

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
(Revised 8/21/08)

POL 596D: Comparative Political Behavior
Thurs: 3:30-5:30
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Fall 2008
Office: 314a --
Social Science

COURSE DESCRIPTION: This seminar examines the interaction and impact of institutions and culture on macro and micro-political behavior. The overall focus is on democratic institutions and regimes, although some readings and research may stray a bit from this focus. The first half of the course will be devoted to the critical reading of a variety of old and new research on the structure and functioning of democratic systems and on the nature and determinants of individual political behavior within such systems. The second half of the course will emphasize student presentations (and critiques) of their research on various aspects of this topic. The seminar will include practical instruction on concept formation and measurement and on comparative research methods including multi-level modeling.

<u>REQUIREMENTS</u>	<u>Percentage of Grade</u>	<u>Due Date</u>
Bibliographic Essay	20	5 pm on Wed of week topic is discussed in class.
Research Design	10	5 pm Oct 1.
Research Paper	50	Nov. 19
Seminar Participation	20	Weekly

READINGS Required Readings are listed for each week, below, and should be completed before the class in which they are discussed. Most of the required articles are available on-line via **JSTOR** and other electronic journals and are labeled as such. Reading labeled as **WEB** are available on the course homepage under readings at www.u.arizona.edu/~mishler/courses.htm.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAYS: Each student shall write a critical bibliographic essay on one of the topics OTHER THAN Topics 1-3 -- preferably the topic most closely related to your research paper. The essay should focus on the literature for one of the seminar topics and should summarize, synthesize, and critically, but sympathetically, evaluate the literature for the week. A bibliographic essay is NOT a book report or even a series of book reports stuck together. Rather, the essay should focus on the literature as a whole and addresses such questions as: What are the principal questions addressed in the literature? What are the principal approaches, theoretical and methodological, which are used in the literature in an attempt to address these questions? What are the principal conclusions reached in the literature? What are the main points of agreement and the principal areas of disagreement in the literature? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the literature?

The "literature" for your topic should include all of the required readings on the syllabus PLUS any literature published on the topic since 2000 in the *American Political Science Review*, the *American Journal of Political Science*, *The Journal of Politics* and the *British Journal of Political Science*. A list of the relevant articles from those journals should be appended to your paper.

Papers should be 5-8 pages in length. They must be typed, double spaced, with 1" margins and a font no smaller than that used on this syllabus. A hard copy of the paper should be put in my mailbox in Social Science 315 by 5 pm on the Wednesday before the class in which the literature is discussed. An electronic copy should be circulated at the same time to all of your classmates.

Research Paper: A principal requirement of this course is production of a theory driven, data based (i.e. quantitative) research paper focusing on some aspect of comparative political behavior. Papers combining micro and macro theory/data and employing some form of multi-level analysis are encouraged but not required. Paper topic should be cleared in advance with the professor. Students are permitted to collaborate on a paper, although not more than two students can work together and co-authors will be asked to submit separate, confidential memos to me detailing the contributions that both co-authors made to the joint paper. The final paper should be typed, double spaced, between 20 and 40 pages in length inclusive of tables, footnotes and citations with 1" margins (top, bottom, left and right) and a font no smaller than this syllabus (Times Roman 12). The paper should be stapled in the upper left corner (no paper-clips or binders). Students may submit a draft of their paper for comment and rewrite the paper prior to its final submission. Drafts may be submitted at any time and will be returned with comments within one week of submission.

COURSE OUTLINE

August 28 **APSA Meetings – No Class (Begin Reading Topic I)**

September 4 Topic I: Cultural Theories and Their Critics

Required:

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture*, Chapters 1 & 13. **WEB**

Harry Eckstein. A Culturalist Theory of Political Change. *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 82, No. 3. (Sep., 1988), pp. 789_804. **JSTOR**

Herbert H. Werlin, Harry Eckstein. Political Culture and Political Change. *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 84, No. 1. (Mar., 1990), pp. 249_259. **JSTOR**

Ronald Inglehart. The Renaissance of Political Culture. *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 82, No. 4. (Dec., 1988), pp. 1203_1230. **JSTOR**

Laitin, "Political Culture and Political Preferences," *American Political Science Review* (1988) **JSTOR**

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*. Chapter 4. **WEB**

Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, pp 15-28. **WEB**

William Mishler, 2001, "On Culture: Thick and Thin" (Read up to section on 'Thick and Thin Culture in Practice') <http://www.u.arizona.edu/~mishler/Thick&Thinscan.pdf>

Robert W. Jackman, Ross A. Miller. A Renaissance of Political Culture? *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 40, No. 3. (Aug., 1996), pp. 632_659. **JSTOR**

Jim Granato, Ronald Inglehart, David Leblang, Cultural Values, Stable Democracy, and Economic Development: A Reply. *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 40, No. 3. (Aug., 1996), pp. 680_696. **JSTOR**

