

Spring 2023 / Tuesday, 1:30pm-4:30pm ET (updated January 2, 2023)

PLSC-552: Comparative Political Behavior

Daniel L. Tavana
Assistant Professor of Political Science
Pennsylvania State University

Department of Political Science
228 Pond Laboratory
University Park, Pennsylvania 16802

Email: tavana@psu.edu
Website: <http://www.danieltavana.com>

Office hours: Wednesday 1:00pm-3:00pm ET
<https://calendly.com/danieltavana>

Course description

This course explores mass politics, elections, and political behavior in comparative perspective using the tools of quantitative social science. The primary goals of the course are to provide students with an overview of the field and to prepare students to conduct research. We will focus on the intellectual evolution of the field, canonical debates, and emerging questions and controversies. The course will proceed thematically: each week will cover a different research area. For each research area, we will focus both on foundational texts and recent research. This approach will encourage students to think critically about how innovative research design can generate new insights into key debates in comparative politics. Because student interest in different research areas varies, topics may change across semesters. These topics include voter behavior, political participation, and turnout; political parties and partisanship; electoral institutions; class identification and economic voting; representation; identity; ideology; clientelism; protest; and religion. Methodological questions central to the comparative study of political behavior will be introduced alongside these substantive research areas. Canonical work in the field draws primarily from evidence from advanced democracies in Europe and North America. But we will also emphasize a growing body of scholarship that incorporates insights from across the Global South and, where appropriate, non-democratic contexts.

Objectives and learning outcomes

- Develop a solid mastery of the variety of approaches, major intellectual debates, methods, and research questions in the field.
- Understand the ways in which social scientific methodology has been or could be applied to empirically analyze historical or contemporary political phenomena.
- Define a research agenda of your own based on some aspect of comparative political behavior that you find interesting and/or important.
- Effectively communicate your ideas, reflections, and research findings to academic communities, policymakers, and industry experts.

Prerequisites

There are no formal prerequisites to enroll in this course. However, since we will read some more advanced work from political science, it will help to have some background in political science, comparative politics, and/or political behavior. Similarly, previous coursework in research design, quantitative methods, and/or econometric analysis is strongly recommended. With a little bit of curiosity and hard work, you can succeed in this class even if you have not taken significant coursework in political science or political methodology. Students who are not currently enrolled in the Department of Political Science's PhD program must speak with the instructor before enrolling.

Class schedule

Week	Day	Date	Theme
1	Tue	10 Jan	Introduction & course overview
2	Tue	17 Jan	Attitudes, opinion formation, & measurement
3	Tue	24 Jan	Theoretical models of voter behavior
4	Tue	31 Jan	Political participation: Macro-level perspectives
5	Tue	7 Feb	Political participation: Individual-level approaches
6	Tue	14 Feb	Partisanship & party organizations
7	Tue	21 Feb	Institutions & electoral systems
8	Tue	28 Feb	Economic voting & subjective class identification
9	Tue	14 Mar	Representation, congruence, & elite responsiveness
10	Tue	21 Mar	Identity, ethnicity, and groups
11	Tue	28 Mar	Ideology, the left-right spectrum, & mass politics
12	Tue	4 Apr	Clientelism & distributive politics
13	Tue	11 Apr	Protest & contentious collective action
14	Tue	18 Apr	Religion & religiosity
15	Tue	25 Apr	Final paper presentations

Course requirements

Your grade will be based on the following items:

1. In-class participation: **20%**

This is a seminar-style class that centers the lively (and respectful) exchange of ideas, reflections, and arguments. As students, it is your collective responsibility to contribute to our discussions. Your experience in this course will be more productive and intellectually rewarding if you participate. You are welcome to pose questions for discussion, as well: questions can be as generative as explanations. This is a class on **comparative** political behavior: students often come to this class with a diverse understanding of cases/contexts, party and electoral systems, and other area-focused knowledge. You are welcome to draw connections between this knowledge and the readings where appropriate.

Students should come to class having done the required readings. After the first week, each class will be led by a student. If you are assigned to lead the class discussion, you will a) introduce the topic, b) situate the required readings in broader perspective, and c) open and lead a discussion of the readings with your peers. During our first class meeting, I will assign each student to lead one (1) or two (2) classes depending on enrollment. Before your assigned class, you must arrange to speak with me about your plans for managing the discussion. These meetings should take place no later than the day before our class meets (ideally on Monday). You can arrange to meet with me via Slack message.

During our first class meeting, I will also assign each student to deliver a short (20 minute) presentation on the **recommended** readings on one (1) or two (2) topics depending on enrollment. These presentations will be held at the end of class. If you are assigned to present the recommended readings, you must also complete the required readings. These presentations should a) summarize the research question, data, methods, and key findings in each paper and b) make connections between the required and recommended readings where appropriate.

