

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL BEHAVIOR (3rd Term, 2015-16)

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Course description

The aims of the course are: a) to introduce students to the main research paradigms in comparative political behaviour and b) to foster capacity to do original empirical research on the various themes of the discipline (political participation, voting, public opinion analysis, etc.) in a comparative perspective.

Course requirements:

Active participation by students is expected and reading requirements are to be fulfilled before hand (the reading list is kept short but all requirements have to be met, in order for students to discuss them in class). A 7000 word research empirical paper, on a topic selected in accordance with the instructor, is due by the end of term. Evaluation is based on class participation (20%) – including oral presentation of relevant literature – empirical assignments (30%) and paper (50%).

Students will choose a comparative political behaviour data set – European Election Study, World Values Survey, etc. - to be used for assignments. Assignments are to be delivered through e-mail (student's name-assX.doc). No late turnout allowed.

Students should be familiar with basic statistical techniques (i.e., regression analysis). A reading pack will be available on line (Dropbox/Google Documents).

Class meets on Wednesday (h. 11-13.00), Room Aula Seminario.

Basic readings

Very useful reviews and thoughtful assessments of the literature - which have to be read before coming to the first seminar - are:

- Russell Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg, *The Not So Simple Act of Voting*, in Ada W. Finifter (Ed.), *Political Science. The State of The Discipline II*, Washington, The American Political Science Association, 1993, 193-218;
- Edward G. Carmines, Robert Huckfeldt, *Political Behavior: An Overview*, in Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (Eds.), *A New Handbook of Political Science*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, 223-254;

Course Outline

Seminar 1 (6/04/2016)

What is political behaviour and comparative analysis? From the Almond & Verba's civic culture to Putnam's social capital.

Adam Przeworski, Henry Teune, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Chapter 1 and 2 (17- 46)

Todd Landman, *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics. An Introduction*, London and New York, Routledge, 2000 (Ch. 1 - 2. Why compare countries? - How to compare countries, 3 - 35)

Gabriel A. Almond, Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, Princeton University Press, 1963, (Sage Publications, 1989), Chapter 1 and 13.

Robert. D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993, Ch. 4 (Explaining Institutional performance), 83 - 120.

Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 2000, Introduction, 15- 28.

Seminar 2 (13/4/2016)

What is the electorate like? Beliefs, interest, information and turnout.

Russell Dalton, *Citizen Politics. Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Chatam House Publishers, 2002. Ch. 2 (The Nature of Mass Beliefs, 13-31)

Ivor Crewe, *Electoral Participation*, in David Butler, Howard R. Penniman and Austin Ranney (Eds.), *Democracy at the Polls. A Comparative Study of Competitive National Elections*, Washington and London, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1981, 216-263.

Mark N. Franklin, *Electoral Participation*, in Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi, Pippa Norris (Eds.), *Comparing Democracies. Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*, Sage Publications, 1996, 216-235.

André Blais & Agnieszka Dobrzynska, 'Turnout in electoral democracies', *European Journal of Political Research* 33: 239–261, 1998.

Benny Geys, 'Explaining voter turnout: A review of aggregate-level research', *Electoral Studies*, 2006, 25:637-663. **To be discussed by a student**

Kaat Smets, Carolien van Hamb. 'The embarrassment of riches? A meta-analysis of individual-level research on voter turnout', *Electoral Studies*, 2013, 32: 344-359. **To be discussed by a student**

Assignment 1 due at Seminar 4: Comparative analysis of mass political behaviour (interest in politics, information, turnout) based on data-set (1000 word paper).

Seminar 3 (20/4/2016)

Models of voting 1: Sociological approaches (the European tradition and the US-Columbia School approach)

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, *Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments: An Introduction*, in Seymour Martin Lipset, Stein Rokkan (Eds.), *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross national Perspectives*, New York, The Free Press, 1967, pp.1-64

Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, Hazel Gaudet, *The People's Choice. How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1968 3d (orig. ed. 1944), Preface to the third edition (pp.V-XVII) Ch. 3 (Social differences between Republican and Democrats, pp.16-39), Ch. 15 (The political homogeneity of social groups, pp137-149)

Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man. The social bases of politics*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981 (orig. ed. 1960), Ch. 7 (Elections: The Expression of the Democratic Class Struggle), pp.230-278.

