

Bachelor level of political science, fall 2017

Parties and political behavior

Hanna Bäck and Michael Hansen

Course content

This course focuses on the political parties and political behavior within democratic systems. The course falls within the broader category of comparative politics, and the aim of the course is to deepen the students' knowledge and skills within the field of comparative politics, especially when it comes to theories, methods and empirical results relating to actors making decisions within democratic systems, more specifically, political parties and citizens. Two overarching themes that will come back several times during the course is the role of gender and of right-wing populism. Some examples of questions that are covered during this course are: 'Why do some citizens become politically active?'; 'Why do some people vote for rightwing populist parties and why do such parties attract few female voters?'; 'Why do some parties have many female representatives whereas others do not?', and 'Why are rightwing parties included in government in some countries but treated as "pariahs" in others?'.

Course goals

The goal of the course is that the students, after course completion, will be able to:

- (1) *Understand comparative politics theories about political parties and political behavior;*
- (2) *Explain political outcomes resulting from parties' and voters' decision-making;*
- (3) *Analyze the connection between individual- party, and system-level features and political outcomes;*
- (4) *Reflect over methodological approaches and problems within the field of comparative politics.*

Course format and examination

The main part of the teaching consists of two-hour lectures/seminars which include two parts: (1) a lecture by the teacher for about 60 minutes, where students are expected to ask and answer questions; and (2) a more independent part for about 20–45 minutes, which includes discussions in smaller groups and presentations. For the last five lectures (5–9), there will be group presentations, focused on presenting a theme and answering questions (provided in this document) on the course themes.

The grade on this course is based on (percent of total grade):

- A knowledge test with short-answer/multiple choice questions (25%);
- A course paper (ca 2 500 words) on a self-selected topic dealing with the course themes (40%);
- A group presentation (ca 20 minutes), dealing with one of the course themes (25%);
- Active participation in lectures/seminars (10%).

Course literature

Books

- Laver, Michael. 1997. *Private Desires, Political Action*. London: Sage (ch. 1-3 & 5-7, 64 p.).
- Van der Eijk, Cees, and Mark Franklin. 2009. *Elections and Voters*. Palgrave MacMillan (ch. 2, 4, 6, 7).

Articles and book chapters

- Achterberg, Peter, and Dick Houtman. 2006. "Why do so many people vote 'unnaturally'? A cultural explanation for voting behaviour." *European Journal of Political Research* 45: 75–92
- Akkerman, Tjitske. 2012 "Comparing Radical Right Parties in Government: Immigration and Integration Policies in Nine Countries (1996–2010)". *West European Politics* 35:3, 511-529.
- Bartels, Larry M. 2005. "Homer Gets a Tax Cut: Inequality and Public Policy in the American Mind". *Perspectives on Politics*: 3, 15-31
- Beauregard, Katrine. 2014. "Gender, political participation and electoral systems: A cross-national analysis". *European Journal of Political Research* 53: 617–634.
- Blinder, Scott, Robert Ford, and Elisabeth Ivarsson. 2013. "The Better Angels of Our Nature: How the Antiprejudice Norm Affects Policy and Party Preferences in Great Britain and Germany". *American Journal of Political Science* 57: 841-857
- Bolin, Niklas, Gustav Lidén and Jon Nyhlén. 2014. "Do Anti-immigration Parties Matter? The Case of the Sweden Democrats and Local Refugee Policy." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 37: 323–343
- Budge, Ian. 1994. "A New Spatial Theory of Party Competition: Uncertainty, Ideology and Policy Equilibria Viewed Comparatively and Temporally." *British Journal of Political Science* 24: 443-467
- Bächtiger, André (2014). "Debate and Deliberation in Legislatures". in Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld and Kaare Strøm (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 145-166.
- Bäck, Hanna. 2008. "Intraparty Politics and Coalition Formation: Evidence from Swedish Local Government". *Party Politics* 14: 71–89.
- Bäck, Hanna, Marc Debus, and Patrick Dumont. 2011. "Who Gets What in Coalition Governments? Predictors of Portfolio Allocation in Parliamentary Democracies." *European Journal of Political Research* 50, 441–478.
- Bäck, Hanna, Marc Debus, and Jochen Müller. 2014. "Who Takes the Parliamentary Floor? The Role of Gender in Speech-making in the Swedish Riksdag". *Political Research Quarterly* 67: 504–518.
- Bäck, Hanna, Marc Debus and Wolfgang C. Müller. 2016. "Intra-party Diversity and Ministerial Selection in Coalition Governments". *Public Choice* 166: 355-378.
- Bäck, Hanna, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Benjamin Nyblade. 2017. "Multiparty government and economic policy-making." *Public Choice* 170: 33-62.
- Bäck, Hanna, Jan Teorell, and Anders Westholm. 2011. "Explaining Modes of Participation. A Dynamic Test of Alternative Rational Choice Models". *Scandinavian Political Studies* 34: 74–97.
- Carey, John. 2007. 'Competing principals, political institutions, and party unity in legislative voting', *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1), 92-107.
- De Lange, Sarah. 2012. "New Alliances: Why Mainstream Parties Govern with Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties". *Political Studies* 60, 899–918.
- Escobar-Lemmon, Maria, and Michelle Taylor-Robinson. 2015. "Sex, Survival, and Scandal: A Comparison of How Men and Women Exit Presidential Cabinets". *Politics & Gender*, 11: 665–688.
- Geys, Benny, Bruno Heyndels, and Jan Vermeir. 2006. "Explaining the formation of minimal coalitions: Anti-system parties and anti-pact rules." *European Journal of Political Research* 45: 957-984.
- Green-Pedersen, Christoffer. 2007. "The Growing Importance of Issue Competition: The Changing Nature of Party Competition in Western Europe." *Political Studies* 55: 607–628
- Harteveld, Eelco, Wouter Van Der Brug, Stefan Dahlberg & Andrej Kokkonen. 2015. "The gender gap in populist radical-right voting: examining the demand side in Western and Eastern Europe." *Patterns of Prejudice* 49: 103–134
- Hatemi, Peter K., John Alford, John Hibbing, Nicholas Martin & Lindon Eaves. 2009. "Is there a "party" in your genes?" *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 584-600.
- Hooghe, Marc, and Dietlind Stolle. 2004. "Good girls go to the polling booth, bad boys go everywhere: gender differences in anticipated political participation among American fourteen-year-olds". *Women & Politics* 26: 1–23.