2. Online (slack) participation: **10%**

We will supplement our in-class meetings with asynchronous participation on the course's Slack channel. Beginning in the second week, students will submit a short (i.e., one (1) paragraph) reaction to the required readings on Slack. This reaction will be an opportunity for you to ask questions, flag aspects of the readings that were most interesting or confusing, and engage with the comments and questions of your peers. It will also help set the agenda for our class meeting later that day. Reactions must be posted to the **#general** Slack channel before 12:00pm on the day of each class meeting. Please treat discussions on Slack with the same thoughtfulness, care, and generosity that you would treat in-person interactions in class. Engage respectfully and constructively.

Note: if you have been assigned to lead the class discussion or present the week's recommended readings, you do not need to post a reaction. Reaction posts are also not required for the first and last class meetings of the semester. Aside from these exemptions, you may miss two (2) posts throughout the semester without penalty.

3. Final paper prospectus and peer review exercise: **15%**

Much of what we do in academia is a collective enterprise. To help introduce you to the norms, procedures, and styles of communication common across the social sciences, there will be a peer review exercise mid-way through the semester. You will write a short 1,500 to 2,500 word prospectus that summarizes your plans for the final paper. This prospectus should include 1) the research question(s) you aim to answer, 2) the data you plan to use, 3) a discussion of methodology, and 4) some preliminary hypotheses, observable implications, or “hunches.” Depending on enrollment, I will send each proposal to two (2) or three (3) students in the class who will provide written feedback. This feedback will provide you with helpful advice on how best to move forward with the final paper. I will provide more information about the prospectus and review requirements early in the semester.

Note: Each student must schedule an appointment to meet with me no later than one week before the prospectus is due. In this meeting, you should (at a minimum) come prepared to discuss a possible research question and the data you plan to analyze.

4. In-class presentation of final paper: **10%**

During the last meeting of the semester, you will present your findings to the class. These conference-style presentations are designed to mirror those at the annual meeting of APSA and other professional associations. You should aim to present for 12 minutes. More information about the presentations will be shared later in the semester.

5. Final paper: **45%**

Students will write one (1) final paper (between 8,000 and 10,000 words) on a topic of their choosing. Because this class is designed to be helpful for your research, the paper should either propose or test a theory that addresses a topic in comparative political behavior we will cover over the course of the semester. The goal should be to produce an article-length manuscript that, with some revision, can be published in a journal. A number of the papers we will read this semester began as papers written in graduate seminars. You should think of this assignment as an opportunity to write something that will appear on this syllabus in the future.

You are required to use an off-the-shelf (public) dataset for the final paper. I recommend you start with some of the large survey-based studies of public opinion that are available online. You may also use electoral data. A preliminary list of datasets can be found in the “Survey and electoral data” section below.

Assignment schedule

Week	Day	Date	Assignment	Percent
7	Tue	21 Feb	Final paper prospectus	7.5
8	Tue	28 Feb	Peer review(s)	7.5
15	Tue	25 Apr	In-class presentations	10
	Wed	1 Mon	Final paper	45

Grading

All assignments will be graded on a 100 point scale. All letter grades (including the final course grade) will be calculated using the following scale:

		A	100-93%	A-	92-90%
B+	89-87%	B	86-83%	B-	82-80%
C+	79-77%	C	76-70%		
		D	69-60%		
		F	<60%		

If you would like to dispute the grade you receive on an assignment, you must wait at least two (2) full days after you receive your grade to submit a grade dispute. If you plan to dispute your grade, you must do so in writing via email. The email must contain a detailed explanation for each item you think was incorrectly marked. Where applicable, you must reference specific passages in course readings and explain your logic. I will then review the dispute and issue a decision within one (1) week. Any dispute must be sent not later than two (2) weeks after receiving the grade. Disputes submitted after this time will not be accepted.

Survey and electoral data

The following survey-based studies of public opinion are available online:

- [Comparative Study of Electoral Systems \(CSES\)](#)
- [World Values Survey \(WVS\)](#)
- [International Social Survey Programme \(ISSP\)](#)
- [Comparative National Elections Project \(CNEP\)](#)
- [European Values Study](#)
- Regional barometers:
 - + [Afrobarometer](#)
 - + [Arab Barometer](#)
 - + [Asian Barometer](#)
 - + [Central Asia Barometer](#)
 - + [Eurobarometer](#)
 - + [LAPOP](#)
 - + [Latinobarómetro](#)
- National election studies (examples):
 - + [Belgian National Elections Study](#)
 - + [Canadian Election Study](#)
 - + [Swedish National Election Study](#)
 - + [Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study](#)
 - + Also see: Cowen, Michael, and Laakso, Liisa, 1997, "An Overview of Election Studies in Africa," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 35(4): 717-744.

