

**PS2313**  
**COMPARATIVE POLITICAL BEHAVIOR**  
Tuesday 3-5:25, 4801 Posvar Hall

Steven E. Finkel  
4804 Posvar Hall  
[finkel@pitt.edu](mailto:finkel@pitt.edu)

Fall 2010  
Office Hours: T 11-1  
Telephone: 412.648.7283

**Course Description**

This course is an introduction to the study of comparative mass political behavior. The seminar will focus on research questions related to cross-national differences and similarities in public opinion, voting behavior, and other forms of political participation. In particular, we will want to investigate the extent to which theories of political behavior, many of which were originally developed in the U.S., “travel well” to other countries, and what institutional, political, or cultural factors influence the explanatory power of different models of mass behavior in different contexts.

We begin with a discussion of the nature, measurement, and sources of mass opinion. We will then cover topics related to voter turnout, participation in non-electoral activities including political protest, and the debate over the role of “social capital” in stimulating participation and positive democratic outcomes. We then turn to alternative models of voter choice that emphasize: social group cleavages such as class, gender, ethnicity and religion; social-psychological models emphasizing partisan attachments, issue attitudes and candidate appeals; and economic models emphasizing macro-economic outcomes and voter perceptions of government performance as primary explanatory factors. The last section of the course is devoted to the relationship between public opinion, democratic values and the development and stability of democratic regimes. We will cover the early “civic culture” approach and more recent extensions, and then examine research related to the structure and sources of regime support, trust in democratic institutions, and support for democratic values such as political tolerance and minority rights.

Our approach will be explicitly comparative; that is, we will examine citizen action in contexts ranging from established democracies in Western Europe to new democracies in the East, the former USSR, Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Many of the readings include multiple countries in their analyses, but even when single countries are examined we will be less concerned with the specifics of that country than with what the results imply for more general theories of behavior, opinion and democracy.

One country that will *not* be covered extensively in the readings will be the United States. Yet in order to understand the controversies and progression of research in this subfield, students must have some familiarity with the American literature. For those who are completely new to the field (and for others who want to refresh their memories), the introductory essays in Niemi and Weisberg’s *Controversies in Voting Behavior* (Congressional Quarterly Press, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition, 2001) will be helpful reviews. You can also find excellent review essays in Dalton and Klingemann’s *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior* (Oxford University Press, 2007).

**Requirements**

I. *Class Participation*: The success of the seminar depends on the participation of all class members in the weekly discussions. Active and thoughtful participation based on careful reading of the material is required from all students. In addition, each student will be assigned to present the arguments and findings from one recent “cutting edge” article marked with a (\*) on the syllabus to the group. This short presentation is meant to stimulate discussion on the current state of a given subfield, and where are particularly promising avenues for future research.

II. *Papers*: There are two required papers. One will be a literature review dealing with one of the substantive areas on the syllabus or on a special topic which is agreed upon by the instructor. The review will involve reading and synthesizing a collection of articles relevant to the given area, tying them together into coherent themes, and identifying gaps in the literature where future research should concentrate. The second paper will be a research design that will outline of a piece of

research which could fill one of those gaps, i.e., that could extend our knowledge of that subfield in an interesting and potentially important way. It will include why you think the research is important, how it extends previous research, and how you would go about addressing the problem. 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. Both papers should be approximately 12 pages in length. The literature review will be due on October 29 (Friday); the research design is due December 3 (Friday), along with a short presentation of the main ideas on the 7<sup>nd</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> of December.

III. *Final Exam*: Take home format, 24 hours to complete and hand in electronically by 5:00 PM, Tuesday, December 14.

### **Grading**

Literature Review (due Friday, October 29)	20%
Research Design (due Friday, December 3)	30%
Paper Presentation (December 7 or 10)	10%
Final Exam (December 13-14)	25%
Seminar Participation	15%

### **Texts**

- Norris, Pippa. 2002. *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Clarke, Harold, David Sanders, Marianne Stewart, and Paul Whiteley, *Political Choice in Britain*. 2005. Oxford University Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald, and Christian Wenzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge University Press.

