

Politisk adfærd: Vælgeradfærd og holdningsdannelse

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Senest opdateret: 11. december 2013

1 Titel

Fagets titel er *Politisk adfærd: Vælgeradfærd og holdningsdannelse*. Faget udbydes som et karakterbedømt seminar i efterårssemestret 2013.

2 Indhold

Hvor meget ved vælgere om politik? Hvordan ræsonnerer almindelige vælgere politisk? Og hvorfra stammer systematiske skift og stabile mønstre i vælgeres politiske holdninger?

Faget præsenterer de væsentligste teoretiske og empiriske studier af vælgeradfærd og holdningsdannelse, som traditionelt sammenfattes under etiketten 'politisk adfærd', samt eksempler på ny forskning, som går i dialog med klassikerne. De fleste af fagets tekster stammer fra amerikansk forskning, men holdundervisningen vil i vidt omfang dreje sig om temaernes relevans for danske forhold, og deltagerne eksamineres i deres evne til at aktivt anvende teori og empiri.

Kurset er opbygget omkring fem temaer, som omtrent følger disciplinens historiske udvikling:

1. Klassiske debatter
2. Kognition
3. Kontekst
4. Deltagelse
5. Menneskets natur

3 Undervisningsformer

Seminarets undervisning finder sted i 14 ugentlige lektioner à to timer. Undervisningstidspunkt og -sted er:

Onsdage 14-16, CSS lokale 2.1.55

Den enkelte undervisningsgang tilrettelægges med gennemgang af ugens tekster suppleret med studenteroplæg, der kritisk diskuterer teksterne. Der lægges vægt på de studerendes evne til at afprøve teorierne på nye data samt at diskutere teoriernes konkrete, demokratiske implikationer.

Beståelse af seminaret forudsætter aktiv deltagelse i undervisningen, herunder mindst ét oplæg i forbindelse med ét af semestrets undervisningsgange. Studerende skal hertil skrive en opgave med afsæt i ét af fagets temaer. Opgaven kan være en empirisk analyse med afsæt i valgundersøgelserdata eller en teoretisk diskussion med afsæt i fagets tekster. Opgaven karakterbedømmes på 7-skalaen.

Fristen for aflevering af seminaropgaven er:

Fredag d. 17. januar 2014

4 Målbeskrivelse

Seminarets målsætning er at sætte den studerende i stand til efter endt undervisning at kunne:

- *Redegøre* for hovedtrækkene i de centrale teorier om vælgeradfærd og holdningsdannelse
- *Præsentere* specifikke hovedværker i amerikansk og dansk vælgeradfærdsforskning siden 1960'erne,
- *Identificere og sammenligne* forskellige metoder, teorier og approaches, som de kommer til udtryk gennem hovedværkerne,
- *Kritisk analysere* fordele og ulemper ved de forskellige metoder, teorier og approaches, som de kommer til udtryk i de valgte hovedværker,
- *Vurdere relevansen* af de forskellige metoder, teorier og approaches, som de kommer til udtryk i de valgte hovedværker, i en dansk eller anden europæisk sammenhæng,
- *Relatere udviklingen* i amerikansk forskning i vælgeradfærd og holdningsdannelse til udviklingen i dansk forskning i vælgeradfærd og holdningsdannelse samt udviklingen i amerikansk og europæisk politologi i øvrigt,
- *Reflektere* over meta-teoretiske standarder for teorivalg og teoribedømmelse.

5 Forudsætninger

Faget forudsætter beståelse af Almen og Sammenlignende Statskundskab samt Metode 2.

6 Litteratur

Tre bøger udgør grundstammen i fagets pensum. Bøgerne samler op på empiriske og teoretiske hovedlinjer vedr. hhv. partiidentifikation, deliberation og framing:

- Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Samuel L. Popkin. *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality (Cambridge Studies in Public Opinion and Political Psychology)*. Cambridge University Press, 2000

- Diana C. Mutz. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative versus Participatory Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 1 edition, March 2006
- Nicholas J. G. Winter. *Dangerous Frames: How Ideas about Race and Gender Shape Public Opinion*. University Of Chicago Press, May 2008

Hertil kommer en række enkelttekster, der læses og diskuteres ifm. de enkelte undervisningsgange, jf. studieplanen.