Aggregate electoral data for many countries across several years are also available online:

- [Constituency-Level Elections Archive \(CLEA\)](#)
- [Database of Political Institutions \(DPI\)](#)
- [Election Passport](#)
- [Elections in Western Europe since 1815](#)

- [Global Elections Database](#)
- [Inter-Parliamentary Union \(IPU\) PARLINE](#)
- [Open Election Data Initiative](#)
- Data collected by social scientists and non-governmental organizations (examples):
 - + [British General Election Constituency Results](#) [United Kingdom]
 - + [IndiaVotes](#) [India]
 - + [Canadian Elections Datasets](#) [Canada]
- Official statistics, election commissions, and other government data (examples):
 - + [Instituto Nacional Electoral](#) [Mexico]
 - + [L'Instance Supérieure Indépendante pour les Élections](#) [Tunisia]
 - + [Tribunal Superior Eleitoral](#) [Brazil]

Course policies and procedures

Attendance

This class will be taught in-person every Tuesday from 1:30pm to 4:30pm ET. Attendance is required at each meeting. If you cannot attend class due to an extracurricular activity, athletic event, or religious holiday, please notify me in the first two (2) weeks of class or at least a week prior so we can make alternative arrangements if necessary. Unexcused absences will result in a reduction of your class participation and attendance grade.

Course communication

We will use two different platforms for the course: Canvas and a Slack workspace.

1. Canvas: The course website (psu.instructure.com/courses/2231567) contains the syllabus and course readings.
2. Slack: We will use a Slack workspace (psucpbs23.slack.com) to discuss various day-to-day aspects of the course. The workspace has three channels:
 - **#announcements**: All class announcements will be posted here (i.e., if there is a change to the syllabus).
 - **#general**: This channel is for weekly reactions and general discussion about course material. Participation in this channel is also treated similar to class participation (i.e., if you do not feel comfortable asking a question or commenting in class, you are welcome to do so here).
 - **#assignments**: This channel is for discussion and questions about specific course assignments.

If you have a quick or non-substantive question about the course, Slack is the best way to reach me. I typically respond to Slack messages quickly, but if you do not hear back from me within 48 hours, please follow up with a reminder. You may also reach me via email. Students are encouraged to read Laura Portwood-Stacer's article on email communication: "[How to Email Your Professor \(without being annoying AF\)](#)."

To the best of your ability, avoid sending last-minute messages or emails prior to assignment due dates. I may not be able to help you. Please familiarize yourself with important dates, add them to your calendars, and give yourself enough time to work on course assignments. I realize this may not always be possible. If you have questions about course material or your performance, please

make an appointment to speak with me during office hours. If you cannot meet during office hours, appointments can be made during weekdays with some notice.

Deadlines, late assignments, and incomplete grades

Unless otherwise noted, assignments must be submitted by 11:59pm EST on the date they are due. Late assignments will face a ten (10) point penalty for each day late without a prior extension. If you have a personal problem that precludes you from completing coursework on time, please send me an email immediately. A doctor's note, or note from a dean, may be requested. Please familiarize yourself with the university's policies for [incomplete work](#).

Laptops, mobile devices and technology

You may use your laptop to take notes during class meetings. Laptops can be a useful learning tool, but they can also distract you (and others). Before the start of class, please silence your mobile devices, disable notifications, and close applications that will prevent you from participating actively during class meetings. Audio and video recording devices are prohibited unless previously approved by Student Disability Resources (SDR) in advance. This will encourage the development of a learning environment conducive to the free and open exchange of ideas without fear that student and faculty contributions will be reproduced or distributed without consent. This policy applies to class meetings, office hours, and other informal or group meetings outside of scheduled class meetings.

Collaboration

Course assignments present many opportunities to work together and share ideas. Students are encouraged to collaborate and consult readings and resources not included on this syllabus. However, as with any course that includes coding, computer programming, and data analysis, there is a clear distinction between permissible collaboration and unacceptable copying or plagiarism. Assignments are designed to allow you to reach your own understanding of the question or problem and discover a solution. Conversations with your professor(s), instructional staff, and classmates are acceptable. But when writing code, reactions, and other written assignments, these conversations are no longer appropriate. The code and written work must be your own work. Under no circumstances should you copy code. Incorporating someone else's code into your work in any form is plagiarism. Sharing code in digital form with your classmates is especially prohibited: you should not e-mail your code to anyone. Please take this policy seriously. It supplements (and does not replace) the Penn State [Code of Conduct](#) described below. If you have any questions, please speak with me before submitting your work.

Reading and studying

Students are expected to complete the assigned readings before each class meeting and to contribute to class discussions. Students are not expected to understand every theoretical or technical detail that appears in each reading, but you should read each piece carefully. Reading academic or scientific articles can be difficult. The following guides present different approaches that will help you identify the main ideas, key concepts, and central arguments in each reading.

