

Universidade de São Paulo
Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas
Departamento de Ciência Política

FLP 0457 and FLS 6403

Comparative Politics: Public Opinion, Public Policy and Representation

1st semester / 2017

Lorena G Barberia

This course will be offered in English.

Comparative politics focuses on comparisons within or between countries, regions, or systems. In this course, we will focus on the links between public opinion, democratic politics, elections and public policy. Using both country-specific and cross-country analyses, we will discuss key themes, debates and concepts in the literature contrasting insights from empirical work in developed democracies with the emerging literature in developing democracies with particular attention to Latin American democracies. The course will include replications and laboratory exercises based on the analysis of public opinion data.

Course Objectives

The course aims to introduce students to the main research paradigms in comparative political behavior; and, to advance training in doing original empirical research on political participation, voting, public opinion analysis, etc. in a comparative perspective.

Pre-requisites

Students should have a background in statistical inference (for example, FLS 5028, or a similar course) and multivariate regression analysis (for example, FLS 6183, or a similar course).

Course Requirements

Participation and Seminar Presentations 30%

Problem Sets 30%

Final Paper 40%

Bibliography

Books

Carlin, Ryan E., Matthew M. Singer and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister eds. 2015. *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Dalton, Russell J. 2014. *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. 6th ed. edition. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House.

Erikson, Robert S., Michael MacKuen and James A. Stimson. 2002. *The macropolity*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kellstedt, Paul M. and Guy D. Whitten. 2015. *Fundamentos da Pesquisa em Ciência Política* (Lorena Barberia, Gilmar Masiero and Patrick Cunha Silva, Translators). São Paulo, Brazil.

Lewis-Beck, Michael, Richard Nadeau, Eric Bélanger, Mathieu Turgeon and François Gélinau. 2016. *Latin American Elections: Choice and Change*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Soroka, Stuart Neil and Christopher Wlezien. 2010. *Degrees of democracy: Politics, public opinion, and policy*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stimson, James A. 2004. *Tides of consent: How public opinion shapes American Politics*. Cambridge, UK; New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.

Articles

Benton, Allyson. 2005. "Dissatisfied Democrats or Retrospective Voters? Economic Hardship, Political Institutions, and Voting Behavior in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 38(4):417-442.

Campello, Daniela and Cesar Zucco. 2016. "Presidential Success and the World Economy." *The Journal of Politics* 78(2):589-602.

Duch, Ray, and Randy Stevenson. 2010. "The Global Economy, Competency and the Economic Vote." *Journal of Politics* 72: 105-123.

Echegaray, Fabián, e Carlos Elordi. 2001. "Public opinion, presidential popularity, and economic reform in Argentina, 1989-1996." In *Public support for market reforms in new democracies*, ed. S. Stokes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Remmer, Karen L. 1991. "The Political Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980s." *The American Political Science Review* 85(3):777-800.

Singer, François Gélinau and Matthew M. 2015. "The economy and incumbent support in Latin America." In *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts*, eds. Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 281-299.

Stokes, Susan. 2001. "Economic Reform and Public Opinion in Fujimori's Peru." In *Public support for market reforms in new democracies*, ed. Susan Stokes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 160-186.

Stokes, Susan C., Adam Przeworski, Jorge Buendía Laredo and Leandro Wolfson. 1997. "Opinión pública y reformas de mercado: Las limitaciones de la interpretación económica del voto." *Desarrollo Económico* 37(145):31-56.

Whitten, Guy D., Lorena G. Barberia and María Laura Tagina. 2016. "Clarity of Responsibility and Economic Voting in Latin America" Working Paper.

Topics

1. Participation
2. Values, Issues and Ideological Orientations
3. Partisanship and Voting
4. Attitudes and Political Behavior
5. Representation
6. Performance and the Vote
7. Economic Crisis and Reform
8. Globalization and the Vote

Course Outline

Topic 1. Participation

Dalton, Chapters 3-4

Love, Ryan E. Carter and Gregory J. 2015. "Who is the Latin American Voter?" In *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts*, eds. Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 31-59.

Topic 2. Values, Issues and Ideological Orientations

Dalton, Chapter 5-6

Mainwaring, Scott, Mariano Torcal and Nicolás M. Somma. 2015. "The Left and The Mobilization of Class Voting in Latin America" In *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts*, eds. Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 69-98.

Smith, Taylor Boas and Amy Erica. 2015. "Religion and the Latin American voter." In *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts*, eds. Ryan

E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 99-121.

