

Spring Semester 2023

Professor Dr. Harald Schoen

Lecture: Comparative Political Behavior

Time: Monday, 10.15-11.45

Room: B 244, A5,6

Start: 13.2.2023

Course Description:

The main goal of this lecture is to present an advanced introduction to theoretical approaches, key concepts, and substantive issues in comparative political behavior. Building on a multi-level perspective, it will provide an overview of key concepts and theories in the analysis of micro-level processes of political behavior that are embedded in and feed into macro-level processes. Capitalizing on this analytical perspective, the lecture will also address major changes in the relationship between societal and political processes and institutions.

Requirements:

Regular participation is recommended, mandatory reading,

Term paper (Prüfungsleistung)

Registration: via Studienportal

Recommended for:

M.A. Students in Political Science (2nd semester) and GESS-graduate students

Office hour: by appointment only

Course Plan

Session 1 (13 February): Introduction

Session 2 (20 February): Recap/primer: theories, problems, analysis

Anderson, Christopher. 2009. Nested Citizens: Macropolitics and Microbehavior in Comparative Politics. In: Lichbach, Mark Irving, and Alan S. Zuckerman (eds.), *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 314-332.

Shapiro, Ian. 2002. Problems, Methods, and Theories in the Study of Politics, or What's Wrong with Political Science and What to Do about It. *Political Theory* 30: 596-619.

Further Reading

Adcock, Robert, and David Collier. 2001. Measurement Validity: A Shared Standard for Qualitative and Quantitative Research. *American Political Science Review* 95: 529-546.

Green, Donald P., and Ian Shapiro. 1994. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lichbach, Mark Irving. 2009. Thinking and Working in the Midst of Things: Discovery, Explanation, and Evidence in Comparative Politics. In: Lichbach, Mark Irving, and Alan S. Zuckerman (eds.), *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 18-71.

Sartori, Giovanni. 1970. Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics. *American Political Science Review* 64: 1033-1053.

Session 3 (27 February): Cognitive architecture, information processing, and judgment

Lodge, Milton, and Charles S. Taber. 2013. *The Rationalizing Voter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Chap. 2.

Mintz, Alex, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Carly Wayne. 2021. Beyond Rationality: Behavioral Political Science in the 21st Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Chaps. 2 and 3.

Further Reading

Kahneman, Daniel. 2011. *Thinking, fast and slow*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Lau, Richard R., and David P. Redlawsk. 2001. Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision-making. *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 951-971.

Marcus, George E. 2002. *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*. University Park: Penn State University Press.

Quattrone, George A., and Amos Tversky. 1988. Contrasting Rational and Psychological Analyses of Political Choice. *American Political Science Review* 82: 719-736.

Redlawsk, David P., and Richard R. Lau. 2013. Behavioral Decision-Making. In: Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy (eds.). *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 130-164.

Simon, Herbert. 1985. Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science. *American Political Science Review* 79: 293-304.

Sniderman, Paul M., Richard A. Brody, and Philip E. Tetlock. 1991. *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Session 4 (6 March): Dynamics of attitudes and public opinion

- Druckman, James N., and Arthur Lupia. 2016. Preference Change in Competitive Political Environments. *Annual Review of Political Science* 19: 1-19.
- Zaller, John. 1991. Information, Values, and Opinion. *American Political Science Review* 85: 1215-1237.

Further Reading

- Chong, Dennis, and James N. Druckman. 2010. Dynamic Public Opinion: Communication Effects over Time. *American Political Science Review* 104: 663–680.
- Feldman, Stanley, and John Zaller. 1992. The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State. *American Journal of Political Science* 36: 268–307.
- Levendusky, Matthew S. 2010. Clearer Cues, More Consistent Voters: A Benefit of Elite Polarization. *Political Behavior* 32: 111-131.
- Lodge, Milton, Marco Steenbergen, and Shawn Brau. 1995. The Responsive Voter: Campaign information and the dynamics of candidate evaluation. *American Political Science Review*, 89: 309–326.
- Zaller, John R., and Stanley Feldman. 1992. A Simple Theory of the Survey Response: Answering Questions versus Revealing Preferences. *American Journal of Political Science* 36: 579-616.
- Zaller, John R. 2013. What Nature and Origins Leaves Out. *Critical Review* 24: 569–642.