Robert W. Jackman, Ross A. Miller. The Poverty of Political Culture. *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 40, No. 3. (Aug., 1996), pp. 697_716. **JSTOR**

Seligson, "The Renaissance of Political Culture or the Renaissance of the Ecological Fallacy," *Comparative Politics* (2002) **JSTOR**

September 11

Topic II: Institutional Theory Old and New

Truman, David B. 1971. *The Governmental Process*, 2nd ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. (Chapter 2). **WEB**

March, James, and Johan Olsen. 1984. "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life." *American Political Science Review* 78:734-49.**JSTOR**

Thelen, Kathleen, and Sven Steinmo. 1992. "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics." In *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*, ed. Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.**WEB**

Weingast, Barry. 1996. "Political Institutions: Rational Choice Perspectives" in *A New Handbook of Political Science*, eds. Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. New York: Oxford University Press.**WEB**

Katznelson, Ira, and Barry R. Weingast. 2007. "Intersections Between Historical and Rational Choice Institutionalism." In *Preferences and Situations: Points of Intersection Between Historical and Rational Choice Institutionalism*, ed. Ira Katznelson and Barry R. Weingast. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.**WEB**

Greif, Avner, and David D. Laitin. 2004. "A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change." *American Political Science Review* 98 (4, November): 633-652. **JSTOR**

Bawn, Kathleen. 1993. "The Logic of Institutional Preferences: German Electoral Law as a Social Choice Outcome," *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 37, No. 4 (November, 1993), pp. 965-989.**JSTOR**

Carles Boix. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies," *The American Political Science Review* Vol. 93, No. 3, pp. 609-624.**JSTOR**

September 18

EPOP Meeting – No Class (Class to be Rescheduled)

September 25

Topic III: Multi-Level Conceptions and Models of Behavior

Required:

Adam Przeworski and H. Teune, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*, pp 1-74 **WEB**

Charles Ragin. *The Comparative Method*, pp 1-68. **WEB**

Geddes, Barbara. 1991. "How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics." *Political Analysis* 2:131-150. **JSTOR**

Steenbergen, Marco R. and Bradford S. Jones. 2002. "Modeling Multilevel Data Structures." *American Journal of Political Science*. 46: 218–237.**JSTOR**

Douglas Luke, *Multilevel Modeling* Sage Publications, 2004, pp 1-53. **WEB**

Jackman, Robert. 1985. "Cross-National Statistical Research and the Study of Comparative Politics". *American Journal of Political Science*. 29(1): 161-82. **JSTOR**

Brady, Henry. "Contributions of Survey Research to Political Science". *PS: Politics and Society*. 33(1): 47. **JSTOR**

Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2007. "Research Resources in Comparative Political Behavior" In the *Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, eds. Oxford University Press. **WEB**

Franklin, Mark and Christopher Wlezien. 2002. "Reinventing Election Studies" *Electoral Studies*. 21: 331-338. **JSTOR**

October 2

Topic IV: Vote Choice

Required:

Campbell, Angus, et al. 1950. *The American Voter*. University of Chicago Press., Chapters 5,6 in abridged version, 6,7 in original version. **WEB**

Miller, Warren. 1994. "An Organizational History of the Intellectual Origins of the American National Election Study". *European Journal of Political Research*. 25:247-266. **JSTOR**

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Party Systems and Voter Alignments" In Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan (eds.) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*. NY: Free Press. 1-64. **WEB**

Rohrschneider, Robert. 1993. "New Party Versus Old Left Realignments: Environmental Attitudes, Party Policies, and Partisan Affiliations in Four West European Countries". *Journal of Politics*. 55(3): 682-701. **JSTOR**

Lewis-Beck, "Comparative Economic Voting," *American Journal of Political Science* (1986) **JSTOR**

Powell, G. Bingham and Guy D. Whitten. 1993. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of Political Context". *American Journal of Political Science* 37(2): 391-414. **JSTOR**

Hicks, Alexander and Duane H. Swank "Politics, Institutions, and Welfare Spending in Advanced Industrial Democracies, 1960-82". *American Political Science Review*. 1992. (86): 658-74. **JSTOR**

Anderson, Christopher J. 2000. "Economic Voting and Political Context: A Comparative Perspective". *Electoral Studies*. 19(2-3): 151-70. **JSTOR**

Remmer, Karen. 1993. "The Political Economy of Elections in Latin America" *American Political Science Review* 87: 393-407. **JSTOR**

October 9

Topic V: Participation and Turnout

Required:

Leighley, Jan. 1995. "Attitudes, Opportunities and Incentives: A Field Essay on Political Participation" *Political Research Quarterly*. 48: 181-209. **JSTOR**

Franklin, Mark. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies Since 1945*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3, 8.