### **Course Outline**

**NOTE: Students will be divided into three groups (A, B, C). Students should read all non-starred articles, as well as the week's starred article for their group.**

August 31:                    **Introduction and Organizational Meeting**

September 7:                **The Nature of Mass Opinion**

1. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics", in David Apter (editor), *Ideology and Discontent* (1964)
2. Converse and Dupeux, "Politicization of the Electorate in France and the United States", *Public Opinion Quarterly* (1962)
3. Gordon and Segura, "Cross-National Variation in the Political Sophistication of Individuals: Capability or Choice?" *Journal of Politics* (1997)
4. Lau and Redlawsk, "Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making", *American Journal of Political Science* (2002)
5. Evans, Heath, and Lalljee, "Measuring Left-Right And Libertarian-Authoritarian Values In The British Electorate", *The British Journal of Sociology* (1996)
6. Inglehart and Abramson, "Economic Security and Value Change", *American Political Science Review* (1994)
7. Hibbing, Funk and Alford, "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" *American Political Science Review* (2005)
8. Chong and Druckman, "Framing Public Opinion in Competitive Democracies", *American Political Science Review* (2007)
9. \*A: Ansolabahere, Rodden, and Snyder, "The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting", *American Political Science Review* (2008)
10. \*B: Slothuus and de Vrees, "Political Parties, Motivated Reasoning, and Issue Framing Effects", *Journal of Politics* (2010)

11. \*C: Lau *et al.*, "An Exploration of Correct Voting in Recent Presidential Elections", *American Journal of Political Science* (2008)

September 14:

### **Political Participation I: Macro-Comparative Analysis of Voter Turnout**

1. Norris, Pippa, *Democratic Phoenix*, chapters 1-4.
2. Franklin, Mark, "Electoral Participation", in L. Leduc, R. Niemi, and P. Norris, *Comparing Democracies* (1996)
3. Powell, Bingham, "American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective", *American Political Science Review* (1986)
4. Gray, Mark, and Miki Caul, "Declining Voter Turnout in Advanced Industrialized Democracies, 1950-97", *Comparative Political Studies* (2000)
5. McDonald and Popkin, "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter", *American Political Science Review* (2002)
6. \*A: Panagopoulos, "The Calculus of Voting in Compulsory Voting Systems", *Political Behavior* (2008)
7. \*B: Steiner, "Economic Globalization and Voter Turnout in Established Democracies", *Electoral Studies* (2010)
8. \*C: Baek, "A Comparative Analysis of Political Communication Systems and Voter Turnout", *American Journal of Political Science* (2009)

September 21:

### **Political Participation II: Individual-Level Models**

1. Norris, chapter 5.
2. Clarke, Harold, et al., *Political Choice in Britain*, chapters 7-8 (2005).
3. Rosenstone and Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation and Democracy in America*, chapter 6.
4. Brady, Verba and Schlozman, "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation", *American Political Science Review* (1995)
5. Bratton, "Political Participation in a New Democracy: Institutional Considerations from Zambia", *Comparative Political Studies* (1999)
6. Finkel, "Reciprocal Effects of Political Participation and Efficacy: A Panel Analysis", *American Journal of Political Science* (1985)
7. Gerber, Green and Larimer, "Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment", *American Political Science Review* (2008)
8. \*A: Karp, Banducci, and Bowler, "Getting Out the Vote: Party Mobilization in Comparative Perspective", *British Journal of Political Science* (2007)
9. \*B: Mondak *et al.*, "Personality and Civic Engagement: An Integrative Framework for the Study of Trait Effects on Political Behavior", *American Political Science Review* (2010)
10. \*C: Blattman, "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda", *American Political Science Review* (2009)

September 28:

### **Political Participation III: Social Networks, Groups and Social Capital**

1. Norris, *Democratic Phoenix*, chapters 8-10.
2. Brehm and Rahn, "Individual-Level Evidence for the Causes and Consequences of Social Capital", *American Journal of Political Science* (1997)
3. LaDue Lake and Huckfeldt, "Social Capital, Social Networks, and Political Participation", *Political Psychology* (1998)
4. Stolle, "Bowling Together, Bowling Alone: The Development of Generalized Trust in Voluntary Associations", *Political Psychology* (1998)
5. Gibson, "Social Networks, Civil Society, and the Prospects for Consolidating Russia's Democratic Transition", *American Journal of Political Science* (2001)
6. Booth and Richards, "Civil Society, Political Capital, and Democratization