Paul Allen Beck, Russell J. Dalton, Steven Greene, Robert Huckfeldt, *The Social Calculus of Voting: Interpersonal, Media, and Organizational Influences on Presidential Choices*, "American Political Science Review", Vol. 96, No. 1, 2002, 57-73. **To be discussed by a student.**

Paolo Bellucci, Marco Maraffi, Paolo Segatti, *Intermediation through secondary associations: the organizational context of electoral behaviour*, in R. Gunther, J. R. Montero, H-J. Puhle, *Democracy, Intermediation and Voting on Four Continents*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, 135-182. **To be discussed by a student.**

Seminar 4 (27/4/2016)

Models of voting 2: The Michigan revolution: the social-psychological model (party identification)

August Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren Miller, Donald Stokes, *The American Voter*, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1960, Ch 6 (*The impact of party identification*, pp. 120-145)

Ian Budge, Ivor Crewe, Dennis Farlie, *Introduction. Party Identification and Beyond*, in Ian Budge, Ivor Crewe, Dennis Farlie (Eds.), *Party Identification and Beyond*, John Wiley and Sons, 1976, pp.3-20

Sören Holberg, *Party Identification Compared across the Atlantic*, in M. Kent Jennings, T. Mann (Eds.), *Elections at Home and Abroad*, pp. 93-122, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1994.

Russel Dalton, 2000. *The Decline of Party Identifications*, in R. J. Dalton, M. P. Wattenberg (Eds.), *Parties without Partisans, Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Russel J Dalton, Ian McAllister, Martin P. Wattenberg, 2000. *The Consequencies of Partisan Dealignment*, in R. J. Dalton, M. P. Wattenberg (Eds.), *Parties without Partisans, Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford, Oxford University Press..

Ronald Inglehart and Hans Klingemann, *Party Identification, Ideological Preference and the Left-Right Dimensions among Western Mass Publics*, in Ian Budge, Ivor Crewe, Dennis Farlie, *Party Identification and Beyond*, John Wiley and Sons, 1976, pp.277-284. **To be discussed by a student.**

André Freire, Bringing Social Identities Back In: 'The Social Anchors of Left-Right Orientation', *International Political Science Review*, 2006, Vol.27, 4: 359-378. **To be discussed by a student.**

Assignment 2 due at seminar 6: Comparative analysis of party identification and left-right self-placement based on data set (1000 word paper).

Seminar 5 (4/5/2016)

Models of voting 3: The Individual Rationality Framework. Towards the rational-reasoning voter (issues, leader, the economy, campaign)

Samuel Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter. Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaign*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1994^{2nd} (Ch. 1, The reasoning voter, 7-21)

Franz Urban Pappi, *Political Behavior: Reasoning Voters and Multi-party Systems*, in Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (Eds.), *A New Handbook of Political Science*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, 255-275.

Clarke, H. D. C. D. Sanders, M. C. Stewart and P. Whiteley, 2004. *Political Choice in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (Ch. 2. Theories and Models of Party Support), 17-37). **To be discussed by a student.**

Michael S. Lewis-Beck · Mary Stegmaier, 'The VP-function revisited: a survey of the literature on vote and popularity functions after over 40 years'. *Public Choice*, 2013, 157:367-385. **To be discussed by a student.**

Helmut Norporth, *The Economy*, in Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi, Pippa Norris (Eds.), *Comparing Democracies. Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*, Sage Publications, 1996, 299-318.

Shanto Iyengar and Adam F. Simon, 'New perspectives and evidence on political communication and campaign effects', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 2000. 51_149-169.

Seminar 6 (11/5/2016)

From Party Identification to Partisanship

Bartle, John, and Paolo Bellucci. 2009. "Partisanship, social identity and individual attitudes". In John Bartle and Paolo Bellucci (eds.), *Political parties and partisanship. Social identity and individual attitudes*. London and New York: Routledge.

Richard Johnston, 2006. 'Party Identification: Unmoved Mover or Sum of Preferences?' *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9: 329-51. **To be discussed by a student**

Richardson, Bradley. 1991. "European party loyalties revisited". *American Political Science Review* 85: 751-75.

Garzia, Diego. 2012. "Changing Parties, Changing Partisans. The Personalization of Partisan Attachments in Western Europe". *Political Psychology*, forthcoming. **To be discussed by a student**

Holmberg, Soren. 2007. "Partisanship reconsidered". In Russell Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Seminar 7 (18/5/2016)

Personalization of Politics and Leaders' Impact on Democratic Elections

McAllister, Ian. 2007. "The personalization of politics". In Russell Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

King, Anthony. 2002. "Do Leaders' Personalities Really Matter?". In Anthony King, (ed.), *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **To be discussed by a student**

Bartels, Larry. 2002. "The Impact of Candidate Traits in American Presidential Elections." In Anthony King, (ed.), *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Curtice, John, and Soren Holmberg. 2005. "Party Leaders and Party Choice". In Jacques Thomassen, (ed.), *The European Voter*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lobo, Marina Costa. 2008. "Parties and leader Effects: Impact of Leaders on the Vote for Different Types of Parties", *Party Politics* 14: 281-298. **To be discussed by a student**

Barisione, Mauro. 2009. "So, What Difference do Leaders Make? Candidates' Images and the "Conditionality" of Leader Effects on Voting", *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 19: 473-500.

Assignment 3 due at seminar 9: Comparative analysis of partisanship and leader effect, based on dataset (1000 word paper).