Powell, G. Bingham. "American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective". *APSR* 80 (March 1986): 17-37.**JSTOR**

Jackman, Robert W. "Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies". *APSR* 81 (June 1987): 405-423.**JSTOR**

Gray, Mark and Miki Caul. "Declining Voter Turnout in Advanced Industrial Democracies, 1950 to 1997: The Effects of Declining Group Mobilization". *Comparative Political Studies*. 33 (Nov. 2000): 1091-1122. (To obtain electronically use EBSCOhost EJS)

Aguilar and Pacek, "Macroeconomic Conditions, Voter Turnout, and the Working-Class/Economically Disadvantaged Party Vote In Developing Countries," *Comparative Political Studies* (2000) **JSTOR**

McDonough, Shin and Moises, "Democratization and Participation: Comparing Spain, Brazil, Korea," *Journal of Politics* (1998) **JSTOR**

Jennings, "Political Participation in the Chinese Countryside," *American Political Science Review* (1997) **JSTOR**

Brady, Henry, Sidney Verba and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation". *American Political Science Review*. 89: 271-94 **JSTOR**

S. E. Finkel, "Civic Education and the Mobilization of Political Participation in Developing Democracies, *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 64, November 2002, pp. 994-1020.**JSTOR**

Uhlener, Carole J. "Rational Turnout: The Neglected Role of Groups" *AJPS* 33 (May 1989): 390-422. **JSTOR**

Aldrich, John. "Rational Choice and Turnout" *AJPS* 37(1993): 246-278.**JSTOR**

Seligson. 1999. "Civic Association and Democratic Participation in Central America: A Test of the Putnam Thesis". *Comparative Political Studies*. 32: 342-362. **JSTOR**

October 16

Topic VI: Protest and Rebellion

Required:

Barnes and Kaase, *et al.* 1979. *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*, chapters 1-4, 6. **WEB**

Russell J. Dalton and Alex van Sickle. 2005. "The Resource, Structural and Cultural Bases of Protest". Center for the Study of Democracy paper series. Available at <http://repositories.cdlib.org/csd>

Tarrow, Sidney. 1996. "Social Movements in Contentious Politics" *APSR* 90: 874-883.

Jenkins, J. Craig. 1983. "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements" *Annual Review of Sociology*. 9: 527-53. **JSTOR**

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1986. "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest". *British Journal of Political Science* 16: 57-85. **JSTOR**

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) **JSTOR**

Opp and Gern, "Dissident Groups, Personal Networks, and the East German Revolution of 1989," *American Sociological Review* (1993) **JSTOR**

Koopman, "Explaining the Rise of Racist and Extreme Right Violence in Western Europe—Grievances or Opportunities?" *European Journal of Political Research* (1996) **JSTOR**

Klandermans and Oegema, "Potential, Networks, Motivations, and Barriers: Steps Towards Participation in Social Movements," *American Sociological Review* (1987) **JSTOR**

Benson and Rochon, "Interpersonal Trust and the Magnitude of Protest: A Micro and Macro-Level Approach" *Comparative Political Studies* (2004) **JSTOR**

Norris, Waggrave and Van Aelst, "Who Demonstrates?" *Comparative Politics* (2005) **JSTOR**

Muller, Jukam and Seligson, "Diffuse Political Support and Anti-System Political Behavior," *American Journal of Political Science* (1982) **JSTOR**

S. E. Finkel and E. N. Muller, "Rational Choice and the Dynamics of Collective Political Action: Evaluating Alternative Models with Panel Data," *American Political Science Review*, March 1998, Vol. 92, 37-50. **JSTOR**

October 23

Topic VII: Miki Cauk Kittilson, ASU Institutional Effects on the Political Engagement of Men and Women.

Required: TBA

October 30

Topic VIII: Political Trust and Support

Required:

Pippa Norris (ed). 1999. *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance*. Oxford University Press. Chs 1,2,3 **WEB**

Gibson, Duch, and Tedin, "Democratic Values and the Transformation of the Soviet Union," *Journal of Politics* (1992) **JSTOR**

Tessler, "Islam and Democracy in the Middle East: The Impact of Religious Orientations on Attitudes Towards Democracy in Four Arab Countries," *Comparative Politics* (2002) **JSTOR**

Mishler, William and Richard Rose. 2001. "What Are the Origins of Political Trust?" *Comparative Political Studies* 34(1): 30-62. **JSTOR**

Anderson, Christopher J., Andre Blais, Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan and Ola Listhaug. 2005. *Losers' Consent: Elections and Democratic Legitimacy*. Oxford University Press. Chapters 1, 9-10. **WEB**

Anderson, Christopher J. and Christine A. Guillory. 1997. "Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy: A Cross-National Analysis of Consensus and Majoritarian Systems". *American Political Science Review*. 91(1): 66-81.**JSTOR**