- in Central America”, *Journal of Politics* (1998)
7. Mutz, Diana “The Consequences of Cross-Cutting Networks for Political Participation”, *American Journal of Political Science* (2002)
  8. \*A: McClurg, Scott, “The Electoral Relevance of Political Talk: Examining Disagreement and Expertise Effects in Social Networks on Political Participation”, *AJPS* (2006)
  9. \*B: Pattie and Johnston, “It’s Good to Talk: Talk, Disagreement and Tolerance”, *British Journal of Political Science* (2008)
  10. \*C: Howard and Gilbert, “A Cross-national Comparison of the Internal Effects of Participation in Voluntary Organizations”, *Political Studies* (2008)

October 5:

**Political Participation IV: Political Protest**

1. Barnes and Kaase, *et al.* 1979. *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*, review chapters 1-4, 6.
2. Finkel and Muller, “Rational Choice and the Dynamics of Collective Action: Evaluating Alternative Models with Panel Data”, *American Political Science Review* (1998)
3. Gibson, “Mass Opposition to the Soviet Putsch of August 1991: Collective Action, Rational Choice, and Democratic Values in the Former Soviet Union”, *American Political Science Review* (1997)
4. Opp and Gern, “Dissident Groups, Personal Networks, and the East German Revolution of 1989”, *American Sociological Review* (1993)
5. Anderson and Mendes, “Learning to Lose: Election Outcomes, Democratic Experiences, and Political Protest Potential”, *British Journal of Political Science* (2005)
6. Dalton, Sickle, and Weldon, “The Institutional-Individual Nexus of Protest Behavior”, *British Journal of Political Science* (2009)
7. \*A: Boulding, “NGOs and Political Participation in Weak Democracies: Subnational Evidence on Protest and Voter Turnout in Bolivia”, *Journal of Politics* (2010)
8. \*B: Heath, “Triggers for Protest: Modelling Responses to the Political Context in Britain, 2000-2002”, *European Journal of Political Research* (2008)
9. \*C: Humphreys and Weinstein, “Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil Wars”, *American Journal of Political Science* (2008)

October 12:

**NO CLASS – FALL BREAK**

October 19:

**Sociological Models of the Vote I: Class, Social Cleavages and Context**

1. Lipset and Rokkan, “Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments.” In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*, Lipset and Rokkan, editors, pages 1-64 (1967)
2. Clarke *et al.*, *Political Choice in Britain*, chapters 1-3.
3. Nieuwbeerta and Ultee, “Class Voting in Western Industrialized Democracies, 1945-1990: Systematizing and Testing Explanations”, *European Journal of Political Research* (1999).
4. Lijphart, “Religion vs. Linguistic vs. Class Voting”, *American Political Science Review* (1971)
5. Evans, “The Social Bases of Political Divisions in Post-Communist Eastern Europe”, *Annual Review of Political Science* (2006)
6. Inglehart and Norris, “The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women’s and Men’s Voting Behavior in Global Perspective”, *International Political Science Review* (2000)
7. Huckfeldt, Ikeda and Pappi, “Patterns of Disagreement in Democratic Politics: Comparing Germany, Japan and the United States”, *American Journal of Political Science* (2005)

8. Baker, Ames, and Renno, "Social Context and Campaign Volatility in New Democracies: Networks and Neighborhoods in Brazil's 2002 Elections," *American Journal of Political Science* (2006)
9. \*A: Hatemi, Medland, and Eaves, "Do Genes Contribute to the Gender Gap?" *Journal of Politics* (2009)
10. \*B: Arzheimer, "Contextual Factors and the Extreme Right Vote in Western Europe, 1980-2002," *American Journal of Political Science* (2009)

October 26:

### **Sociological Models of the Vote II: Ethnicity, Clientelism and Vote-Buying**

1. Wanchekon, "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin", *World Politics* (2003)
2. Posner, "Regime Change and Ethnic Cleavages in Africa", *Comparative Political Studies* (2007)
3. Habyarimana, Humphreys, Posner and Weinstein, "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision", *American Political Science Review* (2007)
4. Elkins and Sides, "Can Institutions Build Unity in Multi-Ethnic States?" *American Political Science Review* (2007)
5. Birner, "Divergence in Diversity? The Dissimilar Effects of Cleavages on Electoral Politics in New Democracies", *American Journal of Political Science* (2007)
6. Stokes, "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina", *American Political Science Review* (2005)
7. Nichter, "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot", *American Political Science Review* (2008)
8. Bratton, "Vote Buying and Violence in Nigerian Election Campaigns", *Electoral Studies* (2008)
9. \*A: Eifert, Miguel and Posner, "Political Competition and Ethnic Identification in Africa", *American Journal of Political Science* (2010)
10. \*C: Dunning and Harrison, "Cross-Cutting Cleavages and Ethnic Voting: An Experimental Study of Cousinage in Mali", *American Political Science Review* (2010)

November 2:

### **Partisanship and the "Michigan Model" of the Vote**

1. Clarke *et al.*, *Political Choice in Britain*, chapter 6.
2. Clarke *et al.*, "The American Voter's British Cousin", *Electoral Studies* (2009)
3. Schickler and Green, "The Stability of Party Identification in Western Democracies: Results from Eight Panel Studies", *Comparative Political Studies* (1997)
4. Dalton, "The Decline of Party Identification", and "The Consequences of Partisan Dealignment", chapters 2 and 3 in Dalton and Wattenberg, editors, *Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (2000)
5. Miller and Klobucar, "The Development of Party identification in Post-Soviet Societies," *American Journal of Political Science* (2000)
6. Huber, Kernell and Leoni, "Institutional Context, Cognitive Resources, and Party Attachments Across Democracies", *Political Analysis* (2005)
7. Alvarez and Nagler, "A New Approach for Modelling Strategic Voting in Multiparty Elections", *British Journal of Political Science* (2000)
8. Duch and Palmer, "Strategic Voting in Post-Communist Democracy?" *British Journal of Political Science* (2002)
9. \*B: Brancati, "Winning Alone: The Electoral Fate of Independent Candidates Worldwide", *Journal of Politics* (2008)
10. \*C: Meffert and Gschwend, "Strategic Coalition Voting: Evidence from Austria", *Electoral Studies* (2010)

November 9:

### Issues and Economic Voting

1. Clarke *et al.*, *Political Choice in Britain*, chapters 4.
2. Macdonald *et al.*, "Issues and Party Support in Multiparty Systems", *American Political Science Review* (1991)
3. Lewis-Beck, "Comparative Economic Voting", *American Journal of Political Science* (1986)
4. Pacek and Radcliff, "The Political Economy of Competitive Elections in the Developing World", *American Journal of Political Science* (1995)
5. Powell and Whitten, "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context", *American Journal of Political Science* (1993)
6. Duch, Raymond, "A Developmental Model Of Heterogeneous Economic Voting In New Democracies", *American Political Science Review* (2001)
7. Gomez and Wilson, "Cognitive Heterogeneity and Economic Voting: A Comparative Analysis of Four Democratic Electorates", *American Journal of Political Science* (2006)
8. Lewis-Beck, Nadeau and Elias, "Economics, Party and the Vote: Causality Issues and Panel Data", *American Journal of Political Science* (2008)
9. \*A: Tomz and Von Houweling, "Candidate Positioning and Voter Choice", *American Political Science Review* (2008)
10. \*B: Duch and Stevenson, "The Global Economy, Competency and the Economic Vote", *Journal of Politics* (2010)
11. \*C: Berrebi and Klor, "Are Voters Sensitive to Terrorism? Direct Evidence from the Israeli Electorate", *American Political Science Review* (2008)

November 16:

### Campaigns, Candidates, and the Mass Media

1. Clarke *et al.*, *Political Choice in Britain*, chapters 4.
2. Finkel, "Reexamining the Minimal Effects Model in Recent Presidential Campaigns", *Journal of Politics* (1993)
3. Gelman and King, "Why are Presidential Campaign Polls so Variable when Votes are so Predictable?" *British Journal of Political Science* (1993)
4. Stevenson and Vavreck, "Does Campaign Length Matter? Testing for Cross-National Effects", *British Journal of Political Science* (2000)
5. Lawson and McCann, "Television News, Mexico's 2000 elections and Media Effects in Emerging Democracies", *British Journal of Political Science* (2005)
6. Arceneaux, "Do Campaigns Help Voters Learn? A Cross-National Analysis", *British Journal of Political Science* (2005)
7. Kahn, Kim F. and Patrick Kenney, "Do Negative Campaigns Mobilize or Suppress Turnout? Clarifying the Relationship between Negativity and Participation", *APSR* (1999)
8. \*A: Huber and Arceneaux, "Identifying the Persuasive Effects of Presidential Advertising", *American Journal of Political Science* (2007)
9. \*B: Todorov *et al.*, "Inferences of Competences from Faces Predict Election Outcomes", *Science* (2005)
10. \*C: Ladd and Lenz, "Exploiting a Rare Communication Shift to Document the Persuasive Power of the Mass Media", *American Journal of Political Science* (2009)

November 19:

### Political Culture, Legitimacy and Support for Democracy

1. Inglehart and Wenzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence* (2005)
2. Muller and Seligson, *Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships*, *American Political Science Review* (1994)
3. Mishler and Rose, "What are the Origins of Political Trust?" *Comparative Political Studies* (2001)

4. Evans and Whitefield, "The Politics and Economics of Democratic Commitment", Support for Democracy in Transition Societies", *British Journal of Political Science* (1995)
5. Anderson and Guillory, "Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy: A Cross-national Analysis of Consensus and Majoritarian Systems", *American Political Science Review* (1997)
6. Seligson and Booth, "Political Culture and Regime Type: Evidence from Nicaragua and Costa Rica", *Journal of Politics* (1993)
7. Tessler, "Islam and Democracy in the Middle East: The Impact of Religious Orientations on Attitudes Towards Democracy in Four Arab Countries", *Comparative Politics* (2002)
8. Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi, "Learning about Democracy in Africa", *American Journal of Political Science* (2006)
9. \*A: Moehler and Lindberg, "Narrowing the Legitimacy Gap: Turnovers as a Cause of Democratic Consolidation", *Journal of Politics* (2009)
10. \*B: Helliwell and Huang, "How's Your Government? International Evidence Linking Good Government and Well-Being", *British Journal of Political Science* (2008)
11. \*C: Booth and Seligson, "Political Legitimacy and Participation in Costa Rica: Evidence of Arena Shopping", *Political Research Quarterly* (2005)

November 30:

#### **Political and Social Tolerance**

1. Finkel, Seligson and Humphries, "Democratic Attitudes and Political Tolerance", Chapter 5 in Robinson, Shaver and Wrightsman (editors), *Measures of Political Attitudes* (1999)
2. Gibson, Duch and Tedin, "Democratic Values and the Transformation of the Soviet Union", *Journal of Politics* (1992)
3. Shamir and Sullivan, "The Political Context of Tolerance: The United States and Israel", *American Political Science Review* (1985)
4. Gibson, "A Sober Second Thought: Experiments in Persuading Russians to Tolerate", *American Journal of Political Science* (1996)
5. Rohrschneider and Peffley, "Democratization and Political Tolerance in Seventeen Countries: A Multi-level Model of Democratic Learning", *Political Research Quarterly* (2003)
6. Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior, "Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities", *American Political Science Review* (2004)
7. Weldon, "The Institutional Context of Tolerance for Ethnic Minorities: A Comparative Multilevel Analysis of Western Europe", *American Journal of Political Science* (2006)
8. Finkel, "Can Democracy Be Taught?" *Journal of Democracy* (2003)
9. \*A: Anderson and Fetner, "Economic Inequality and Intolerance: Attitudes Towards Homosexuality in 35 Democracies", *American Journal of Political Science* (2008)
10. \*B: Paluck and Green, "Deference, Dissent, and Dispute Resolution: An Experimental Intervention Using Mass Media to Change Norms and Behavior in Rwanda", *American Political Science Review* (2009)
11. \*C: Finkel and Smith, "Civic Education, Political Discussion and the Social Transmission of Democratic Knowledge and Values in a New Democracy: Kenya 2002," APSA convention paper, 2008.

December 7,10:

Paper Presentations