Seminar 8 (25/5/2016)

Election Campaigning in the Digital Age: Voting Advice Applications and Their Effects on Parties and Voters

Guest speaker: Dr. Diego Garzia (EUI)

As an introduction to this seminar, students are advised to perform the pan-European VAA application <http://euandi.eu> before the class

Garzia, Diego, Kristjan Vassil, Alexander H. Trechsel and Elias Dinas (2015). "Indirect campaigning – Past, Present and Future of Voting Advice Applications", in Bernie Grofman, Alexander H. Trechsel and Mark Franklin (eds.), *The Internet and Democracy in a Global Perspective: Voters, Candidates and Social Movements*. New York: Springer, pp. 25-41.

Trechsel, Alexander H., and Peter Mair. (2011). When parties (also) position themselves: An introduction to the EU profiler. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* 8(1): 1-20. **To be discussed by a student**

Garzia, Diego, Alexander H. Trechsel, and Andrea De Angelis (2015). "The Effect of Tailor-Made Information on Electoral Participation: The Case of Voting Advice Applications". Paper presented at the WPSA Annual Meeting, Las Vegas, Nevada, 2-4 April 2015.

Anderson, Joel, and Thomas Fossen (2014). "Voting Advice Applications and Political Theory: Citizenship, Participation and Representation". In Diego Garzia and Stefan Marschall (eds.), *Matching Voters with Parties and Candidates. Voting Advice Applications in a Comparative Perspective*. Colchester: ECPR Press, pp. 217-26. **To be discussed by a student**

Seminar 9 (1/6/2016)

Public opinion attitudes towards the European Union

Lisbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, 'Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration', *European Union Politics*, 2005, 6: 419-43.

Lisbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, 'A Postfunctionalist Theory of European integration: From Permissive Consensus To Constraining Dissensus', *British Journal of Political Science*, 2008: 19: 1-23.

Fabio Serricchio, Myrto Tsakatika and Lucia Quaglia, 'Euroscepticism and the Global Financial Crisis', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2013 Volume 51, 1, pp. 51-64. **To be discussed by a student**

Catherine de Vries, 2007. 'Sleeping Giant: Fact of Fairytale? How European Integration Affect National Elections'. *European Union Politics*, 3: 363-385. **To be discussed by a student**

Seminar 10 (8/6/2016)

Forecasting elections

Michael S. Lewis-Beck, 'Election Forecasting: Principles and Practice', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 7: 145-164, 2005

Pedro C. Magalhaes, Luis Aguiar-Conraria, 'Growth, centrism and semi-presidentialism: Forecasting the Portuguese general elections', *Electoral Studies*, 2009.

David Sanders, *Popularity Function Forecasts for the 2005 UK General Election*, *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 7: 174-190, 2005. **To be discussed by a student**

Paolo Bellucci, *Election cycles and electoral forecasting in Italy, 1994–2008* *International Journal of Forecasting* 26 (2010) 54–67. **To be discussed by a student**

June 30th: Term paper to be delivered.

Further readings

Jan W. van Deth, José Ramon Montero, Anders Westholm (Eds.), *Citizenship and Involvement in European Democracies. A Comparative Analysis*, London and New York, Routledge, 2007.

Wouter van der Brug, Cees van der Eijk, Mark Franklin, *The Economy and the Vote. Economic Conditions and Elections in Fifteen Countries*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Cees van der Eijk and Mark N. Franklin, *Elections and Voters*, Palgrave Mcmillan, 2009

Han Dorussen and Michael Taylor, *Economic Voting*, London and New York, Routledge, 2002

Russell J. Dalton, *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004

Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist, Eric Schickler, *Partisan Hearts and Minds. Political Parties and the Social Identities*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2002.

Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs (Eds.), *Citizens and the State (Beliefs in Government Volume One)*, Oxford University Press, 1995

Raymond M. Duch, Randolph T. Stevenson, *The Economic Vote. How Political and Economic Institutions Condition Election Results*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008

M. S. Lewis-Beck, W. G. Jacoby, H. Norpoth, H. F. Weisberg, *The American Voter Revisited*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2008.

Richard R. Lau, David P. Redlawsk, *How Voters Decide. Information Processing during Election Campaigns*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Pippa Norris (Ed.), *Critical Citizens. Global Support for Democratic Government*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999

Helmut Norpoth, Michael S. Lewis-Beck and Jean-Dominique Lafay, *Economics and Politics. The Calculus of Support*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1991

Susan J. Pharr and Robert D. Putnam (Eds.), *Disaffected Democracies. What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2000.

Sanders D., P. Bellucci, G. Toka, M. Torkal (Eds.) 2012. *The Europeanization of National Politics? Citizenship and support in a Post-enlargement Union*. Oxford, Oxford University press.

Saris, W.E. and P. M. Sniderman, 2004 (Eds.), *Studies in Public Opinion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

John R. Zaller, *The Nature and Origin of Mass Opinion*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992.