



## **LEFT–RIGHT IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE**

**Prof. Daniele Caramani and Daniel Bischof**

### **Seminar**

### **SYLLABUS (HS 2015)**

The course is taught English and is a *Wahlmodul* in the tracks “Democracy, Development and International Relations” and “Political Economy and Philosophy”.

Module no. 615617; Course no. 2643.

ECTS points: 6.0.

### **Contents**

The seminar is an advanced course on the left–right dimension in politics at the global level. It offers a combination of theoretical, methodological and empirical approaches. First, it addresses theoretically and normatively the links between the left–right dimension and issues of equality, redistribution, values and world views. Second, the seminar introduces various methodologies for the operationalization of left–right based on different sources of data: surveys, experiments, party manifestos, text analysis of news outlets, parliamentary debates, as well as expert surveys. Third, the seminar goes through a number of empirical studies at various level: individual, cross-sectional comparative, longitudinal either at country level or area studies. The areas included are mass democracies worldwide. The seminar addresses these topics both at the domestic level (party systems and voters alignments) and international/global level (North-South, various “civilizations” or cultural areas, social Europe vs. liberal America among other things). The goal of the seminar is ultimately to assess the relevance in a broad and long-term perspective of the most important “categories of politics” – left and right – and establish its meaning in the present globalized world.

### **Goals**

Students acquire the following knowledge and competence:

- Advanced understanding of the key concepts, relevant topics and current debates in the field of comparative politics, electoral studies, party competition, values and attitudes.
- Bridging empirical knowledge on a large range of topics in comparative politics analysed from various theoretical perspectives with normative questions about the relevance of comparing worldwide and historically, as well as making own original contributions.

- Critical reading of challenging texts and ability to effectively synthesize and convey the most important information.
- Ability to link the scientific literature with current issues in world affairs.
- Writing skills in well written, clearly structured, challenging and provocative style
- Analytical skills, production of graphs and tables, data analysis and text presentation of key findings.

## **Time and Venue**

The course meets weekly: Wednesday, 10.15–12.00 (venue: AFL-H-376).

## **Contact**

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## **Office Hours**

*Daniel Bischof:*

Tuesdays 14-15 at the Department of Political Science (IPZ), Affolternstrasse 56, 8050 Zurich, 3<sup>rd</sup> floor. Office no.: AFL-H-329.

*Prof. Daniele Caramani:*

Mondays 12–14 at the Department of Political Science (IPZ), Affolternstrasse 56, 8050 Zurich, 3<sup>rd</sup> floor. Office no.: AFL-H-344. Students are advised to register for office hours by email.

## **Course Material**

**Compulsory readings:** Compulsory readings are listed below under “Course Organization” and are available on OLAT. It is expected that participants read the texts in advance and take actively part in the discussions. Participants should attend every class. The main books are on hold at the IPZ library (Affolternstrasse 56, 8050 Zurich, 1<sup>st</sup> floor).

## **Course Organisation**

*Presentations*

After the first three weeks during which an introduction and overview of the topic is given by the lecturers, the weekly meetings listed in under “Schedule and Readings” below take the form of seminars with students’ presentations. Students’ presentations are graded and count for 30% of the final grade. Presentations also serve the purpose of launching the discussion in class. They must be carefully prepared and may be based on PowerPoint presentations although this is left to the discretion of each presenter.

Presentations summarize the main argument, design and results of the text. The presentation should stress the relevance of the text and link it to the more general field of the seminar in order to establish its contribution. In general presentations are about being confronted critically with important texts.

Presentations should **not** be longer than 20-30 minutes and must always include a title slide (information about the text, authors, etc.), a slide with the structure of the presentation and a conclusive slide which includes the main contribution of the text as well as the main critiques. PowerPoint presentations must be uploaded on OLAT on the Wednesday of the presentation at 8am at the latest.

**Important criteria for the grade of the presentation include:** the quality of the slides (clarity), the ability to convey important information and answer questions from the audience, links with other texts and the field more generally, raising an interesting discussion and proposing points for debate, a critical reading of the texts among other things.

In the **last sessions** (see “Schedule and Readings” below) participants present their topic of investigation (on the basis of which the paper is written as explained below). The same criteria apply to this second presentation. The grade of the presentation is an average between the presentation of the text and the presentation of the research paper.

Students receive a written feedback after each presentation.

