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G53.3500.002: Comparative Political Behavior

Draft Syllabus: Please note that there may still be a few changes to the syllabus, but this should give you a very good flavor of the course now. You should also feel free to purchase any of the books at this point, as they will not change

In this course we examine the role played by the masses in politics. More specifically, we consider the following four topics: voting and elections; partisanship and party identification; public opinion formation; and social movements and mass protest. The course will consider both theoretical and empirical work that will be drawn from studies of politics in a variety of different political contexts, including but by no means limited to American politics.

Requirements

The course meets once a week (Tuesdays, 2:00 – 4:00). Grading is based on class participation (20%) response papers during the semester (20%) and a term paper (60%). Please note that all page lengths refer to double-spaced pages with 1 inch margins.

Class Participation: This is a graduate seminar, and all students will be expected to have done the required reading before each week's seminar and contribute to the class discussion.

Response Papers: The course features 12 weeks of seminar discussion. For two (2) of these weeks, students will be required to write a 5 page paper identifying the most important themes in that week's readings. The students writing these papers each week will also be responsible for kicking off discussion that week with approximately five minutes of introductory comments. In weeks when more than one student is writing these papers, students should coordinate with one another regarding their introductory remarks.

For four (4) of the other weeks, students will be required to write a 2 page response paper addressing one of the readings. The topic of this paper is entirely up to the student: it could focus on a particularly compelling argument, raise points about the research design of an article, address issues related to the data analysis, etc.

Additionally, every student that is writing a weekly paper (either long or short) is also required to submit 3 potential discussion questions for the seminar along with their paper. Students not writing a paper that week are welcome to submit discussion questions as well, but are not required to do so.

We will assign the weeks that each student will be required to write papers at the first session of this course. You can therefore plan ahead when considering when to write your papers.

All response papers must be submitted by email to Professor Tucker no later than 7:00 PM the Monday night before class.

Term Paper: Each student is required to write a term paper for this course. There are three options for doing so:

1) **Literature Review:** Literature reviews are designed to provide insight into a given body of work. They do not merely summarize what has been written, but in addition point out themes, major findings, controversies, and directions for future research. Most published articles contain short literature reviews; most dissertations contain longer literature reviews. Literature reviews will be focused on a theme, and can also have a regional dimension if desired (e.g., work on public opinion formation in Africa). Literature reviews are particularly appropriate for students that have some idea about the general topic on which they are hoping to write their QP and/or dissertation, but not enough familiarity with the literature to have identified a specific topic yet OR for students who have a very specific topic in mind, but little knowledge about the related literature. Literature reviews will be between 18-20 pages.

2) **Research Proposal:** A research proposal will look like an empirical journal article, only without the actual analysis. Thus it will include a statement of a research question or puzzle, a review of the literature related to the topic, theoretical arguments that can be used to provide an answer to the question, hypotheses drawn from these theories that can be tested empirically, and a description of what empirical evidence and methods will be used to test these hypotheses (including how the hypotheses could be falsified); it can of course also contain some initial analysis of the data. Research proposals are particularly appropriate for students who have a good idea of a particular question that they would like to explore in greater detail in the future, either in another seminar, for their QP, or dissertation. Writing a research proposal give you a chance to really explore the important questions in writing a paper (a good question, relationship to the literature, research design, appropriate and available data) without the pressure of also having to complete the data analysis. Research proposals will be between 18-20 pages.

3) **Research Paper:** Research papers are to be written with the goal of submitting the paper to a journal for publication after the course is completed. They will have all of the components of the research proposal, but will also complete the empirical analysis and a discussion of the implications of the findings. Research papers for this class are ONLY to be written by a collaboration of two co-authors, and the paper will be between 30-35 pages. Research papers are appropriate for people with a strong desire to produce a publishable piece of work by the end of the semester and who can come up with a very clear and specific idea of what they would like to write about within the first month of the course. Both authors will receive the same grade for the paper.

All term papers have the following deadlines:

Friday, February 16th: 1-2 paragraph description of the paper, including chosen option

Friday, April 6th: Detailed outline of the paper; you should be able to write a draft on the basis of this outline

Friday, May 6th: All papers due by 3:00 PM.