Morales, Daniel E. Moreno. 2015. "Ethnicity and electoral preference in Latin America." In *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts*, eds. Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 122-142.

Morgan, Jana. 2015. "Gender and the Latin American voter" In *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts*, eds. Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 143-167.

Topic 3. Partisanship and Voting

Dalton, Chapters 7,8, 9

Zechmeister, Elizabeth J. 2015. "Left-right identifications and the Latin American voter." In *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts*, eds. Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 195-225.

Lupu, Noam. 2015. "Partisanship in Latin America." In *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts*, eds. Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 226-245.

Topic 4. Attitudes and Political Behavior

Dalton, Chapters 10

Greene, Andy Baker and Kenneth F. 2015. "Positional issue voting in Latin America." In *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts*, eds. Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 173-194.

Altamirano, Herbert Kitschelt and Melina. 2015. "Clientelism in Latin America: effort and effectiveness." In *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts*, eds. Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 246-273.

Topic 5. Representation

Dalton, Chapters 11

Soroka, Stuart Neil and Christopher Wlezien. 2010. *Degrees of democracy: Politics, public opinion, and policy*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stimson, James A. 2004. *Tides of consent: How public opinion shapes American Politics*. Cambridge, UK; New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.

Topic 6. Performance and the Vote

Lewis-Beck, Michael, Richard Nadeau, Eric Bélanger, Mathieu Turgeon and François Gélinau. 2016. *Latin American Elections: Choice and Change*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Singer, François Gélinau and Matthew M. 2015. "The economy and incumbent support in Latin America." In *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts*, eds. Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 281-299.

Whitten, Guy D., Lorena G. Barberia and Maria Laura Tagina. 2016. "Clarity of Responsibility and Economic Voting in Latin America" Working Paper.

Topic 7. Economic Crisis and Reform

Benton, Allyson. 2005. "Dissatisfied Democrats or Retrospective Voters? Economic Hardship, Political Institutions, and Voting Behavior in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 38(4):417-442.

Echegaray, Fabián, e Carlos Elordi. 2001. "Public opinion, presidential popularity, and economic reform in Argentina, 1989-1996." In *Public support for market reforms in new democracies*, ed. S. Stokes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Remmer, Karen L. 1991. "The Political Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980s." *The American Political Science Review* 85(3):777-800.

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Topic 8. Globalization

Duch, Ray, and Randy Stevenson. 2010. "The Global Economy, Competency and the Economic Vote." *Journal of Politics* 72: 105-123.

Campello, Daniela and Cesar Zucco. 2016. "Presidential Success and the World Economy." *The Journal of Politics* 78(2):589-602.

Lab #1 Assignment.

Question 1. Concepts and Measurement

The empirical analyses presented in *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies* use data for four industrial democracies from the World Values Survey and European Values Survey (WVS/EVS). The empirical analyses presented in *The Latin American voter: Pursuing representation and accountability in challenging contexts* uses data from LAPOP's AmericasBarometer.

What concepts of citizen engagement underlie the questionnaire design of each survey? What forms of engagement are excluded?

Are there any differences in how the surveys attempt to measure voter participation in elections?

Question 2. Comparative Political Behavior in Latin America

During class, we will divide the Latin American countries in the course among participants and discuss the sources we will use for coding.

For the countries assigned to you, please compile the same information as reported in Dalton's Table 1.1 with summary information on the country's population, GDP per capita, year of establishment of the current political regime, state form, government structure, chief executive, method of selection, legislature, lower house, upper house, power of upper house and information regarding the electoral system for the lower and upper houses of the legislature. Please be sure to also include the names of the parties that hold at least 20% of the seat shares in Congress.

Given the differences among countries that are in your specific sample in Latin American and theories that explain voter turnout, do any specific issues seem important in cross-country comparisons of participation?

How does the Latin American sample compare with the industrialized democracies sampled used by Dalton?

Please upload the data to:

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1CCEfqmmcXj9qpBGtRA6S9ASMb65L7ulC7bIjUFzZQwg/edit?usp=sharing>

Question 3. Replication of "Who is the Latin American Voter?"

For this exercise, we will replicate the model reported in Table A2.1 as estimated using the do-file provided by the authors. This exercise is intended to help you with familiarizing yourself with Stata commands and logistic regression coefficients. After replicating the table, pick the same countries for which you compiled information in

Question 2 and run separate regressions for these countries. How do the results differ?
What are the most appropriate methods for comparing your results?