#### *“Bullet papers”*

It is useful for the discussion of the text that participants prepare in advance some of the points they see as critical in a text. Before each session all participants upload on OLAT (individual) one-page documents in which they stress (1) the main points of the compulsory papers, (2) the points they see as worth discussion in a critical ways, links to previous papers read for this class, (3) as well as overall points the consider important to stress for the understanding of the text and its relevance.

### **Evaluation Criteria**

During the semester participants produce a research paper based on empirical analysis. The focus of the analysis will be on topics relating to the “left–right dimension” in global perspective and how it can be measured. The topic and title should be discussed with the lecturers in advance. The written paper consists of an analytical piece of research of about 6,000 words (all included) The analysis must be based on one of the data sources which are presented in the introduction in class (expert surveys, mass survey, experiments, word scores, manifesto data, etc.). Data are analyzed and presented in individual written reports and presented in class in the last two weeks of the semester.

**Research proposal:** The research proposal is the groundwork for your presentation, which should be in the best case the groundwork for the term paper (more details in the first session). The research proposal is a short document of no more than 3 pages stating the following contents: (1) topic and research question (2) relevance and “academic gap” of the paper (3)

literature (4) hypotheses to be evaluated in the paper (5) data employed in the paper (6) potential outlook; preliminary conclusions.

The deadline for the research proposal is October 21<sup>st</sup>, 2015.

The final grade is composed of 70% by a written paper and 30% by the two oral presentations.

The deadline for the paper is January 5<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

**Important criteria for the grade of the paper are:**

**General:** The paper must analyze an interesting and well-defined research question with a clearly formulated argument based on empirical data. The paper should have a clear structure: (1) introduction where the main topic, argument and structure of the paper is spelled out (2) two-three main sections in which the theory, data, method and results are presented (3) conclusion where the main argument is summarized and further questions are formulated (4) references (5) other material if necessary.

**Analysis and critique:** The analysis and argument should be at an MA academic level including an analytical approach. It should make use of concepts and theories seen in class and in the texts. It should also make use of additional literature researched by the students themselves. Definitions should be given clearly when necessary and concepts and terms should be used in a consistent manner. The literature should include the most important references in the field. Data should be presented clearly and systematically and their analysis must be rigorous. Results must be discussed in a well-structured text and carefully-prepared tables and graphs.

**Formal presentation:** The essay should be carefully checked for spelling mistakes. Language should be appropriate and accurate. Formatting should be kept simple and orderly. If tables and figures are inserted they should be numbered and clearly referred to in the text. Citations of the literature should follow a consistent model and a bibliography should be placed toward the end of the essay.

## SCHEDULE AND READINGS

### Fall Semester

#### Session 1: Presentation, organization and task assignment

#### Session 2: Theoretical introduction

Please read the texts in advance. The introduction is done by the lecturers.

Ware, Alan (1996). *Political Parties and Party Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (Chapter 1).

Duverger, Maurice (1954). *Political Parties*. New York: Wiley (Introduction on “The Origins of Parties”).

#### Additional reading:

Beyme, Klaus von (1985). *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. Aldershot: Gower.

Mair, Peter and Cas Mudde (1998). The Party Family and Its Study. *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 211–29.

McDonald, Michael D., Mendes, Silvia M. and Myunghee Kim (2007). Cross-Temporal and Cross-National Comparisons of Party Left–Right Positions. *Electoral Studies* 26(1): 62–75.

Thomas, John C. (2006). The Changing Nature of Partisan Divisions in the West: Trends in Democratic Policy Orientations in Ten Party Systems. *European Journal of Political Research*: 397–413.

#### Session 3: Methodological introduction

Please read the texts in advance. The introduction is done by the lecturers.

Mair, Peter (2001). Searching for the Positions of Political Actors. In *Estimating the Policy Positions of Political Actors*, ed. Michael Laver. London & New York: Routledge, 10–30.

Debus, Marc (2009). Analysing Party Politics in Germany with New Approaches for Estimating Policy Preferences of Political Actors. *German Politics* 18(3): 281–300.

#### Additional reading:

Peng, Roger D, and Nicolas W Hengartner (2002). Quantitative Analysis of Literary Styles. *The American Statistician* 56(3): 175–85.