- Huber, John D., and Cecilia Martinez-Gallardo. 2008. "Replacing Cabinet Ministers: Patterns of Ministerial Stability in Parliamentary Democracies". *American Political Science Review* 102: 169-180.
- Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2000. "The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women's and Men's Voting Behavior in Global Perspective." *International Political Science Review* 21: 441-463
- Kam, Christopher. 2014. "Party Discipline", in Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld and Kaare Strøm (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 399-417.
- Klandermans, Bert, and Jacqueline van Stekelenburg. 2013. "Social Movements and the Dynamics of Collective Action". Huddy, L., D.O. Sears, J.S. Levy (eds.). 2013. *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology: Second Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kokkonen, Andrej, Stefan Dahlberg, Eelco Harteveld, and Wouter van der Brug. 2014. "Group Gender Composition and Tolerance of Immigrants' Rights." *European Sociological Review* 31: 1-12
- Krook, Mona Lena, and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2012. "All the President's Men? The Appointment of Female Cabinet Ministers Worldwide". *Journal of Politics* 74: 840-855.
- Loxbo, Karl. 2010. "The Impact of the Radical Right: Lessons from the Local Level in Sweden, 2002-2006". *Scandinavian Political Studies* 33: 295-315.
- Loxbo, Karl. 2014. "Voters' Perceptions of Policy Convergence and the Short-term Opportunities of Anti-immigrant Parties: Examples from Sweden." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 37: 239-262
- Martin, Lanny, and Randolph Stevenson. 2001. "Government Formation in Parliamentary Democracies". *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 33-50.
- Martin, Lanny, and Georg Vanberg. 2014. "Parties and policymaking in multiparty governments: The legislative median, ministerial autonomy, and the coalition compromise". *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 979-996.
- Meguid, Bonnie. 2005. "Competition between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy and Niche Party Success." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 347-360.
- Müller, Wolfgang C., & Thomas Meyer. 2010. "Meeting the challenges of representation and accountability in multiparty governments". *West European Politics* 33(4): 1065-1092.
- O'Brien, Diana Z. 2015. "Rising to the Top: Gender, Political Performance, and Party Leadership in Parliamentary Democracies". *American Journal of Political Science* 59: 1022-1039.
- O'Brien, Diana Z., Matthew Mendez, Jordan Peterson & Jihyun Shin, J. 2015. "Letting down the ladder or shutting the door: Female prime ministers, party leaders, and cabinet ministers". *Politics & Gender* 11: 689-717.
- Oesch, Daniel. 2008. "Explaining Workers' Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe: Evidence from Austria, Belgium, France, Norway, and Switzerland". *International Political Science Review* vol. 29 no. 3 349-373
- Rosen, Jennifer. 2011. "The Effects of Political Institutions on Women's Political Representation: A Comparative Analysis of 168 Countries from 1992 to 2010". *Political Research Quarterly* 66: 306-321
- Rydgren, Jens. 2004. "Explaining the Emergence of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties: The Case of Denmark." *West European Politics* 27: 474-502
- Saalfeld, Thomas, and Kaare Strøm (2014). "Political parties and legislators". in Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld and Kaare Strøm (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 371-398.
- Schain, Martin A. 2006. "The extreme-right and immigration policymaking: Measuring direct and indirect effects". *West European Politics*, 29:2, 270-289
- Taylor-Robinson, Michelle. 2014. 'Gender and Legislatures', in Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld and Kaare Strøm (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 250-66.
- Valentino, Nicholas A., Ted Brader, Erik Groenendyk, Krycha Gregorowicz & Vincent Hutchings. 2011. "Election night's alright for fighting: The role of emotions in political participation". *The Journal of Politics* 73: 156-170.
- Verba, Sidney. 1996. "The Citizen as Respondent: Sample Surveys and American Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 90(1): 1-7
- Wängnerud, Lena. 2009. 'Women in parliaments: Descriptive and substantive representation', *American Review of Political Science* 12(1), 51-69.