6.1 Studieplan

1. Klassiske debatter I: Vælgerkompetence (4. september)

- Philip E. Converse. The nature of belief systems in mass publics (1964). *Critical Review*, 18(1-3):1-74, January 2006, 1-53 (53 s.)
- Christopher H. Achen. Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response. *The American Political Science Review*, 69(4):1218-1231, 1975 (13 s.)

2. Klassiske debatter II: Michigan-modellen (11. september)

- Donald P Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. Yale ISPS series. Yale University Press, 2002, kap. 1-2 (50 s.)
- Kasper Mø ller Hansen and Jørgen Goul Andersen. En samlet model for partivalg. In Kasper Mø ller Hansen, Rune Stubager, and Jørgen Goul Andersen, editors, *Krisevalg. Økonomien og folketingsvalget 2011*, chapter 8, pages 189-211. Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag, Copenhagen, 2013 (21 s.)

3. Klassiske debatter III: Økonomisk stemmeadfærd (18. september)

- M Lewis-Beck. Economic voting: an introduction. *Electoral Studies*, 19(2-3):113-121, June 2000, 183-184,191-195,205-213 (14 s.)
- Christopher H. Achen and Larry M. Bartels. Blind Retrospection: Why Shark Attacks Are Bad For Democracy. 2012, 1-19 (20 s.)
- Kasper Mø ller Hansen and Rune Stubager. Økonomisk stemmeadfærd. In Kasper Mø ller Hansen, Rune Stubager, and Jørgen Goul Andersen, editors, *Krisevalg. Økonomien og folketingsvalget 2011*, chapter 5, pages 115-134. Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag, Copenhagen, 2013, (19 s.)

4. Kognition I: Genveje til rationalitet (25. september)

- John R. Zaller. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion (Cambridge Studies in Public Opinion and Political Psychology)*. Cambridge University Press, August 1992, kap. 3 (13 s.)
- Paul M. Sniderman, Richard A. Brody, and Phillip E. Tetlock. *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology (Cambridge Studies in Public Opinion and Political Psychology)*. Cambridge University Press, 1993, kap 1-2 (30 s.)

- Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Samuel L. Popkin. *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality (Cambridge Studies in Public Opinion and Political Psychology)*. Cambridge University Press, 2000, kap. 3,8 (50 s.)
5. Kognition II: Motiveret politisk tænkning (2. oktober)
- Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Samuel L. Popkin. *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality (Cambridge Studies in Public Opinion and Political Psychology)*. Cambridge University Press, 2000, kap. 9 (31. s.)
 - John T Jost, Jack Glaser, Arie W Kruglanski, and Frank J Sulloway. Political conservatism as motivated social cognition. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(3):339–375, May 2003 (36 s.)
 - Charles S Taber and Milton Lodge. Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(3):755–769, 2006 (14 s.)
 - Rune Slothuus and Claes H. de Vreese. Political Parties, Motivated Reasoning, and Issue Framing Effects. *The Journal of Politics*, 72(03):630–645, July 2010 (15 s.)
6. Kontekst I: Alignment og issue-evolution (9. oktober)
- Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson. On the Structure and Sequence of Issue Evolution. *The American Political Science Review*, 80(3):901–920, 1986 (19 s.)
 - Michael F Meffert, Helmut Norpoth, and Anirudh V S Ruhil. Realignment and Macropartisanship. *American Political Science Review*, 95(4):953–962, 2001 (10 s.)
 - Donald P Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. Yale ISPS series. Yale University Press, 2002, kap. 6 (24 s.)
 - Rune Stubager. The Development of the Education Cleavage: Denmark as a Critical Case. *West European Politics*, 33(3):505–533, May 2010 (28 s.)
7. Kontekst II: Generationseffekter og formative begivenheder (23. oktober)
- David O. Sears and Nicholas A. Valentino. Politics Matters: Political Events as Catalysts for Preadult Socialization. *The American Political Science Review*, 91(1):45, March 1997 (20 s.)
 - J. A. Davis. Did Growing Up in the 1960s Leave a Permanent Mark on Attitudes and Values?: Evidence from the General Social Survey. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 68(2):161–183, June 2004 (22 s.)
 - Danny Osborne, David O. Sears, and Nicholas A. Valentino. The End of the Solidly Democratic South: The Impressionable-Years Hypothesis. *Political Psychology*, 32(1):81–108, February 2011 (27 s.)
8. Kontekst III: Issue-voting og kampagner (30. oktober)
- John R Petrocik. Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections , a 1980 Case Study. *American Journal of Political Science*, 40(3):825–850, 1996 (25 s.)

