

## INTL 8374: Comparative Political Behavior

Spring 2019

3:30-6:15pm, Candler Hall 214 (1/15-3/19)

6:30-9:15pm, Candler Hall 214 (2/6-3/20)

Dr. Mollie J. Cohen

Office: 311 Candler Hall

Office Hours: Tues., 2-3:30PM or by appointment

Email: [mj.cohen@uga.edu](mailto:mj.cohen@uga.edu)

Phone: 706-542-6705

\*\*\*\*\*

*Note: this is a draft syllabus and is subject to change*

\*\*\*\*\*

**Course Description:** This course provides a broad survey of topics in the study of comparative mass behavior, including the origins of public opinion, partisanship, voter behavior, and protest. By the end of the semester, you should have an understanding of how scholars study comparative political behavior around the world, and knowledge of several current debates in the field. Students should also gain or reinforce skills that are core to studying comparative political behavior in an academic setting: providing and receiving constructive peer review, preparing and delivering conference presentations, and preparing journal-length manuscripts.

### Grades:

Attendance/ Participation: 20%

Reaction Papers and Questions: 25%

Final Presentation: 15%

Final Project: 40%

**Attendance/ Participation:** This is a Ph.D. level seminar, and classes are discussion-based. You are expected to attend class, to engage thoughtfully with the readings, and to communicate your ideas, questions, and concerns about the readings in a respectful way with your peers. Your participation grade will include your role as a discussant for a peer's final project presentation, as well as your participation in regular writing exercises.

**Reaction Papers and Questions:** Starting with class 3 (1/29), you will turn in a reaction paper for each substantive class session. You may miss two reaction papers without penalty. These reaction papers should be one to two pages, single spaced, and engage at least three of the week's readings critically. While your response paper should include a summary of the argument, evidence, and conclusion presented in each reading, you are expected to go beyond summarizing each piece and to discuss how the articles speak to each other and inform the larger

debates we discuss in class. At the end of your reaction paper, please include 3 questions about the reading. These questions will be used in class discussion.

**Final Presentation:** You will give a 12-15 minute presentation of your final project in class. This presentation will mimic a conference presentation in style and substance. You should start with a brief introduction to the research question and relevant theory, develop your argument, present any results you have or your prospective design, and close with a discussion of implications. One of your classmates will be assigned as the discussant for your paper. Instructions for the discussant role will be provided during the semester.

**Final Project:** You can choose to write either a research proposal or a research paper as your final assignment for this class. Although class will stop meeting in March, your final project is **due no later than May 2, 2019 at 5pm EST**, by email.

- Research Proposal: For the purposes of this class, a research proposal is a research paper that is missing final data analysis. Research proposals should be of standard journal-article length and format, with references formatted per APSA style guidelines.

Proposals will include (1) a research question, (2) a theoretical argument informed by a review of relevant literature, and (3) testable hypotheses that follow from your argument. A research proposal will also include (4) a detailed description of the data you would collect to complete the project (What is the dependent variable? What are the independent variables? What strategy(ies) would you employ to collect these variables?).

- Research Paper: Your manuscript should be standard journal-article length and format. It will include items 1-3 above, as well as (4) an empirical test of the argument, using data from existing sources. The goal is for you to write a manuscript you will eventually be able to submit for publication.

**Readings:** The vast majority of readings for this class are journal articles that you can access online, via google scholar or GIL. Several selections are also drawn from classic books in comparative politics. While you may wish to purchase these books, most selections are available online through GIL or the eLC. Book selections that are available on eLC are denoted with an asterisk (\*) in the reading list below.

In addition to scholarly readings, you will complete a number of exercises from Wendy Belcher's book:

Belcher, Wendy Laura. 2009. *Writing your journal article in twelve weeks: A guide to academic publishing success*. Sage: Thousand Oaks, CA.

You can access this book through the UGA library, or you can purchase it for your further use.