- [“How to Read Political Science: A Guide in Four Steps,”](#) by Amelia Hoover Green
- [“How to Read a \(Quantitative\) Journal Article,”](#) by Greta Krippner
- [“Reading and Understanding Political Science,”](#) by Leanne C. Powner
- [“Reading a Journal Article,”](#) by Chad Raymond

- [“How to Read in College,”](#) by Timothy Burke
- [“Beyond the Abstract: Reading for Meaning in Academia,”](#) by Jessica Calarco

You may also want to consult this Vox guide on how to study smarter: [“Re-reading is inefficient. Here are 8 tips for studying smarter.”](#) For more information, please consult the university’s [learning resources](#).

Inclement weather

According to [updated university guidance](#) for students, faculty and staff, “In the event that normal operations at a Penn State location are disrupted due to snow or other weather or emergency conditions, individuals are urged to avoid coming to campus, if possible, and those who must visit campus should remain alert and avoid sections of campus that may be covered in snow or ice.” Class cancellations will be dealt with on a case-by-case basis. Please note that in the event class is cancelled, in-person meetings cannot be moved to synchronous remote meetings.

Academic integrity

The Penn State [Code of Conduct](#) defines academic integrity as: “the pursuit of scholarly activity in an open, honest and responsible manner. Academic integrity is a basic guiding principle for all academic activity at The Pennsylvania State University, and all members of the University community are expected to act in accordance with this principle. Consistent with this expectation, students should act with personal integrity, respect other students’ dignity, rights and property, and help create and maintain an environment in which all can succeed through the fruits of their efforts.”

Violations of academic integrity “include, but are not limited to, copying, plagiarism, fabrication of information or citations, facilitation of acts of academic dishonesty by others, unauthorized possession of examinations, submitting work of another person or work previously used without informing the instructor, and tampering with the academic work of other students.” Please familiarize yourself with these policies. Students are strongly encouraged to consult the College of the Liberal Arts’ [academic integrity resources](#).

Commitment to an equitable & inclusive learning environment

Penn State adheres to the philosophy that all community members should enjoy a learning environment free from harassment, sexual misconduct, discrimination, or violence of any kind. If you encounter sexual harassment, sexual misconduct, sexual assault, or discrimination based on race, color, religion, age, national origin, ancestry, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability, please contact the [Office of Educational Equity](#) or the [Office of Sexual Misconduct Prevention and Response](#).

Counseling & psychological services

Many students at Penn State face personal, emotional, or psychological challenges or difficulties that may interfere with their academic progress, emotional well-being, or social or professional development. [Counseling & Psychological Services \(CAPS\)](#) offers students a variety of confidential services provided by trained staff who welcome all students and embrace an approach grounded in an understanding of different cultural and religious backgrounds and a respect for differences in race, color, religion, age, national origin, ancestry, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, and disability. CAPS services include wellness and self-help options; group, individual, and couples counseling; crisis intervention; psychiatric services; virtual services; and community education and outreach services for the University

community. If you need [immediate support](#) you may call CAPS at +1 814 863 0395 (M-F, 8:00am-5:00pm), call the Penn State Crisis Line at +1 877 229 6400 (24/7), or text “LIONS” to the Crisis Text Line at 741741 (24/7).

Disability accommodation & accessibility services

I am committed to ensuring your experience in this class is an enjoyable one. Students with disabilities that have been documented by Student Disability Resources (SDR) will be appropriately accommodated. The primary mission of [Student Disability Resources \(SDR\)](#) is to “explore individualized reasonable accommodations for equal access and full participation in academic pursuits; seek interactions with peers or study space; connect with on- and off-campus resources; and promote disability as an important aspect of diversity.” In order to receive consideration for reasonable accommodation, students should inform SDR as soon as possible of their needs. If you have not yet contacted SDR but have a temporary health condition or permanent disability that requires accommodation, please do so during the first week of the course. Currently, students can choose either in-person or virtual appointments with SDR staff. Please call SDR at +1 814 863 1807 to schedule an appointment or email upsdr@psu.edu with any questions. SDR will provide you with a letter that will describe the accommodations I will be able to make. You must follow this process for every semester that you request reasonable accommodation.

Course materials and schedule

Introduction & course overview
10 Jan / Week 1

Required reading:

- ① Mintz, Alex, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Carly Wayne. 2021. Beyond Rationality: Behavioral Political Science in the 21st Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-18 in “Living in Interesting Times: How Behavioral Political Science Can Help Us Understand the Current Political Moment.”
- ② Ginsberg, Benjamin. 1986. *Captive Public: How Mass Opinion Promotes State Power*. New York: Basic Books, pp. 3-31 in “Government and Opinion.”
- ③ Oh, Jeong Hyun, Sara Yeatman, and Jenny Trinitapoli. 2019. “Data Collection as Disruption: Insights from a Longitudinal Study of Young Adulthood.” *American Sociological Review* 84(4): 634-663.
- ④ Bross, Irwin D.J. 1960. “Statistical Criticism.” *Cancer* 13(2): 394-400.