- Paula Blomqvist and Christoffer Green-Pedersen. Defeat at Home? Issue-Ownership and Social Democratic Support in Scandinavia. *Government and Opposition*, 39(4):587–613, September 2004 (26 s.)
- Christoffer Green-Pedersen and Jesper Krogstrup. Immigration as a political issue in Denmark and Sweden. *European Journal of Political Research*, 47(5):610–634, August 2008 (24 s.)
- D. Sunshine Hillygus and Todd G. Shields. *The Persuadable Voter: Wedge Issues in Presidential Campaigns*. Princeton University Press, 2009, kap. 1-2 (48 s.)

9. Kontekst IV: Medieeffekter (6. november)

- S Iyengar and A F Simon. New perspectives and evidence on political communication and campaign effects. *Annual review of psychology*, 51:149–69, January 2000 (20 s.)
- Dietram A. Scheufele and David Tewksbury. Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1):9–20, March 2007 (11 s.)
- Lise Togeby. The Context of Priming. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30(3):345–376, September 2007 (31 s.)

Supplerede: Shanto Iyengar, Mark D Peters, and Donald R Kinder. Experimental Demonstrations of the "Not-So-Minimal" Consequences of Television News Programs. *American Political Science Review*, 76(4):848–858, 1982

10. Deltagelse I: Socialt pres og afsmitning (13. november)

- Alan S Gerber, Donald P Green, and Christopher W Larimer. Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment. *American Political Science Review*, 102(01):33–48, 2008 (15 s.)
- Christopher B. Mann. Is There Backlash to Social Pressure? A Large-scale Field Experiment on Voter Mobilization. *Political Behavior*, 32(3):387–407, May 2010 (20 s.)
- Yosef Bhatti and Kasper Møller Hansen. Leaving the Nest and the Social Act of Voting: Turnout among First-Time Voters. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, 22(4):380–406, November 2012 (25 s.)
- Nicholas A. Christakis and James H. Fowler. The Spread of Obesity in a Large Social Network over 32 Years. *N Engl J Med*, 357(4):370–379, July 2007 (9 s.)
- Robert M Bond, Christopher J Fariss, Jason J Jones, Adam D I Kramer, Cameron Marlow, Jaime E Settle, and James H Fowler. A 61-million-person experiment in social influence and political mobilization. *Nature*, 489(7415):295–8, September 2012 (4 s.)

11. Deltagelse II: Deliberation og uenighed (20. november)

- Diana C. Mutz. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative versus Participatory Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 1 edition, March 2006, kap. 1-3 (89 s.)

- Vibeke Normann Andersen and Kasper Møller Hansen. How deliberation makes better citizens: The Danish Deliberative Poll on the euro. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46(4):531–556, June 2007 (25 s.)

