette, conjoint, and field experiments).

We begin with a normative discussion of the role of elections in a democratic system and of how different theories of democracy understand elections. We will then continue with topics related to voter turnout, and we will discuss studies analyzing the individual and contextual/institutional determinants of electoral participation. The next section of the course is devoted to discussing alternative models of vote choice: accountability models, campaign effects, and support for populism/radical right. The final section of the course will be devoted to several 'hot' topics in comparative political behavior that have attracted a lot of scholarly attention in the past few years: gender and political behavior, democratic attitudes, and protests.

The seminar will be explicitly comparative. We will study political behavior in consolidated democracies (e.g. Western Europe) as well as in fragile/new democracies (Eastern Europe, Africa, Latin America). Some of the readings are explicitly cross-national while others focus on one single case. But even in the papers discussing one case, we will be more concerned about what the case can teach us regarding general theories of political behavior, rather than about the specificities of the case.

Requirements

I. Class participation (25%): This course is a seminar. Students are thus expected to actively contribute to the discussion each and every week. This necessitates a careful reading of the material prior to the class. In preparing for class, students should think carefully about both the substantive and methodological aspects of each reading individually and in comparison with each other.

II. Discussion leading (25%): one (or two) students will assist me in leading the discussion each week. Their job is to write a synthetic and critical essay (1,500-2,000 words) revolving around the readings for the week. The essay should compare and contrast, criticize and praise. It should be thematic, rather than discuss every article one by one. The essay must be submitted to me by email by 8:00 PM the day before class. The discussion leaders will also give a short presentation in class (5-10 minutes) as an introduction to the discussion, and will assist me in leading the discussion.

III. Research design (50%): For this assignment, students will identify a research question that could extend our knowledge of comparative political behavior in an interesting and potentially important way. The research design will deal with one of the substantive areas on the syllabus or will focus on a special topic which is agreed upon by the instructor. The research design will place the research question within the existing literature. It will include why you think the research is important, how it extends previous research, and how you would go about addressing the problem. You will identify which methods and empirical evidence will be used to answer the question, and explain why the evidence and methods are appropriate for evaluating the question. If you have the available data and the methodological skills at the moment to execute the ideas you propose, by all means you are encouraged to do so, but this is not required.

Students are required to submit an outline of their research design (1 page) on April 29. The research design is due on June 6.

Readings

Most of the readings are journal articles that are available electronically. For those who are completely new to the field of comparative electoral behavior (and for others who want to refresh their memories), you can find excellent review essays in Niemi and Weisberg's *Controversies in Voting Behavior* (Congressional Quarterly Press, 5th Edition, 2010) and in Dalton and Klingemann's *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior* (Oxford University Press, 2007).

Zoom link for weekly meetings

<https://ucr.zoom.us/j/94840187230?pwd=blk4TWVpRW9zM0ZlRFdnU0Z1L1Zndz09>

Zoom link for office hours

<https://ucr.zoom.us/j/96687156722?pwd=d3hLUjBPczRQL01INWZjM1BzRk5OUT09>

Schedule and Readings

April 1: General Introduction and the Role of Elections in Democracies

Bartels, Larry M. 2008. *The Study of Electoral Behavior*. Princeton University. Princeton. Link: https://calgara.github.io/Pol157_Spring2019/Bartels%202008.pdf

Dalton, Russell .J. 2007. "Citizens and Political Behavior." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*, edited by Russell .J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. New York: Oxford University Press.

Przeworski, Adam, Susan C. Stokes, and Bernard Manin. 1999. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 1-2).

April 8: Electoral Participation (Contextual and Individual-Level Models)

Background

Blais, André. 2006. "What Affects Voter Turnout?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9:111-125.

Norris, Pippa. 2002. "Who Votes?" In *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Readings

Amat, Francesc, and Pablo Beramendi. 2020. "Democracy under High Inequality: Capacity, Spending, and Participation." *Journal of Politics* 82 (3):859-878.

Aytaç, S. Erdem, Eli Gavin Rau, and Susan Stokes. 2020. "Beyond Opportunity Costs: Campaign Messages, Anger and Turnout among the Unemployed." *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (4):1325-1339.