Short course outline (topics + schedule)

Lecture	Topic	Question/info	Teacher	Date	Time
1(a)	Introduction	Course info, theoretical approaches	Hanna Bäck	29/8	15.15-16
1(b)	Comparative methods	Short intro to comparative methods	Michael Hansen	29/8	16.15-17
	<i>Voters & political behavior</i>				
2	Political preferences & public opinion	Why do people have certain political preferences?	Michael Hansen	5/9	10.15-12
3	Vote choice	Why do people vote for specific parties?	Michael Hansen	12/9	10.15-12
4	Political participation	Why are some people politically active?	Hanna Bäck	19/9	10.15-12
	<i>Parties and governments</i>				
5	Party competition	Why do parties take certain positions?	Michael Hansen	26/9	9.15-12
6	Legislative behavior	Why do legislators act (vote/speak) a certain way?	Hanna Bäck	3/10	9.15-12
7	Government formation	Why do certain cabinets form?	Hanna Bäck	10/10	9.15-12
8	Portfolio allocation	Why are ministerial posts allocated a certain way?	Hanna Bäck	17/10	9.15-12
9	Coalition governance & policy-making	Why do cabinets make certain decisions?	Hanna Bäck	24/10	9.15-12

Instructions for group presentations

For the last five lectures of the course, there will be group presentations. Here are some instructions:

- In groups of about 3-4 people, give a (circa) 20-minute presentation!
- Please make use of powerpoint (or similar) slides!
- You will find the questions to be addressed later in this guide under the description of each lecture. Note that you should not only directly answer the specific questions, but also talk more generally about the main findings in the scientific literature on the topic.
- You will find some of the literature you need to answer the questions in the required and recommended readings for the lecture, but we also encourage you to search for more information on your own.
- We will provide a link to a Google Doc where you can sign up to present during a particular lecture (i.e. where you can choose which topic to focus on). Please note that signing up for the presentations is on a first-come-first-choice basis (max # people / presentation = 4).

Detailed course outline (literature and preparation)

1. Introduction & comparative methods

Literature

Required: Laver (1997), chapters 1-2; Van der Eijk & Franklin (2009), Appendix: Use of statistical analysis
Recommended: Van der Eijk & Franklin (2009), chapter 2.

Preparations

No questions/presentation to be prepared for this lecture/seminar.

2. Political preferences and public opinion

Literature

Required: Van der Eijk & Franklin (2009), chapter 6; Blinder, Ford & Ivarsflaten (2013); Bartels (2005).
Recommended: Verba (1996); Oesch (2008); Kokkonen et al. (2014).

Preparations

Prepare answers to the following questions that will be discussed in groups during the lecture/seminar:

- 1) Is the new, stronger GAL-TAN dimension here to stay? Will nationalism and cultural questions become more important at the expense of economic left-right?
 - 2) If so, how do you think this will affect existing parties?
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3. Vote choice

Literature

Required: Laver (1997), chapter 5; Van der Eijk & Franklin (2009), ch. 4 & 7; Achterberg & Houtman (2006).
Recommended: Loxbo (2014); Hartevelde et al. (2015); Inglehart & Norris (2000).

Preparations

Prepare answers to the following questions that will be discussed in groups during the lecture/seminar:

- 1) There is a clear gender gap in voting with women on average more likely to support left-leaning parties. Why do you think that is?
- 2) What's most important to you when choosing a party? Agreement on all/most issues, competence, strategic considerations, past performance/future promises?
- 3) Normatively speaking, which strategy for choosing a party do you think is better for democracy? What should voters care about?