Barberá, Pablo (2015). Birds of the Same Feather Tweet Together: Bayesian Ideal Point Estimation Using Twitter Data. *Political Analysis* 23(3): 76–91.

#### **Session 4: Left and right in historical perspective**

Bobbio, Norberto (1996). *Left and Right: The Significance of a Political Distinction*. Cambridge: Polity (whole book, especially, 38–86).

Noël, Aland and Jean-Philippe Thérien (2008). *Left and Right in Global Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Introduction and Chapters 4, 5, 6).

##### Additional reading:

Bartolini, Stefano (2000). *The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860–1980: The Class Cleavage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 2).

#### **Session 5: Left–right and value change**

Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris (2003). The True Clash of Civilizations. *Foreign Policy* 135: 67–74.

Noël, Aland and Jean-Philippe Thérien (2008). *Left and Right in Global Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 2).

##### Additional reading:

Inglehart, Ronald (1989). *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Held, David (2002). *Globalization/Anti-Globalization*. Cambridge: Polity.

#### **Session 6: Economic and cultural dimensions of left–right**

Kitschelt, Herbert (1994). *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Chapters 1 and 2).

Kriesi et al. (2012). *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 10 and 11).

##### Additional reading:

Bornschier, Simon (2010). *Cleavage Politics and the Populist Right: The New Cultural Conflict in Western Europe*. Philadelphia, Penn.: Temple University Press.

#### **Session 7: The ideology of roll call votes**

Poole, Keith T., and Howard Rosentha (1985). A Spatial Model for Legislative Roll Call Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science* 29(2): 357–84.

Poole, Keith T., and Howard Rosenthal (1991). Patterns of Congressional Voting. *American Journal of Political Science* 35(1): 228–78.

Additional reading:

Clinton, Joshua D., Simon Jackman, and Douglas Rivers (2004). The Statistical Analysis of Roll Call Data. *American Political Science Review* 98(02): 355–70.

**Session 8: Expert placements of party ideology**

Huber, John D., and Ronald Inglehart (1995). Expert Interpretations of Party Space and Party Locations in 42 Societies. *Party Politics* 1(1): 73–111.

Benoit, Kenneth, and Michael Laver (2006). *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*. London: Routledge (Chapter 6).

Additional reading:

Budge, Ian (2000). Expert Judgements of Party Policy Positions: Uses and Limitations in Political Research. *European Journal of Political Research* 37(1): 103–13.

**Session 9: Using party manifestos to measure left and right: The CMP approach**

Klingemann, Hans-Dieter et al. (2006). *Mapping Policy Preferences II - Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments in Eastern Europe, European Union, and OECD 1990-2003*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press (Chapters 1 and 4).

Dinas, Elias, and Kostas Gemenis (2010). Measuring Parties' Ideological Positions With Manifesto Data: A Critical Evaluation of the Competing Methods. *Party Politics* 16(4): 427–50.

Additional reading:

Budge, Ian, David Roberston, and Derek Hearl, eds. (1987). *Ideology, Strategy and Party Change: Spatial Analyses of Post-War Election Programmes in 19 Democracies*. London: Cambridge University Press.

**Session 10: Automated text analysis and party positions**

Laver, Michael, Kenneth Benoit, and John Garry (2003). Extracting Policy Positions from Political Texts Using Words as Data. *American Political Science Review* 97(2): 311–31.

Proksch, Sven-Oliver, and Jonathan B. Slapin (2008). A Scaling Model for Estimating Time-Series Party Positions from Texts. *American Journal of Political Science* 1(3): 323–44.

Additional reading:

Grimmer, Justin, and Brandon M. Stewart (2013). Text as Data: The Promise and Pitfalls of Automatic Content Analysis Methods for Political Texts. *Political Analysis* 21(3): 267–97.

Jockers, Matthew L. (2014). *Text Analysis with R for Students of Literature*. Cham, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht, London: Springer (chapter 1–3).

**Session 11: Conclusion: The basic dimensions of human values**

Rokeach, Milton (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: The Free Press (Part III).

Additional reading:

Williams, Robin M. Jr. (1974). Book Review. *Political Science Quarterly* 89(2): 399–401.

Gouldner, Helen (1975). Book Review. *Social Forces* 53(4): 659–60.

**Session 12: Presentation and discussion of papers**

**Session 13: Presentation and discussion of papers**

**Session 14: Presentation and discussion of papers**