Blais, A., and C. H. Achen. 2019. "Civic Duty and Voter Turnout." *Political Behavior* 41 (2):473-497.

Gidengil, Elisabeth, Lasse Tarkiainen, Hanna Wass, and Pekka Martikainen. 2019. "Turnout and Education: Is Education Proxying for Pre-Adult Experiences Within the Family?" *Political Science Research and Methods* 7 (2):349-365.

Hobolt, Sara B., and Julian M. Hoerner. 2019. "The mobilising effect of political choice." *European Journal of Political Research* 59 (2):229-247.

April 15: Accountability #1: Economic Voting

Background

Lewis-Beck, Michael S., and Mary Stegmaier. 2000. "Economic Determinants of Electoral Outcomes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (1):183-219.

Readings

Carlin, Ryan E., and Timothy Hellwig. 2020. "The World Economy, Political Control, and Presidential Success." *Journal of Politics* 82 (2):786-799.

Campello, Daniela, and Cesar Zucco Jr. 2016. "Presidential Success and the World Economy." *Journal of Politics* 78 (2):589-602.

Kosmidis, Spyros. 2018. "International Constraints and Electoral Decisions: Does the Room to Maneuver Attenuate Economic Voting?" *American Journal of Political Science* 62 (3):519-534.

Larsen, Martin Vinæs. 2021. "Incumbent Tenure Crowds Out Economic Voting." *British Journal of Political Science* 51 (2):646-665.

Aytaç, Selim Erdem. 2018. "Relative Economic Performance and the Incumbent Vote: A Reference Point Theory." *Journal of Politics* 80 (1):16-29.

April 22: Accountability #2: Corruption

Readings

Boas, Taylor C., F. Daniel Hidalgo, and Marcus André Melo. 2019. "Norms versus Action: Why Voters Fail to Sanction Malfeasance in Brazil." *American Journal of Political Science* 63 (2):385-400.

García-Ponce, Omar, Thomas Zeitzoff, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2021. "Are voters too afraid to tackle corruption? Survey and experimental evidence from Mexico." *Political Science Research and Methods*.

Incerti, Trevor. 2020. "Corruption Information and Vote Share: A Meta-Analysis and Lessons for Experimental Design." *American Political Science Review* 114 (3):761-774.

Agerberg, Mattias. 2020. "The Lesser Evil? Corruption Voting and the Importance of Clean Alternatives." *Comparative Political Studies* 53 (2):253-287.

Solaz, Hector, Catherine E. De Vries, and Roosmarijn A. de Geus. 2019. "In-Group Loyalty and the Punishment of Corruption." *Comparative Political Studies* 52 (6):896-926.

April 29: Campaign Effects

Readings

Crabtree, Charles, Matt Golder, Thomas Gschwend, and Indriði H. Indriðason. 2020. "It Is Not Only What You Say, It Is Also How You Say It: The Strategic Use of Campaign Sentiment." *Journal of Politics* 82 (3):1044-1060.

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

Han, Kyung Joon. 2020. "Beclouding Party Position as an Electoral Strategy: Voter Polarization, Issue Priority and Position Blurring." *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (2):653-675.

Hassell, Hans J. G. 2021. "Desperate Times Call for Desperate Measures: Electoral Competitiveness, Poll Position, and Campaign Negativity." *Political Behavior*.

Robison, Joshua, Rune Stubager, Mads Thau, and James Tilley. 2021. "Does Class-Based Campaigning Work? How Working Class Appeals Attract and Polarize Voters." *Comparative Political Studies* 54 (5):723-752.

May 6: Support for populism and the radical right (economic, cultural, and sociological explanations)

Readings

Baccini, Leonardo, and Stephen Weymouth. 2021. "Gone For Good: Deindustrialization, White Voter Backlash, and US Presidential Voting." *American Political Science Review*.

Bolet, Diane. 2021. "Drinking Alone: Local Socio-Cultural Degradation and Radical Right Support—The Case of British Pub Closures." *Comparative Political Studies*.

Elçi, Ezgi. 2021. "Politics of Nostalgia and Populism: Evidence from Turkey." *British Journal of Political Science*:1-18.

Gidron, Noam, and Peter A. Hall. 2019. "Populism as a Problem of Social Integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 53 (7):1027-1059.