## **University Honor Code and Academic Honesty Policy:**

*As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University's academic honesty policy, "A Culture of Honesty," and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in "A Culture of Honesty" found at:*

*<https://honesty.uga.edu/Academic-Honesty-Policy/>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to the instructor.*

## **Course Outline**

*Non-substantive classes are denoted using an \**

Class 1: (1/15) Introduction\*

Class 2: (1/22) Approaches to Studying Comparative Political Behavior\*

Class 3: (1/29) Opinion Formation

Class 4: (2/5) Political Knowledge

Class 5: (2/6) Turnout

Class 6: (2/12) Participation in Illiberal Regimes

Class 7: (2/13) Individual Project Meetings\*

Class 8: (2/19) Partisanship

Class 9: (2/20) Performance/ Economic Voting

Class 10: (2/26) Strategic/ Expressive Voting

Class 11: (2/27) Peer Review\*

Class 12: (3/5) Clientelism and Vote Buying

Class 13: (3/6) Draft Project Presentations\*

No Class (3/12) Spring Break

Class 14: (3/19) Social Movements and Protest

Class 15: (3/20) Final Project Presentations\*

## **1/15: Introduction**

- Dalton, Russell J., and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. 2009. "Overview of political behavior." *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*.

Also read: Belcher, Ch. 1

## **1/22: Approaches to Studying Comparative Political Behavior**

- Ostrom, Elinor. 1998. "A behavioral approach to the rational choice theory of collective action: Presidential address, American Political Science Association, 1997." *American political science review* 92(1): 1-22.
- Camerer, Colin F. and Ernst Fehr. 2006. "When does "Economic Man" Dominate Social Behavior?" *Science* 311 (5757): 47-52.

- Fehr, Ernst, and Urs Fischbacher. "The nature of human altruism." *Nature* 425.6960 (2003): 785.
- Lerner, Jennifer S., Li, Y., Valdesolo, P., & Kassam, K. S. 2015. "Emotion and decision making." *Annual review of psychology* 66:
- March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. "The new institutionalism: Organizational factors in political life." *American political science review* 78.3 (1983): 734-749.

Also read: Belcher, Ch. 2

### 1/29: Opinion Formation

- Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*, Ch. 3\*
- Philip E. Converse. 2006. "The nature of belief systems in mass publics (1964)", *Critical Review*, 18(1-3): 1-74. DOI: 10.1080/08913810608443650
- Tversky, Amos, and Daniel Kahneman. 1974. "Judgment under uncertainty: Heuristics and biases." *Science* 185(4157): 1124-1131.
- Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Chs. 2-5, 7 [available online through GIL]

Also read: Belcher Ch. 3

### 2/5: Political Knowledge

- Luskin, Robert C. 1987. "Measuring political sophistication." *American Journal of Political Science*: 856-899.
- Carpini, Michael X. Delli, and Scott Keeter. 1993. "Measuring political knowledge: Putting first things first." *American Journal of Political Science*: 1179-1206.
- Gordon, Stacy B., and Gary M. Segura. 1997. "Cross-national variation in the political sophistication of individuals: Capability or choice?." *The Journal of Politics* 59(1): 126-147.
- Mondak, Jeffery J., and Damaris Canache. 2004. "Knowledge variables in cross-national social inquiry." *Social Science Quarterly* 85(3): 539-558.
- Sturgis, Patrick, Nick Allum, and Patten Smith. 2007. "An experiment on the measurement of political knowledge in surveys." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72(1): 90-102.
- Tourangeau, Roger, Aaron Maitland, and H. Yanna Yan. 2016. "Assessing the scientific knowledge of the general public: The effects of question format and encouraging or discouraging don't know responses." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(3): 741-760.
- Fortin-Rittberger, Jessica. 2016. "Cross-National Gender Gaps in Political Knowledge: How Much Is Due to Context?." *Political research quarterly* 69(3): 391-402.
- Gidengil, Elisabeth, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2016. "The Tough Decision to Remove Political Knowledge from the CSES Module 5." CSES blog post. <http://www.csesblog.org/2016/12/the-tough-decision-to-remove-political-knowledge-from-the-cses-module-5/>

- Banducci, Susan, Heiko Giebler, and Sylvia Kritzing. 2017. "Knowing more from less: How the information environment increases knowledge of party positions." *British Journal of Political Science* 47(3): 571-588.
- Dassonneville, Ruth, and Ian McAllister. 2018. "Gender, Political Knowledge, and Descriptive Representation: The Impact of Long-Term Socialization." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(2): 249-265.