Session 5 (13 March): Political belief systems and sophistication

- Converse, Philip E. 2000. Assessing the Capacity of the Mass Electorate. *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 331-353.
- Freder, Sean, Gabriel S. Lenz, and Shad Turney. 2018. The Importance of Knowing “What Goes with What”: Reinterpreting the Evidence on Policy Attitude Stability. *Journal of Politics* 81: 274-290.

Further Reading

- Converse, Philip E. 1964. The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics. In: Apter, David (ed.). *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: Free Press: 206-261.
- Goren, Paul. 2013. *On Voter Competence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kuklinski, James H., and Paul J. Quirk. 2000. Reconsidering the Rational Public: Cognition, Heuristics, and Mass Opinion. In: Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Samuel L. Popkin (eds.). *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 153-182.
- Luskin, Robert. 1987. Measuring Political Sophistication. *American Journal of Political Science* 31: 856-899.
- Neuman, W. Russell. 1986. *The Paradox of Mass Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public. Fifty Years of Trends in American Policy Preferences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, Eric R.A.N. 1989. *The Unchanging American Voter*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Session 6 (20 March): Political belief systems and ideology

- Boutyline, Andrei, and Stephen Vaisey. 2017. Belief Network Analysis: A Relational Approach to Understanding the Structure of Attitudes. *American Journal of Sociology* 122: 1371-1447.
- Jost, John T., Christopher M. Federico, and Jaime L. Napier. 2009. Political Ideology: Its Structure, Functions, and Elective Affinities. *Annual Review of Psychology* 60: 307-337.

Further Reading

- Abramowitz, Alan I., and Kyle L. Saunders. 2008. Is Polarization a Myth? in: *Journal of Politics* 70: 542-555.
- Baldassarri, Delia, and Andrew Gelman. 2008. Partisans without Constraint: Political Polarization and Trends in American Public Opinion. *American Journal of Sociology* 114: 408-446.
- Baldassarri, Delia, and Amir Goldberg. 2014. Neither Ideologues nor Agnostics: Alternative Voters' Belief System in an Age of Partisan Politics. *American Journal of Sociology* 120: 45-95.
- Conover, Pamela Johnston, and Stanley Feldman. 1981. The Origins and Meaning of Liberal/Conservative Self-Identifications. *American Journal of Political Science* 25: 617-645.
- Duckitt, John. 2001. A Dual-Process Cognitive-Motivational Theory of Ideology and Prejudice. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 33: 41-114.
- Jost, John R. 2003. Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition. *Psychological Bulletin* 129: 339-375.
- Kerlinger, Fred N. 1984. *Liberalism and Conservatism: The Nature and Structure of Social Attitudes*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.

Session 7 (27 March): Sources of attitudes and behavior: values

- Hitlin, Steven, and Jane Allyn Piliavin. 2004. Values: Reviving a Dormant Concept. *Annual Review of Sociology* 30: 359-393.
- Feldman, Stanley. 2003. Values, Ideology, and the Structure of Political Attitudes. In: David O. Sears/Leonie Huddy/Robert Jervis (eds.). *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 477-508.

Further Reading

- Barker, David C., and James D. Tinnick III. 2006. Competing Visions of Parental Roles and Ideological Constraint. *American Political Science Review* 100: 249-263.
- Clarke, Harold D., Allan Kornberg, Chris McIntyre, Petra Bauer-Kaase, and Max Kaase. 1999. The Effect of Economic Priorities on the Measurement of Value Change: New Experimental Evidence. *American Political Science Review* 93:637-647.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald F. 2018. *Cultural Evolution: People's Motivations are Changing, and Reshaping the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald, and Christian Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schwartz, Shalom H. 1992. Universals in the Content and Structure of Values: Theoretical Advances and Empirical Tests in 20 Countries. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 25: 1-65.

Easter break (3 April and 10 April)

Session 8 (17 April): Sources of attitudes and behavior: social identities

- Huddy, Leonie. 2013. From Group Identity to Political Cohesion and Commitment. In: Leonie Huddy/David O. Sears/Jack S. Levy (eds.). *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 737-773.
- Johnston, Richard. 2006. Party Identification: Unmoved Mover or Sum of Preferences? *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 329-351.
- Schildkraut, Deborah J. 2014. Boundaries of American Identity: Evolving Understandings of 'Us'. *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 441-460.