Attitudes, opinion formation, & measurement
17 Jan / Week 2

Required reading:

- ① **FOUNDATIONS** Mintz, Alex, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Carly Wayne. 2021. Beyond Rationality: Behavioral Political Science in the 21st Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 137-159 in “The Origins of Political Preferences: Material Self-Interest or Personality, Moral Values, and Group Attitudes?”
- ② **FOUNDATIONS** Druckman, James N., and Arthur Lupia. 2000. “Preference Formation.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 3(1): 1-24.
- ③ **FOUNDATIONS** Kuran, Timur. 1990. “Private and Public Preferences.” *Economics & Philosophy* 6(1): 1-26.
- ④ **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** Zaller, John, and Stanley Feldman. 1992. “A Simple Theory of the Survey Response: Answering Questions versus Revealing Preferences.” *American Journal of Political Science* 36(3): 579-616.
- ⑤ Lupu, Noam, and Kristin Michelitch. 2018. “Advances in Survey Methods for the Developing World.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 21(1): 195-214.

Recommended reading:

- **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** Nemerever, Zoe, and Melissa Rogers. 2021. “Measuring the Rural Continuum in Political Science.” *Political Analysis* 29(3): 267-286.
- **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** Gengler, Justin J., Mark Tessler, Russell Lucas, and Jonathan Forney. 2021. “‘Why Do You Ask?’ The Nature and Impacts of Attitudes towards Public Opinion Surveys in the Arab World.” *British Journal of Political Science* 51(1): 115-136.
- Druckman, James N. 2004. “Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)Relevance of Framing Effects.” *American Political Science Review* 98(4): 671-686.

- Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2014. “Thin Descriptions: The Limits of Survey Research on the Meaning of Democracy.” *Polity* 46(3): 303-330.

Theoretical models of voter behavior
24 Jan / Week 3

Required reading:

- ① Bartels, Larry M. 2010. “The Study of Electoral Behavior.” In *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*, ed. Jan E. Leighley. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 239-261.
- ② Achen, Christopher H., and Larry M. Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 1-20 in “Democratic Ideals and Realities” and pp. 21-51 in “The Elusive Mandate: Elections and the Mirage of Popular Control.”
- ③ Bendor, Jonathan, Daniel Diermeier, David A. Siegel, and Michael M. Ting. 2011. *A Behavioral Theory of Elections*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 1-22 in “Bounded Rationality and Elections.”
- ④ Weldon, S. Laurel. 2006. “The Structure of Intersectionality: A Comparative Politics of Gender.” *Politics & Gender* 2(2): 235-248.
- ⑤ List, Christian, and Kai Spiekermann. 2013. “Methodological Individualism and Holism in Political Science: A Reconciliation.” *American Political Science Review* 107(4): 629-643.

Recommended reading:

- Auerbach, Adam Michael et al. 2022. “Rethinking the Study of Electoral Politics in the Developing World: Reflections on the Indian Case.” *Perspectives on Politics* 20(1): 250-264.
- Converse, Philip E. 1970. “Attitudes and Non-Attitudes.” In *The Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems*, ed. Edward R. Tuft. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 168-189.
- Lupu, N., and R. B. Riedl. 2013. “Political Parties and Uncertainty in Developing Democracies.” *Comparative Political Studies* 46(11): 1339-1365.
- Mendelberg, Tali. 2005. “Bringing the Group Back into Political Psychology: Erik H. Erikson Early Career Award Address.” *Political Psychology* 26(4): 637-650.

Political participation: Macro-level perspectives
31 Jan / Week 4

Required reading:

- ① **FOUNDATIONS** Blais, André. 2006. “What Affects Voter Turnout?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1): 111-125.
- ② **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** DeBell, Matthew et al. 2020. “The Turnout Gap in Surveys: Explanations and Solutions.” *Sociological Methods & Research* 49(4): 1133-1162.
- ③ Przeworski, Adam. 2009. “Constraints and Choices: Electoral Participation in Historical Perspective.” *Comparative Political Studies* 42(1): 4-30.
- ④ Martinez i Coma, Ferran, and Lee Morgenbesser. 2020. “Election Turnout in Authoritarian Regimes.” *Electoral Studies* 68: 1-11.

- ⑤ 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.

Recommended reading:

- 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.
- Tsai, Lily L., and Yiqing Xu. 2018. "Outspoken Insiders: Political Connections and Citizen Participation in Authoritarian China." *Political Behavior* 40(3): 629-657.
- Boulding, Carew E. 2010. "NGOs and Political Participation in Weak Democracies: Subnational Evidence on Protest and Voter Turnout from Bolivia." *The Journal of Politics* 72(2): 456-468.
- Eggers, Andrew C. 2015. "Proportionality and Turnout: Evidence From French Municipalities." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(2): 135-167.