Also read: Belcher Ch. 5

## **2/6: Turnout**

- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Ch. 3\*
- Jackman, Robert W. 1987. "Political institutions and voter turnout in the industrial democracies." *American Political Science Review* 81(2): 405-423.
- 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): 613-627.
- 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.
- Shineman, Victoria Anne. 2018. "If you mobilize them, they will become informed: Experimental evidence that information acquisition is endogenous to costs and incentives to participate." *British Journal of Political Science* 48(1): 189-211.
- 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.
- Singh, Shane P. 2016. "Compulsory voting and dissatisfaction with democracy." *British Journal of Political Science*: 1-12.
- Kostelka, Filip, and André Blais. 2018. "The Chicken and Egg Question: Satisfaction with Democracy and Voter Turnout." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 51(2): 370-376.

## **2/12: Participation in Illiberal Regimes**

- Bischooping, Katherine, and Howard Schuman. 1992. "Pens and polls in Nicaragua: An analysis of the 1990 preelection surveys." *American Journal of Political Science*: 331-350.
- Landry, Pierre F., Deborah Davis, and Shiru Wang. 2010. "Elections in rural China: Competition without parties." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(6): 763-790.
- 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.
- Croke, Kevin, et al. 2016. "Deliberate disengagement: How education can decrease political participation in electoral authoritarian regimes." *American Political Science Review* 110(3): 579-600.
- Tsai, Lily L., and Yiqing Xu. 2018. "Outspoken insiders: political connections and citizen participation in authoritarian China." *Political Behavior* 40(3): 629-657.

## 2/13: Individual Project Meetings

Project Outline:

*You will schedule a 30-minute slot during the class meeting time to discuss your final project proposal with the professor. An outline detailing your proposed project is due to me via email by 12pm on 2/13.*

Also read: Belcher, Chs. 6, 7

## 2/19: Partisanship

- Berelson, Bernard, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. 1954. *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chs. 6, 7\* [recommended: chs. 4-5]
- Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*, Chs. 4, 6, 7\*
- Alexa Bankert, Leonie Huddy, and Martin Rosema (2017). "Measuring Partisanship as a Social Identity in Multi-Party Systems" *Political Behavior*, 39(1): 103-123.
- Brader, Ted, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2001. "The Emergence of Mass Partisanship in Russia, 1993-1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (1): 69-83
- Lupu, Noam. 2013. "Party brands and partisanship: Theory with evidence from a survey experiment in Argentina." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 49-64.
- 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.
- Michelitch, Kristin, and Stephen Utych. 2018. "Electoral Cycle Fluctuations in Partisanship: Global Evidence from Eighty-Six Countries." *The Journal of Politics* 80(2): 412-427.

## 2/20: Retrospective Voting

- Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. *Retrospective voting in American national elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chs. 5, 6\*
- 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*: 391-414.
- Duch, Raymond M., and Randy Stevenson. 2006. "Assessing the magnitude of the economic vote over time and across nations." *Electoral Studies* 25(3): 528-547.
- 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.
- Singer, Matthew M., and Ryan E. Carlin. 2013. "Context counts: The election cycle, development, and the nature of economic voting." *The Journal of Politics* 75(3): 730-742.