Further Reading

- Abdelal, Rawi, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott. 2006. Identity as a Variable. *Perspectives on Politics* 4: 695–711.
- Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Huddy, Leonie, Liliana Mason, and Lene Aaroe. 2015. Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity. *American Political Science Review* 109: 1-17.
- Kalin, Michael, and Nicholas Sambanis. 2018. How to Think About Social Identity. *Annual Review of Political Science* 21: 239-257.
- Sides, John, and Jack Citrin. 2007. European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information. *British Journal of Political Science* 37: 477–504.

Session 9 (24 April): Political participation

- Campbell, David E. 2013. Social Networks and Political Participation. *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 33-48.
- Leighley, Jan E. 1995. Attitudes, Opportunities and Incentives: A Field Essay on Political Participation. *Political Research Quarterly* 48: 181-209.

Further Reading

- Franklin, Mark. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mondak, Jeffery J., Damaris Canache, Mitchell A. Seligson, and Matthew V. Hibbing. 2011. The Participatory Personality: Evidence from Latin America. *British Journal of Political Science* 41: 211-221.
- Theocharis, Yannis, and Jan W. van Deth. 2018. *Political Participation in a Changing World: Conceptual and Empirical Challenges in the Study of Citizen Engagement*. London: Routledge.
- Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Public holiday: 1 May

Session 10 (8 May): Social structure, cleavages, and political behavior

- Evans, Geoffrey, and Peter Egge Langsæther. 2021. The Realignment of Class Politics and Class Voting. (<https://oxfordre.com/politics/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-1976;jsessionid=3CFC8644799C7826D455FDD0E500AACB>)
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschieer, and Timotheos Frey. 2006. Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compares. *European Journal of Political Research* 45: 921-956.

Further Reading

- Dalton, Russell J. 2018. *Political Realignment: Economics, Culture, and Electoral Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Geoffrey, and James Tilley. 2017. *The New Politics of Class: The Political Exclusion of the British Working Class*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Geoffrey, and Nan D. de Graaf. (eds.). 2013. *Political Choice Matters: Explaining the Strength of Class and Religious Cleavages in Cross-National Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hernandez, Enrique, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2016. The Electoral Consequences of the Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe. *European Journal of Political Research* 55: 203-224.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2018. Cleavage Theory Meets Europe's Crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the Transnational Cleavage. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25: 109-135.
- Key, V. O., Jr. 1959. Secular Realignment and the Party System. *Journal of Politics* 21: 198-210.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Session 11 (15 May): Political communication and dynamics of political behavior

- Jacobson, Gary C. 2015. How Do Campaigns Matter? *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 31-47.
- Lenz, Gabriel S. 2012. Learning and Opinion Change, Not Priming: Reconsidering the Priming Hypothesis. *American Journal of Political Science* 53: 821-837.

Further Reading

- Dilliplane, Susanna. 2014. Activation, Conversion, or Reinforcement? The Impact of Partisan News Exposure on Vote Choice. *American Journal of Political Science* 58: 79-94.
- Gerber, Alan S., James G. Gimpel, Donald P. Green, and Daron R. Shaw. 2011. How Large and Long-lasting Are the Persuasive Effects of Televised Campaign Ads? Results from a Randomized Field Experiment. *American Political Science Review* 105: 135-150.
- Gerber, Alan S., and Green, Donald P. 2000. The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment. *American Political Science Review* 94: 653-663.
- Kalla, Joshua L., and David E. Broockman. 2018. The Minimal Persuasive Effects of Campaign Contact in General Elections: Evidence from 49 Field Experiments. *American Political Science Review* 112: 148-166.
- Schoen, Harald, Hans Rattinger, Maria Preißinger, Konstantin Gavras, and Markus Steinbrecher (assisted by Elena Werner). 2017. *Election Campaigns and Voter Decision-*

Making in a Multi-Party System: The 2009 and 2013 German Federal Elections. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Session 12 (22 May): Concluding session

Pentecost (29 May)