Political participation: Individual-level approaches
7 Feb / Week 5

Required reading:

- ① **FOUNDATIONS** Brady, Henry E., Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation." *The American Political Science Review* 89(2): 271-294.
- ② **FOUNDATIONS** Campbell, David E. 2013. "Social Networks and Political Participation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16(1): 33-48.
- ③ **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** Rap, Robyn, and Pamela Paxton. 2021. "How Accurate Are Self-Reports of Voluntary Association Memberships?" *Sociological Methods & Research* 50(2): 866-900.
- ④ Robinson, Amanda Lea, and Jessica Gottlieb. 2021. "How to Close the Gender Gap in Political Participation: Lessons from Matrilineal Societies in Africa." *British Journal of Political Science* 51(1): 68-92.

Recommended reading:

- Blattman, Christopher. 2009. "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda." *American Political Science Review* 103(2): 231-247.
- Herron, Erik S. 2011. "Measuring Dissent in Electoral Authoritarian Societies: Lessons From Azerbaijan's 2008 Presidential Election and 2009 Referendum." *Comparative Political Studies* 44(11): 1557-1583.
- McClendon, Gwyneth, and Rachel Beatty Riedl. 2015. "Religion as a Stimulant of Political Participation: Experimental Evidence from Nairobi, Kenya." *The Journal of Politics* 77(4): 1045-1057.
- Shanks, J. Merrill. 1994. "Unresolved Issues in Electoral Decisions: Alternative Perspectives on the Explanation of Individual Choice." In *Elections at Home and Abroad: Essays in Honor of Warren E. Miller*, eds. M. Kent Jennings and Thomas E. Mann. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 17-38.

Partisanship & party organizations
14 Feb / Week 6

Required reading:

- ① **FOUNDATIONS** Converse, Philip E. 1969. "Of Time and Partisan Stability." *Comparative Political Studies* 2(2): 139-71.
- ② **FOUNDATIONS** Johnston, Richard. 2006. "Party Identification: Unmoved Mover or Sum of Preferences?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1): 329-351.
- ③ 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.
- ④ 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.
- ⑤ Lupu, Noam. 2014. "Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America." *World Politics* 66(4): 561-602.

Recommended reading:

- **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** Converse, Philip E., and Roy Pierce. 1985. "Measuring Partisanship." *Political Methodology* 11(3/4): 143-166.
- Schickler, Eric, and Donald Philip Green. 1997. "The Stability of Party Identification in Western Democracies: Results from Eight Panel Surveys." *Comparative Political Studies* 30(4): 450-483.
- 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.
- Choi, Jun Young, Jiyeon Kim, and Jungho Roh. 2017. "Cognitive and Partisan Mobilization in New Democracies: The Case of South Korea." *Party Politics* 23(6): 680-691.

Institutions & electoral systems

21 Feb / Week 7

*****Final paper prospectus due at 11:59pm*****

Required reading:

- ① **FOUNDATIONS** Cox, Gary W. 1997. Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 13-33 in "Duverger's propositions."
- ② **FOUNDATIONS** Ferree, Karen E., G. Bingham Powell, and Ethan Scheiner. 2014. "Context, Electoral Rules, and Party Systems." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1): 421-439.
- ③ **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** Teorell, Jan, and Catharina Lindstedt. 2010. "Measuring Electoral Systems." *Political Research Quarterly* 63(2): 434-448.
- ④ Przeworski, Adam. 2015. "Acquiring the Habit of Changing Governments Through Elections." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(1): 101-129.

Recommended reading:

- **FOUNDATIONS** Boix, Carles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 93(3): 609-624.
- Neto, Octavio Amorim, and Gary W. Cox. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 41(1): 149-174.
- Golder, Matt, and Jacek Stramski. 2010. "Ideological Congruence and Electoral Institutions." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(1): 90-106.

- Buttorff, Gail. 2015. “Coordination Failure and the Politics of Tribes: Jordanian Elections under SNTV.” *Electoral Studies* 40: 45-55.

Economic voting & subjective class identification
28 Feb / Week 8

*****Peer review(s) due at 11:59pm*****

Required reading:

- ① **FOUNDATIONS** Powell, 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* 37(2): 391-414.
- ② **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** Evans, Geoffrey. 1992. “Testing the Validity of the Goldthorpe Class Schema.” *European Sociological Review* 8(3): 211-232.
- ③ 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.
- ④ Murillo, M. Victoria, and Giancarlo Visconti. 2017. “Economic Performance and Incumbents’ Support in Latin America.” *Electoral Studies* 45: 180-190.