No incompletes are permitted on term papers for this class except in the case of extremely extenuating circumstances.

Books for Purchase

Even in a field as quantitative as political behavior, major contributions have been, are, and will likely continue to be made by books. This is not to say that journal articles are not important – they are, and we will read many of them. But we will also read a number of books. And since many of you will go on to write books during your academic careers, it can be useful to see what important books look like. I have made all of the following books available for purchase at the NYU book store, and in an ideal world you would purchase all of them. If funds are limited, however, please know the following

We will read the following books almost in their entirety:

Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. Yale University Press.

Franklin, Mark N. 2004. *Voter turnout and the dynamics of electoral competition in established democracies since 1945*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Zaller, John. 1992. *The nature and origins of mass opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

We will read significant portions of the following books:

Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley.,

Cox, Gary W. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row.

Tucker, Joshua A. 2006. *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-99*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

We will read multiple chapters from the following books:

Chong, Dennis. 1991. *Collective action and the civil rights movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tarrow, Sidney G. 1994. *Power in movement : social movements, collective action, and politics*. Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

And we will read one chapter from:

McCarty, Nolan M., Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. 2006. *Polarized America : the dance of ideology and unequal riches*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

We will also read multiple chapters from Fiorina's *Retrospective Voting*, which is unfortunately out of print. If you can get your hands on a used copy of the book, I would recommend purchasing it. Bobst has four copies of it. I am also willing to lend someone my copy of the book to copy if you would like.

Please note that I am not preparing a course pack, as my assumption is that you can download journal articles from various electronic sources.

Office Hours

Professor Tucker will hold office hours on Thursdays from 10:30 – 12:00 in his office. If you need to schedule a time to meet outside of the scheduled office hours, please email Professor Tucker directly.

Class Schedule and Reading Assignments

Week 1, January 16: Introduction and Logistics (no readings assigned)

Week 2, January 23: Voting: Michigan School / Sociological Approaches

Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley., Chapters 1, 2, 12, 13, 17

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments", in Mair, Peter. 1990. *The West European party system*. Oxford [England] ; New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 9: p.91-138.

Jeff Manza, Michael Hout, and Clem Brooks. 1995. "Class Voting in Capitalist Democracies Since World War II: Dealignment, Realignment, or Trendless Fluctuation?" *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 21:137-162.

McCarty, Poole and Rosenthal, 2006, Ch.3, "Income Polarization and the Electorate," p.71-113

Converse, Phillip E., 2006, "Researching Electoral Politics", *American Political Science Review*, 100 (4): p.605-612.

Week 3, January 30: Voting: Downs, Fiorina, and Spatial Models

Downs, Anthony (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chapters 1-3, 7-8 (p1-76, 96-141)

Fiorina, Morris P (1981), *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. Chapters 1, 6, 8, (3-19, 106-129, 155-175)

George Rabinowitz and Stuart Elaine Macdonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 83:93-121.

Osborne, Martin. 1995. "Spatial Models of Political Competition Under Plurality Rule: A Survey of Some Explanations of the Number of Candidates and the Positions They Take." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 28 (2):261-301.

Lewis, Jeffrey, and Gary King. 2000. "No Evidence on Directional vs. Proximity Voting." *Political Analysis* Vol. 8 No. 1 (Winter):21-33.

Week 4, February 6: Economic Voting I: The American Politics Classics

Economic Voting Classics:

Kramer, Gerald. 1971. "Short-Term Fluctuations in U.S. Voting Behavior, 1896-1964." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 65:131-143.

Tufte, Edward R. (1975). "Determinants of the Outcomes of Midterm Congressional Elections." *American Political Science Review* 69 (3): 812-26.

Kinder, Donald R. and D. Roderik Kiewiet (1981). "Sociotropic Politics: The American Case." *British Journal of Political Science* 11(1): 129-61.

Erikson, Robert S. (1989). "Economic Conditions and the Presidential Vote." *American Political Science Review* 83 (2): 567-73.

MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, et al. (1992). "Peasants or Bankers? The American Electorate and the U.S. Economy." *American Political Science Review* 86(3): 597-611.