Supplerende: Robert Huckfeldt, Paul E. Johnson, and John Sprague. Political Environments, Political Dynamics, and the Survival of Disagreement. *The Journal of Politics*, 64(01):1–21, July 2008

Robert C. Luskin, James S. Fishkin, and Roger Jowell. Considered Opinions: Deliberative Polling in Britain. *British Journal of Political Science*, 32(03):455–487, June 2002

12. Deltagelse III: Krydspres og isolation (27. november)

- Diana C. Mutz. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative versus Participatory Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 1 edition, March 2006, kap. 4-5 (64 s.)
- David Nicolas Hopmann. The consequences of political disagreement in interpersonal communication: New insights from a comparative perspective. *European Journal of Political Research*, 51(2):265–287, March 2012 (15 s.)

13. Menneskets natur I: Race, køn og gruppeimplikation (4. december)

- Nicholas J. G. Winter. *Dangerous Frames: How Ideas about Race and Gender Shape Public Opinion*. University Of Chicago Press, May 2008, kap. 1-5 (119 s.)

14. Menneskets natur II: Det evolutionære perspektiv (11. december)

- John Tooby and Leda Cosmides. The past explains the present. *Ethology and Sociobiology*, 11(4-5):375–424, July 1990 (49 s.)
- Michael Bang Petersen. Social Welfare as Small-Scale Help: Evolutionary Psychology and the Deservingness Heuristic. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(1):1–16, 2012 (16 s.)
- R. Klemmensen, P. K. Hatemi, S. B. Hobolt, I. Petersen, A. Skytthe, and A. S. Norgaard. The genetics of political participation, civic duty, and political efficacy across cultures: Denmark and the United States. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 24(3):409–427, June 2012 (18 s.)
- Michael Bang Petersen and Lene Aarøe. Politics in the Mind's Eye: Imagination as a Link between Social and Political Cognition. *American Political Science Review*, 107(02):275–293, April 2013 (18 s.)

Pensum i alt 1.195 sider. De resterende sider i det endelige pensum fastlægges frem mod semesterstart, og vil hovedsagelig bestå af danske eksempler.

7 Hvad kan det bruges til?

Seminaret styrker de studerendes kompetence til at forstå fundamentale spørgsmål om vælgeradfærd, vælgerkompetence og holdningsdannelse. Kurset giver både de studerende et disciplinærhistorisk overblik over studiet af vælgeradfærd og holdningsdannelse og et teoretisk overblik over perspektiver på vælgere som politiske aktører.

Seminaret er brugbart for studerende, der ønsker at arbejde professionelt med kommunikation, idet teorierne om holdningsdannelse også er relevante for ikke snævert politiske

problemstillinger. Seminaret har særlig relevans for studerende, der ønsker at arbejde med kommunikation og opinionsmåling i politisk øjemed, fx. i politiske partier eller meningsmålingsinstitutter.