Recommended reading:

- Abou-Chadi, Tarik, and Markus Wagner. 2019. “The Electoral Appeal of Party Strategies in Postindustrial Societies: When Can the Mainstream Left Succeed?” *The Journal of Politics* 81(4): 1405–19.
- Carnes, Nicholas, and Noam Lupu. 2015. “Rethinking the Comparative Perspective on Class and Representation: Evidence from Latin America.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59(1): 1-18.
- Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2001. “An Asset Theory of Social Policy Preferences.” *American Political Science Review* 95(4): 875-893.
- Tucker, Joshua A. 2006. Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-1999. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 27-77 in “Economic Conditions and Election Results.”

Representation, congruence, & elite responsiveness
14 Mar / Week 9

Required reading:

- ① Clayton, Amanda, Cecilia Josefsson, Robert Mattes, and Shaheen Mozaffar. 2019. “In Whose Interest? Gender and Mass-Elite Priority Congruence in Sub-Saharan Africa.” *Comparative Political Studies* 52(1): 69-101.
- ② Luna, Juan P., and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2005. “Political Representation in Latin America: A Study of Elite-Mass Congruence in Nine Countries.” *Comparative Political Studies* 38(4): 388-416.
- ③ Lupu, Noam, and Zach Warner. 2022. “Affluence and Congruence: Unequal Representation around the World.” *The Journal of Politics* 84(1): 276-290.

- ④ Tsai, Lily L. 2007. “Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China.” *American Political Science Review* 101(2): 355-372.

Recommended reading:

- **FOUNDATIONS** Zaller, John R. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 40-52 in “How Citizens Acquire Information and Convert it into Public Opinion” and pp. 53-75 in “Coming to Terms with Response Instability.”
- Blackman, Alexandra Domike, and Marlette Jackson. 2021. “Gender Stereotypes, Political Leadership, and Voting Behavior in Tunisia.” *Political Behavior* 43(3): 1037-1066.
- Hiskey, Jonathan T., and Mason W. Moseley. 2018. “Severed Linkages: Distorted Accountability in Uneven Regimes.” *Comparative Political Studies* 51(10): 1314-1350.
- Mudde, Cas, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2018. “Studying Populism in Comparative Perspective: Reflections on the Contemporary and Future Research Agenda.” *Comparative Political Studies* 51(13): 1667-1693.

Identity, ethnicity, & groups
21 Mar / Week 10

Required reading:

- ① **FOUNDATIONS** Huddy, Leonie. 2001. “From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory.” *Political Psychology* 22(1): 127-156.
- ② **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** Abdelal, Rawi, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott. 2006. “Identity as a Variable.” *Perspectives on Politics* 4(4): 695-711.
- ③ **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. “What Is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1): 397-424.
- ④ Micheli, David De. 2021. “Racial Reclassification and Political Identity Formation.” *World Politics* 73(1): 1-51.
- ⑤ Posner, Daniel N. 2017. “When and Why Do Some Social Cleavages Become Politically Salient Rather than Others?” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40(12): 2001-2019.

Recommended reading:

- Madrid, Raúl L. 2008. “The Rise of Ethnopolitism in Latin America.” *World Politics* 60(3): 475-508.
- Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2007. “Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?” *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 709-725.
- Ichino, Nahomi, and Noah L. Nathan. 2013. “Crossing the Line: Local Ethnic Geography and Voting in Ghana.” *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 344-361.
- Kasara, Kimuli. 2013. “Separate and Suspicious: Local Social and Political Context and Ethnic Tolerance in Kenya.” *The Journal of Politics* 75(4): 921-936.

Ideology, the left-right spectrum, & mass politics
28 Mar / Week 11

Required reading:

- ① **FOUNDATIONS** Converse, Philip E. 2006. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics (1964)." *Critical Review* 18(1-3): 1-74.
- ② **FOUNDATIONS** Conover, Pamela Johnston, and Stanley Feldman. 1981. "The Origins and Meaning of Liberal-Conservative Self-Identifications." *American Journal of Political Science* 25(4): 617-645.
- ③ Caughey, Devin, Tom O'Grady, and Christopher Warshaw. 2019. "Policy Ideology in European Mass Publics, 1981-2016." *American Political Science Review* 113(3): 674-693.
- ④ Pan, Jennifer, and Yiqing Xu. 2017. "China's Ideological Spectrum." *The Journal of Politics* 80(1): 254-273.

Recommended reading:

- **FOUNDATIONS** Ansolabehere, Stephen, Jonathan Rodden, and James M. Snyder. 2008. "The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 102(2): 215-232.
- Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2015. "Information, Inequality, and Mass Polarization: Ideology in Advanced Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(13): 1781-1813.
- Zechmeister, Elizabeth J., and Margarita Corral. 2013. "Individual and Contextual Constraints on Ideological Labels in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 46(6): 675-701.
- Heide-Jørgensen, Tobias. 2021. "Triggering Ideological Thinking: How Elections Foster Coherence of Welfare State Attitudes." *American Political Science Review* 115(2): 506-521.