Further Reading:

Chappell, Henry W. and William R. Keech (1985). "A New View of Political Accountability for Economic Performance." *American Political Science Review* 79 (1): 10-27.

Lewis-Beck, Michael S. and Mary Stegmaier (2000). "Economic Determinants of Electoral Outcomes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 183-219. (Note: Read 183-199 for this week)

Week 5, February 13: Economic Voting II: “Conditional” Economic Voting

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.

Duch, Raymond and Randy Stevenson: Voting in Context: How Political and Economic Institutions Condition the Economic Voting. Draft book ms, chapters tba. Download from http://www.raymondduch.com/economicvoting/duchstevensonbook_v1_4d.pdf

Tucker, Joshua A. 2006. *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-99*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Read Chapters 1, 2, 8, 9 (If curious about statistical method, read first half of chapter 4, although this is not required. If interested in background on elections, read ch.3. If Ch.8 is unclear, skim relevant sections of Ch.5, 6, 7)

Further Reading:

Duch, Raymond, and Randy Stevenson. 2005. "Context and the Economic Vote: A Multi-Level Analysis." *Political Analysis* 13 (4).

Whitten, Guy D., and Harvey D. Palmer. 1999. "Cross-National Analyses of Economic Voting." *Electoral Studies* 18:49-67.

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

Chappell, Henry W., and Linda Goncalves Veiga. 2000. "Economics and Elections in Western Europe: 1960-1997." *Electoral Studies* 19 (2/3):183-97.

Royed, Terry, Kevin Leyden, and Stephen Borrelli. 2000. "Is 'Clarity of Responsibility' Important for Economic Voting? Revisiting Powell and Whitten's Hypothesis." *British Journal of Political Science* 30 (4):669-98.

Nadeau, Richard, Richard G Niemi, and Antoine Yoshinaka. 2002. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context across Time and Nations." *Electoral Studies* 21:403-23.

Tucker, Joshua A. 2001. "Economic Conditions and the Vote for Incumbent Parties in Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic from 1990-1996." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 17 (4):309-31.

Week 6, February 20: Strategic Voting

Cox, Gary W., (1997) *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 7, 10, 11 (p.1-69, 139-150, 181-224)

Meirowitz, Adam, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2007. "Run Boris Run: Strategic Voting and Information Transmission in Sequential Elections" *The Journal of Politics* 69 (1):88-99.
Download from: [http://homepages.nyu.edu/~jat7/Meirowitz Tucker 2005.pdf](http://homepages.nyu.edu/~jat7/Meirowitz_Tucker_2005.pdf)

Week 7, February 27: Turnout

Franklin, Mark N. 2004. *Voter turnout and the dynamics of electoral competition in established democracies since 1945*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press. (pages tba)

Powell, G. Bingham. 1986. "American Voting Turnout in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 1 (March 1986): 17-43.

Robert Jackman. 1987. "Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 81:405-23

Aldrich, John H. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 37, no. 1 (February 1993): 246-78.

Aguilar, Edwin Eloy and Alexander Pacek. 2000. "Macroeconomic Conditions, Voter Turnout, and the Working Class/Economically Disadvantaged Party Vote in Developing Countries." *Comparative Political Studies*. 33(8): 995-1017.

Week 8, March 6: Party ID: Michigan School, Political Psychology, and Early Classics

Campbell et al. 1960, Chapters 6-10 (p.120-265)

Converse, Philip. 1969. "Of Time and Partisan Stability." *Comparative Political Studies* 2: 139-71.

Shively, W. Phillips. 1981. "The Development of Party Identification among Adults: Exploration of a Functional Model." *American Political Science Review* 73: 1039-54.

Beck, Paul Allen, and M. Kent Jennings. 1991. "Family Traditions, Political Periods, and the Development of Partisan Orientations." *Journal of Politics* 53(3): 742-63.

Weisberg, Herbert, and Steven Greene. 2003. "The Political Psychology of Party Identification." *Electoral Democracy*, edited by Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz. University of Michigan Press, 83-124.

Week 9, March 20: Party ID: Rational Revisionists

Fiorina, Morris. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. Yale Univ. Press. [chs. 4-5]

Franklin, Charles, and John Jackson. 1983. "The Dynamics of Party Identification." *American Political Science Review* 77: 957-73.