Bratton, Michael and Robert Mattes. 2001. "Support for Democracy in Africa: Intrinsic or Instrumental?" *British Journal of Political Science* 31: 447-474 **JSTOR**

Mishler, William and Richard Rose. 2006. "What are the Political Consequences of Trust? A Test of Cultural and Institutional Theories in Russia". *Comparative Political Studies* **JSTOR**

McDonough, Peter and Samuel H. Barnes and Antonio Lopez Pina. 1994. "The Nature of Political Support and Legitimacy in Spain". *Comparative Political Studies*. 27, October: 349-380 **JSTOR**

Finkel, "The Effects of Participation on Political Efficacy and Political Support: Evidence from a West German Panel," *Journal of Politics* (1987) **JSTOR**

Anderson, Christopher J. and Yuliya V. Tverdova. 2003. "Corruption, Political Allegiances, and Attitudes toward Government in Contemporary Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 47, No. 1, pp. 91-109.**JSTOR**

Seligson, Mitchell A. 2002. "The Impact of Corruption on Regime Legitimacy: A Comparative Study of Four Latin American Countries." *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 64, No. 2, pp. 408-433 **JSTOR**

November 6

Topic IX: Political Corruption

Required:

Treisman, Daniel. 2007. "What Have We Learned About the Causes of Corruption from Ten Years of Cross-National Empirical Research?", *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol.10, 211-244. **WEB**

Donchev, Dilyan Donchev and Ujhelyi, Gergely. 2007. Do Corruption Indices Measure Corruption? Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1124066>.

Montinola, Gabriella R.and Robert W. Jackman. 2002. "Sources of Corruption: A Cross-Country Study." *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 147-170.**JSTOR**

Sandoltz, Wayne and William Koetzle. 2000. "Accounting for Corruption: Economic Structure, Democracy, and Trade." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 31-50 **JSTOR**

Seligson, Mitchell A. 2006. "The Measurement and Impact of Corruption Victimization: Survey Evidence from Latin America." *World Development* vol 34, No 2, 381-404.**JSTOR**

You, Jong-Sung and Sanjeev Khagram. 2005. "A Comparative Study of Inequality and Corruption." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 70, No. 1, pp. 136-157 **JSTOR**

Montinola, Gabriella R.and Robert W. Jackman. 2002. "Sources of Corruption: A Cross-Country Study." *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 147-170.**JSTOR**

Richard Rose and William Mishler. 2007. "Bridging the Gap Between the Perception and Experience of Corruption." "Paper presented at 5th ECPR General Conference, September, 2007, Pisa, Italy.**WEB**

William Mishler and Richard Rose. 2008. "Seeing Is Not Always Believing: Measuring Perceptions and Experiences of Corruption Cross-Nationally" Paper presented at the 2008 conference on Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, Manchester University, UK. **WEB**

November 13

Topic X: Micro-Elite Behavior -- Party, Preference and Roll Calls

Required:

Krehbiel, Keith. 1993. "Where's the Party?" *British Journal of Political Science* 23:235-66. **JSTOR**

Schickler Eric. 2000. "Institutional Change in the House of Representatives, 1867-1998: A Test of Partisan and Ideological Power Balance Models." *The American Political Science Review* 94: 269-288. **JSTOR**

Gerald C. Wright and Brian F. Schaffner. 2002. The Influence of Party: Evidence from the State Legislatures. *The American Political Science Review* 96: 367-379. **JSTOR**

Gaines, Brian J. And Geoffrey Garrett. 1993. "The Calculus of Dissent: Party Discipline in the British Labour Government, 1974-1979." *Political Behavior*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 113-135. **JSTOR**

Hix, Simon. 2002. "Parliamentary Behavior with Two Principals: Preferences, Parties, and Voting in the European Parliament." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 46, No. 3, pp. 688-698 **JSTOR**

Erik Voeten. 2004. "Resisting the Lonely Superpower: Responses of States in the United Nations to U.S. Dominance." *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 66, No. 3, pp. 729-754 **JSTOR**

Crisp, Brian, Maria C. Escobar-Lemmon, Bradford S. Jones, Mark P. Jones, Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. 2004. "Vote-Seeking Incentives and Legislative Representation in Six Presidential Democracies." *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 66, No. 3, pp. 823-846 **JSTOR**

Jones, Mark and Wonjae Hwang. 2005. "Party Government in Presidential Democracies: Extending Cartel Theory beyond the U.S. Congress." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 49, No. 2, pp. 267-282. **JSTOR**

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie. 2006. "Still Supermadres? Gender and the Policy Priorities of Latin American Legislators." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50, No. 3, pp. 570-585. **JSTOR**

November 20	Presentations Group I
November 27	THANKSGIVING – NO CLASS
December 4	Presentations Group II