Clientelism & distributive politics

4 Apr / Week 12

Required reading:

- ① **FOUNDATIONS** Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities." *Comparative Political Studies* 33(6-7): 845-879.
- ② **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** Nichter, Simeon. 2014. "Conceptualizing Vote Buying." *Electoral Studies* 35: 315-27.
- ③ **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** Albertus, Michael. 2019. "Theory and Methods in the Study of Distributive Politics." *Political Science Research and Methods* 7(3): 629-639.
- ④ Auerbach, Adam Michael, and Tariq Thachil. 2018. "How Clients Select Brokers: Competition and Choice in India's Slums." *American Political Science Review* 112(4): 1-17.
- ⑤ Mares, Isabela, and Lauren E. Young. 2018. "The Core Voter's Curse: Clientelistic Threats and Promises in Hungarian Elections." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(11): 1441-1471.

Recommended reading:

- Greene, Kenneth F. 2021. "Campaign Effects and the Elusive Swing Voter in Modern Machine Politics." *Comparative Political Studies* 54(1): 77-109.
- 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.
- Chubb, Judith. 1981. "The Social Bases of an Urban Political Machine: The Case of Palermo." *Political Science Quarterly* 96(1): 107-125.
- Koter, Dominika. 2013. "King Makers: Local Leaders and Ethnic Politics in Africa." *World Politics* 65(2): 187-232.

Protest & contentious collective action

11 Apr / Week 13

Required reading:

- ① **FOUNDATIONS** Granovetter, Mark. 1978. "Threshold Models of Collective Behavior." *American Journal of Sociology* 83(6): 1420-1443.
- ② Harris, Adam S., and Erin Hern. 2019. "Taking to the Streets: Protest as an Expression of Political Preference in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 52(8): 1169-1199.
- ③ Ketchley, Neil, and Thoraya El-Rayyes. 2021. "Unpopular Protest: Mass Mobilization and Attitudes to Democracy in Post-Mubarak Egypt." *The Journal of Politics* 83(1): 291-305.
- ④ Pop-Eleches, Grigore, Graeme Robertson and Bryn Rosenfeld. 2021. "Protest Participation and Attitude Change: Evidence from Ukraine's Euromaidan Revolution." *The Journal of Politics* 84(2): 625-638.
- ⑤ Tertychnaya, Katerina. 2019. "Protests and Voter Defections in Electoral Autocracies: Evidence From Russia." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(12): 1926-1956.

Recommended reading:

- Cohen, Mollie J. 2018. "Protesting via the Null Ballot: An Assessment of the Decision to Cast an Invalid Vote in Latin America." *Political Behavior* 40(2): 395-414.
- Dahlum, Sirianne. 2019. "Students in the Streets: Education and Nonviolent Protest." *Comparative Political Studies* 52(2): 277-309.
- Huang, Haifeng, and Nicholas Cruz. 2022. "Propaganda, Presumed Influence, and Collective Protest." *Political Behavior* 44(4): 1789-1812.
- Young, Lauren E. 2019. "The Psychology of State Repression: Fear and Dissent Decisions in Zimbabwe." *American Political Science Review* 113(1): 140-155.

Religion & religiosity

18 Apr / Week 14

Required reading:

- ① **FOUNDATIONS** Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. 2011. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-32 in "The Secularization Debate" and pp. 33-52 in "Measuring Secularization."
- ② **METHODS / MEASUREMENT** Brenner, Philip S. 2017. "How Religious Identity Shapes Survey Responses." In *Faithful Measures: New Methods in the Measurement of Religion*, eds. Roger Finke and Christopher D. Bader. New York: New York University Press, 21-47.
- ③ De La O, Ana L., and Jonathan A. Rodden. 2008. "Does Religion Distract the Poor?: Income and Issue Voting Around the World." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(4-5): 437-476.
- ④ Grewal, Sharan, Amaney A. Jamal, Tarek Masoud, and Elizabeth R. Nugent. 2019. "Poverty and Divine Rewards: The Electoral Advantage of Islamist Political Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(4): 859-874.

Recommended reading:

- Abdelgadir, Aala, and Vasiliki Fouka. 2020. “Political Secularism and Muslim Integration in the West: Assessing the Effects of the French Headscarf Ban.” *American Political Science Review* 114(3): 707-723.
- Hoffman, Michael. 2020. “Religion, Sectarianism, and Democracy: Theory and Evidence from Lebanon.” *Political Behavior* 42(4): 1169-1200.
- Liddle, R. William, and Saiful Mujani. 2007. “Leadership, Party, and Religion: Explaining Voting Behavior in Indonesia.” *Comparative Political Studies* 40(7): 832-857.
- Scheve, Kenneth, and David Stasavage. 2006. “Religion and Preferences for Social Insurance.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 1(3): 255–86.

Final paper presentations
25 Apr / Week 15