Achen, Christopher. 1992. "Social Psychology, Demographic Variables, and Linear Regression: Breaking the Iron Triangle in Voting Research." *Political Behavior* 14(3): 195-211.

Achen, Christopher. 2002. "Parental Socialization and Rational Party Identification." *Political Behavior* 24(2): 151-70.

Bartels, Larry. 2002. "Beyond the Running Tally: Partisan Bias in Political Perceptions." *Political Behavior* 24(2): 117-50.

Further Reading:

Achen, Christopher. 1989. "Prospective Voting and the Theory of Party Identification." Unpublished manuscript, University of Chicago. (I'll email or post this)

****SPRING BREAK****

Week 10, March 27: Party ID: Current Research

Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. Yale University Press.

Huber, John, Georgia Kernell, and Eduardo Leoni. 2003. "Institutional Context, Cognitive Resources, and Party Attachments Across Democracies." *Political Analysis* 13:365-86.

Brader, Ted, and Joshua A. Tucker, 2006, "Reflective and Unreflective Partisans? Experimental Evidence on the Links between Information, Opinion, and Party Identification," unpublished ms., I'll email it to you or post.

Week 11, April 3: Public Opinion Formation

Zaller, John. 1992. *The nature and origins of mass opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (pages tba)

Althaus, Scott L. 2003. *Collective preferences in democratic politics : opinion surveys and the will of the people*. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press. (pages tba)

Week 12, April 10: Public Opinion Case Study: Attitudes Towards the EU

Gabel, Matthew J. 1998a. "Economic Integration and Mass Politics: Market Liberalization and Public Attitudes in the European Union." *American Journal of Political Science* 42:936–953.

Gabel, Matthew J. 1998b. "Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories." *Journal of Politics* 60:333–364.

Anderson, Christopher. 1998. "When in Doubt, Use Proxies: Attitudes Toward Domestic Politics and Support for European Integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 31:569–601.

Gabel, Matthew and Scheve, Kenneth, "Mixed Messages: Party Dissent and Mass Opinion on European Integration", forthcoming *European Union Politics*, download from http://pantheon.yale.edu/%7Eks298/index_files/MGKSdissent-final.pdf

Ray, Leonard. 2003a. "When Parties Matter: The Conditional Influence of Party Positions on Voter Opinions about European Integration." *Journal of Politics* 65 (4): 978-994.

Tucker, Joshua A., Alexander Pacek, and Adam Berinsky. 2002. "Transitional Winners and Losers: Attitudes Toward EU Membership in Post-Communist Countries." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (3):557-71.

Tverdova, Yuliya V., and Christopher J. Anderson. 2004. "Choosing the West? Referendum Choices on EU Membership in East-Central Europe." *Electoral Studies* 23 (2):185-208.

Further Reading:

Cichowski, Rachel A. 2000. "Western Dreams, Eastern Realities: Support for the European Union in Central and Eastern Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 33:1243–1278.

Gabel, Matthew J. and Guy D. Whitten. 1997. "Economic Conditions, Economic Perceptions, and Public Support for European Integration." *Political Behavior* 19:81–96.

Gabel, Matthew J. 2000. "European Integration, Voters, and National Politics." *West European Politics* 23:52–72.

Gabel, Matthew J. and Harvey Palmer. 1995. "Understanding Variation in Public Support for European Integration," *European Journal of Political Research* 27:3–19.

Ray, Leonard. 2003b. "Reconsidering the Link Between Incumbent Support and Pro-EU Opinion." *European Union Politics* 4(3): 259-280.

Week 13, April 17: Applied Collective Action Problems: Social Movements and Protest

Tarrow, Sidney G. 1994. *Power in movement : social movements, collective action, and politics*. Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters tba.

Chong, Dennis. 1991. *Collective action and the civil rights movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44 (1):7-48. Chapters tba.

Tucker, Joshua A. 2005. *Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions*. (unpublished ms., download from http://homepages.nyu.edu/~jat7/Tucker_EFCA_2005.pdf, 36p.)

Further Reading:

Olson, Mancur. 1971. *The Logic of Collective Action; Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Week 14, April 24: Student Presentations (No readings assigned)