Milner, Helen V. 2021. "Voting for Populism in Europe: Globalization, Technological Change, and the Extreme Right." *Comparative Political Studies*.

May 13: Protests #1 (Causes)

Background

Aytaç, S. Erdem, and Susan Stokes. 2019. "Theories of Protest Participation: A Review and a New Approach." In *Why Bother? Rethinking Participation in Elections and Protests*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Readings

Griffin, John D., Chad Kiewiet de Jonge, and Vania Ximena Velasco-Guachalla. 2021. "Deprivation in the Midst of Plenty: Citizen Polarization and Political Protest." *British Journal of Political Science*.

Kostelka, Filip, and Jan Rovny. 2019. "It's Not the Left: Ideology and Protest Participation in Old and New Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 52 (11):1677-1712.

Kurer, Thomas, Silja Häusermann, Bruno Wüest, and Matthias Enggist. 2019. "Economic grievances and political protest." *European Journal of Political Research* 58 (3):866-892.

Larson, Jennifer M., Jonathan Nagler, Jonathan Ronen, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2019. "Social Networks and Protest Participation: Evidence from 130 Million Twitter Users." *American Journal of Political Science* 63 (3):690-705.

Dahlum, Sirianne, and Tore Wig. 2021. "Chaos on Campus: Universities and Mass Political Protest." *Comparative Political Studies* 54 (1):3-32.

May 20: Protests #2 (Elite reactions and consequences)

Readings

Ketchley, Neil, and Thoraya El-Rayyes. 2021. "Unpopular Protest: Mass Mobilization and Attitudes to Democracy in Post-Mubarak Egypt." *Journal of Politics* 83 (1):291-305.

Frye, Timothy, and Ekaterina Borisova. 2019. "Elections, Protest, and Trust in Government: A Natural Experiment from Russia." *Journal of Politics* 81 (3):820-832.

Edwards, Pearce, and Daniel Arnon. 2021. "Violence on Many Sides: Framing Effects on Protest and Support for Repression." *British Journal of Political Science* 51 (2):488-506.

Munger, Kevin, Richard Bonneau, Jonathan Nagler, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2019. "Elites Tweet to Get Feet Off the Streets: Measuring Regime Social Media Strategies During Protest." *Political Science Research and Methods* 7 (4):815-834.

Wasow, Omar. 2020. "Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting." *American Political Science Review* 114 (3):638-659.

May 27: Democratic Attitudes

Readings

Goodman, Sara Wallace. 2021. "Immigration Threat, Partisanship, and Democratic Citizenship: Evidence from the US, UK, and Germany." *Comparative Political Studies*.

Houle, Christian, and Michael K. Miller. 2019. "Social Mobility and Democratic Attitudes: Evidence From Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 52 (11):1610-1647.

Morgan, Jana, and Nathan J. Kelly. 2021. "Inequality, Exclusion, and Tolerance for Political Dissent in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies*.

Claassen, Christopher. 2019. "Does Public Support Help Democracy Survive?" *American Journal of Political Science* 64 (1):118-134.

Wuttke, Alexander, Konstantin Gavras, and Harald Schoen. 2020. "Have Europeans Grown Tired of Democracy? New Evidence from Eighteen Consolidated Democracies, 1981–2018." *British Journal of Political Science*:1-13.

June 3: Gender and Political Behavior

Readings

Carlin, Ryan E., Miguel Carreras, and Gregory J. Love. 2020. "Presidents' Sex and Popularity: Baselines, Dynamics, and Policy Performance." *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (4):1359-1379.

Homola, Jonathan. 2019. "Are Parties Equally Responsive to Women and Men?" *British Journal of Political Science* 49 (3):957-975.

Dassonneville, Ruth, and Filip Kostelka. 2021. "The Cultural Sources of the Gender Gap in Voter Turnout." *British Journal of Political Science*.

Pereira, Frederico Batista. 2019. "Gendered Political Contexts: The Gender Gap in Political Knowledge." *Journal of Politics* 81 (4):1480-1493.

Aaldering, Loes, and Daphne Joanna Van Der Pas. 2020. "Political Leadership in the Media: Gender Bias in Leader Stereotypes during Campaign and Routine Times." *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (3):911-931.