Litteratur

- [1] Christopher H. Achen. Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response. *The American Political Science Review*, 69(4):1218–1231, 1975.
- [2] Christopher H. Achen and Larry M. Bartels. Blind Retrospection: Why Shark Attacks Are Bad For Democracy. 2012.
- [3] Vibeke Normann Andersen and Kasper Møller Hansen. How deliberation makes better citizens: The Danish Deliberative Poll on the euro. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46(4):531–556, June 2007.
- [4] Yosef Bhatti and Kasper Møller Hansen. Leaving the Nest and the Social Act of Voting: Turnout among First-Time Voters. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, 22(4):380–406, November 2012.
- [5] Paula Blomqvist and Christoffer Green-Pedersen. Defeat at Home? Issue-Ownership and Social Democratic Support in Scandinavia. *Government and Opposition*, 39(4):587–613, September 2004.
- [6] Robert M Bond, Christopher J Fariss, Jason J Jones, Adam D I Kramer, Cameron Marlow, Jaime E Settle, and James H Fowler. A 61-million-person experiment in social influence and political mobilization. *Nature*, 489(7415):295–8, September 2012.
- [7] Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson. On the Structure and Sequence of Issue Evolution. *The American Political Science Review*, 80(3):901–920, 1986.
- [8] Nicholas A. Christakis and James H. Fowler. The Spread of Obesity in a Large Social Network over 32 Years. *N Engl J Med*, 357(4):370–379, July 2007.
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- [14] Kasper Mø ller Hansen and Jørgen Goul Andersen. En samlet model for partivalg. In Kasper Mø ller Hansen, Rune Stubager, and Jørgen Goul Andersen, editors, *Krisevalg. Økonomien og folketingsvalget 2011*, chapter 8, pages 189–211. Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag, Copenhagen, 2013.
- [15] Kasper Mø ller Hansen and Rune Stubager. Økonomisk stemmeadfærd. In Kasper Mø ller Hansen, Rune Stubager, and Jørgen Goul Andersen, editors, *Krisevalg. Økonomien og folketingsvalget 2011*, chapter 5, pages 115–134. Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag, Copenhagen, 2013.
- [16] D. Sunshine Hillygus and Todd G. Shields. *The Persuadable Voter: Wedge Issues in Presidential Campaigns*. Princeton University Press, 2009.
- [17] David Nicolas Hopmann. The consequences of political disagreement in interpersonal communication: New insights from a comparative perspective. *European Journal of Political Research*, 51(2):265–287, March 2012.
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- [21] John T Jost, Jack Glaser, Arie W Kruglanski, and Frank J Sulloway. Political conservatism as motivated social cognition. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(3):339–375, May 2003.
- [22] R. Klemmensen, P. K. Hatemi, S. B. Hobolt, I. Petersen, A. Skytthe, and A. S. Norgaard. The genetics of political participation, civic duty, and political efficacy across cultures: Denmark and the United States. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 24(3):409–427, June 2012.
- [23] M Lewis-Beck. Economic voting: an introduction. *Electoral Studies*, 19(2-3):113–121, June 2000.
- [24] Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Samuel L. Popkin. *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality (Cambridge Studies in Public Opinion and Political Psychology)*. Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- [25] Robert C. Luskin, James S. Fishkin, and Roger Jowell. Considered Opinions: Deliberative Polling in Britain. *British Journal of Political Science*, 32(03):455–487, June 2002.
- [26] Christopher B. Mann. Is There Backlash to Social Pressure? A Large-scale Field Experiment on Voter Mobilization. *Political Behavior*, 32(3):387–407, May 2010.
- [27] Michael F Meffert, Helmut Norpoth, and Anirudh V S Ruhil. Realignment and Macropartisanship. *American Political Science Review*, 95(4):953–962, 2001.
- [28] Diana C. Mutz. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative versus Participatory Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 1 edition, March 2006.

- [29] Danny Osborne, David O. Sears, and Nicholas A. Valentino. The End of the Solidly Democratic South: The Impressionable-Years Hypothesis. *Political Psychology*, 32(1):81–108, February 2011.
- [30] Michael Bang Petersen. Social Welfare as Small-Scale Help: Evolutionary Psychology and the Deservingness Heuristic. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(1):1–16, 2012.
- [31] Michael Bang Petersen and Lene Aarøe. Politics in the Mind’s Eye: Imagination as a Link between Social and Political Cognition. *American Political Science Review*, 107(02):275–293, April 2013.
- [32] John R Petrocik. Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections , a 1980 Case Study. *American Journal of Political Science*, 40(3):825–850, 1996.
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- [36] Paul M. Sniderman, Richard A. Brody, and Phillip E. Tetlock. *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology (Cambridge Studies in Public Opinion and Political Psychology)*. Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- [37] Rune Stubager. The Development of the Education Cleavage: Denmark as a Critical Case. *West European Politics*, 33(3):505–533, May 2010.
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- [40] John Tooby and Leda Cosmides. The past explains the present. *Ethology and Sociobiology*, 11(4-5):375–424, July 1990.
- [41] Nicholas J. G. Winter. *Dangerous Frames: How Ideas about Race and Gender Shape Public Opinion*. University Of Chicago Press, May 2008.
- [42] John R. Zaller. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion (Cambridge Studies in Public Opinion and Political Psychology)*. Cambridge University Press, August 1992.