4. Political participation

Literature

Required: Bäck, Teorell & Westholm (2011); Laver (1997), chapter 3; Klandermans & van Stekelenburg (2013).
Recommended: Beauregard (2014); Hooghe & Stolle (2004); Valentino et al. 2011.

Preparations

Prepare answers to the following questions that will be discussed in groups during the lecture/seminar:

- 1) Why do you think some people become active in political parties?
 - 2) Why do you think young people of today are not becoming active in political parties?
 - 3) What forms of political engagement do women choose, and why do you think they do so?
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5. Party competition

Literature

Required: Laver (1997), chapter 6; Green-Pedersen (2007).
Recommended: Meguid (2005); Rydgren (2004); Budge (1994).

Preparations

Prepare a group presentation on “Right-wing populists and party competition”. When doing so, please discuss the following questions (in addition to presenting the literature on the topic):

Populist right-wing parties have grown in all Nordic countries despite very different levels of immigration and different behavior from the other parties in the system.

- 1) Why do you think the populist right-wing parties have been able to grow and find a niche in the party space when external factors have been so different?
 - 2) And is it really true that the behavior of the other parties hasn't really mattered?
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6. Legislative behavior

Literature

Required: Bächtiger (2014); Carey (2007); Kam (2014); Saalfeld & Strøm (2014).

Recommended: Bäck, Debus & Müller (2014); Rosen (2011); Taylor-Robinson (2014); Wängnerud (2009).

Preparations

Prepare a group presentation on the theme “Women in legislatures”. When doing so, please discuss the following questions (in addition to presenting the literature on the topic):

- 1) Why are women better represented (descriptively) in some countries rather than others?
 - a. Why do you think women are so well represented in the Swedish parliament?
- 2) What are the effects of women’s presence in legislatures, and why?
 - a. Are there some specific circumstances where women’s presence matter more?
 - b. Why do you think that women are not well represented in debates in the Swedish Riksdag?

7. Government formation

Literature

Required: Bäck (2008); Laver (1997), chapter 7; Martin & Stevenson (2001).

Recommended: Geys et al. (2006); De Lange (2012); Loxbo (2010).

Preparations

Prepare a group presentation on the theme “Right-wing populists and government formation”. When doing so, please discuss the following questions (in addition to presenting the literature on the topic):

- 1) Why are right-wing populist parties in government in some countries and not others?
 - a. What are the responses from mainstream parties when right-wing populist parties gain representation, and when are mainstream parties more likely to cooperate with such parties?
 - b. Is there something that the right-wing populist parties do to be “accepted” as cooperation partners?
 - c. Do you think the Sweden Democrats have become more “accepted” (since they entered parliament)?

8. Portfolio allocation

Literature

Required: Bäck, Debus & Dumont (2011); Bäck, Debus & Müller (2016); Huber & Martinez-Gallardo (2008).

Recommended: Escobar-Lemmon & Taylor-Robinson (2015); Krook & O'Brien (2012); O'Brien (2015); O'Brien et al. 2015.

Preparations

Prepare a group presentation on the theme "Women in cabinet". When doing so, please discuss the following questions (in addition to presenting the literature on the topic):

- 1) Why are women better represented in cabinet in some countries rather than others?
 - a. What role do you think the party plays and if women are likely to become party leaders?
- 2) Do you think that women are more likely to be "fired" from cabinet than men, and if so why?
 - a. What role do you think the media plays in covering male and female politicians?
 - b. Are there any theoretical reasons why female leaders would be treated and evaluated differently in the media and by various political actors (e.g. by voters and other politicians)?

9. Coalition governance and policy-making

Literature

Required: Bäck, Müller & Nyblade (2017); Martin & Vanberg (2014); Müller & Meyer (2010).

Recommended: Akkerman (2012); Bolin, Lidén & Nyhlén (2014); Schain (2006).

Preparations

Prepare a group presentation on "Right-wing populists and policy-making". When doing so, please discuss the following specific questions (in addition to presenting the literature on the topic).

- 1) How can right-wing populist parties influence governance and policy output?
 - a. How does policy-making change when right-wing populists are in government?
 - b. Do you think that governing parties implement specific coalition governance (control) mechanisms when right-wing populists are in government?
 - c. How does the behavior of mainstream parties change when right-wing populist parties are represented in parliament, but not in government?
 - d. Do you think the Sweden Democrats have had an impact on policy-making in Sweden, for example on immigration policy?