- Bochsler, Daniel, and Miriam Hänni. 2018. "The three stages of the anti-incumbency vote: Retrospective economic voting in young and established democracies." *European Journal of Political Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12269>
- Achen, Christopher H., and Larry M. Bartels. "Blind retrospection: Why shark attacks are bad for democracy." *Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vanderbilt University. Working Paper* (2012).
- Fowler, Anthony, and Andrew B. Hall. 2018. "Do shark attacks influence presidential elections? Reassessing a prominent finding on voter competence." *The Journal of Politics* 80(4): 1423-1437.

## **2/26: Strategic/ Expressive Voting**

- Cox, Gary W. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Chs. 3-7.\*
- Aldrich, John H., André Blais, and Laura B. Stephenson. 2018. *The Many Faces of Strategic Voting: Tactical Behavior in Electoral Systems Around the World*. University of Michigan Press. Ch. 1\*
- Núñez, Lucas. 2016. "Expressive and strategic behavior in legislative elections in Argentina." *Political Behavior* 38(4): 899-920.
- Horowitz, Jeremy, and James Long. 2016. "Strategic voting, information, and ethnicity in emerging democracies: Evidence from Kenya." *Electoral Studies* 44: 351-361.
- Cohen, Mollie J. 2018. "Protest Via the Null Ballot: An Assessment of the Decision to Cast an Invalid Vote in Latin America." *Political Behavior*, 40: 395-414. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-017-9405-9

## **2/27: Peer Review**

- Reviews, Protest Via the Null Ballot: An Assessment of the Decision to Cast an Invalid Vote in Latin America.\*

Peer review:

*Select a journal article that we have read for this class – not the article you read for today! – published after 1990, and write a referee report as if you were reviewing that article for publication in a general interest political science journal. This review should be 1-1.5 pages, single-spaced. Due by 12pm on 2/27.*

Also read: Belcher Ch. 9

## **3/5: Clientelism and Vote Buying**

- Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and voting behavior: Evidence from a field experiment in Benin." *World politics* 55(3): 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.

- 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.
- Kramon, Eric. 2016. "Electoral handouts as information: Explaining unmonitored vote buying." *World Politics* 68(3): 454-498.
- Nichter, Simeon, and Michael Peress. 2017. "Request fulfilling: When citizens demand clientelist benefits." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(8): 1086-1117.
- 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.
- 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.

### **3/6: Draft Project Workshop**

Project draft:

*Circulate a first draft of your project to your classmates and the professor via email **by 12pm on 3/4**. Come to class having read all of your classmates' draft projects and ready to provide constructive feedback. Remember: for all critiques related to data or analysis, you must propose a solution!*

Also read: Belcher, Chs. 10, 11

### **3/12: Spring Break**

#### **3/19: Social Movements and Protest**

- McCarthy, John D., and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory." *American journal of sociology* 82(6): 1212-1241.
- Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now out of never: The element of surprise in the East European revolution of 1989." *World politics* 44(1): 7-48.
- Paler, Laura, Leslie Marshall, and Sami Atallah. "The Social Costs of Public Political Participation: Evidence from a Petition Experiment in Lebanon." *The Journal of Politics* 80.4 (2018): 000-000.
- Young, Lauren E. 2018. "The psychology of state repression: Fear and dissent decisions in Zimbabwe." *American Political Science Review*: 1-16.
- Pearlman, Wendy. 2016. "Moral Identity and Protest Cascades in Syria." *British Journal of Political Science*: 1-25.

### **3/20: Final Project Presentations**

*Circulate a draft of your final project by email to the class **no later than 12pm on 3/18**.*

*Prepare a 12-15 minute conference presentation that walks through your research question, develops your argument, presents any results you have or your prospective design, and closes with a discussion of implications.*



*The discussant for each paper will provide comments for five minutes, as well as a written peer review, which the discussant will share with the author and the professor **by the start of class on 3/20**. Peer reviews and comments count to your participation grade, and response to peer comments is a portion of the final project grade.*

**FINAL PROJECTS ARE DUE VIA EMAIL BY MAY 2, 2019 AT 5PM EST.**