

14335.0104: Risks and Politics

Winter Term 2019/2020

Time: Tue 4pm-5:30pm
Location: **211 IBW**, seminar room No. **S101**
Herbert-Lewin-Str. 2, 50931 Cologne

9 ECTS points

Dr. Sarah Berens

Contact: sarah.berens@uni-koeln.de

Office hours: Tue 11am-12pm
Office: IBW Building, Herbert-Lewin Str. 2, Room: 1.13a

Outline of the Course

The course addresses questions that are at the core of Political Economy and Comparative Politics: How do individuals respond to risk and insecurity? How does uncertainty affect political behavior, preferences and attitudes? In times of shifting social boundaries, technological change, globalization, migration, and climate change, how do such transformations influence how people vote, engage in politics or view the state as such? How does risk, understood in its multiple forms – that is, risk following from economic volatility, fear toward social and cultural change, risk to fall victim to crime or repression – influence the likelihood to engage in political activism, voice demands for state action and shape citizens' view toward the state?

In the course of the seminar we address different types of risk, covering major theoretical perspectives and scholarly work in IPE, CPE and Comparative Politics: starting with economic insecurity following from income volatility (change in inequality, risk of job loss), technological innovation (automation and digitalization), globalization (off shoring, exposure to the international market) and migration (inflow of refugees, labor market migration), we take into account risks that arise through state failure (e. g. criminal violence and protection rackets) and climate change (responses to natural catastrophes). Moreover, we take into account how risk calculations influence the likelihood to engage in collective action capacity, such as revolt and protest in developing countries and thereby affect the odds of democratization. While focusing on risk, the course teaches classical theories of individual decision-making, preference formation and collective action.

Focusing on the microfoundation of risks and politics, we mainly study individual behavior and preferences, tapping into the political psychology literature and behavioral economics. We will encounter formal models, experimental work (lab experiments, survey experiments, lab-in-the-field), but also quantitative work based on observational data and qualitative case studies. Examples will be drawn from the research frontier on distributive politics and political economy questions on both advanced industrial democracies and developing countries.

Goal

The goal of the seminar is to establish a genuine understanding of the implications of risk for political behavior and attitudes and their implications for public policy (mainly in the field of taxation and social policy), electoral outcomes, and regime stability or change (democratization, protests, revolution). The seminar provides participants with an overview of seminal approaches to the meaning of risk in the field of political economy and comparative politics, providing an overview of major theoretical work in this field of research but also drawing upon examples from the research frontier.

Prerequisites

A good knowledge of general political science concepts, theories and basic quantitative and qualitative methods is required. Students should be able to understand and articulate themselves in English as this will be the general classroom language. Of course, perfection is not required but you should be able to make yourself understood. The term paper should be written in English as well.

Requirements

The sessions in class are designed as a very participatory seminar format. This means that the class depends on your in-class participation – it is a seminar, not a lecture. In order to ensure the quality of participation I expect you to have prepared the required readings prior to class and to attend all meetings. The mandatory readings will be provided electronically on Ilias. Always bring the readings to class, as we will make frequent reference to them. Moreover, each participant will prepare a **10 minutes presentation** based on *additional* readings that accompanies each class (see the PDF “Presentation Topics” on Ilias).

The **term paper** should bear on the themes discussed in class and contain no more than 6.000 words (approximately 15 pages). A list of references and appendices do not count towards the page limit. You should be clear about your theory, data and methodological approach. It is vital to develop a clear research design that supports your analytical interest. You are expected to hand in a 1-page proposal (bullet points!) for the paper by **November 29th** (as PDF via email). It should describe the puzzle/research question, working hypotheses, and the methods (and possibly data) you are planning to use.

The final paper is due on **March 2nd 2020** (24:00). Please submit your paper electronically as a PDF document to sarah.berens@uni-koeln.de. Late papers will be punished. The final grade is composed of the term paper, in-class participation and the individual presentation. In addition to the electronic paper version (which will be checked for plagiarism), please submit a paper version in the course of the week of the due date at the secretary of the [CCCCP](#) (please check our homepage for opening hours). All of the work you do in this course is expected to be your own. Absolutely no cheating or plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper citation) will be tolerated. The paper version must contain the following signed statement:

http://www.cccp.uni-koeln.de/fileadmin/wiso_fak/ccc/Lehre/ErklaerungzuArbeiten.pdf

Basic Reading Recommendations (optional)

Mares, I. (2003). *The politics of social risk: Business and welfare state development*. Cambridge University Press.

Rehm, Philipp (2016) *Risk inequality and welfare states: social policy preferences, development, and dynamics*. Cambridge University Press.

I FUNDAMENTALS

October 8th 2019

1. Introduction

Why do we need to think about risks? What are the origins of risk (e. g. inequality, migration, violence, climate change)? What are possible political consequences of risk (for distributive politics, security preferences, labor markets)? What are possible electoral consequences (e. g. vote choice, populism etc.)?

- Swank, D., & Betz, H. G. (2003). Globalization, the welfare state and right-wing populism in Western Europe. *Socio-Economic Review*, 1(2), 215-245.
- Kitschelt, H. P., & Rehm, P. (2019). Secular Partisan Realignment in the United States: The Socioeconomic Reconfiguration of White Partisan Support since the New Deal Era. *Politics & Society*, 47(3), 425-479.

October 15th 2019

2. Welfare Regimes and Social Protection

How does the state protect citizens from economic and social risks? What are social risks? What are the interests of workers and employers to insure against risks?

- I. Mares. *The Politics of Social Risk: Business and Welfare State Development*. Cambridge University Press, 2003, chp. 1, 2, 3. (104 pages)

October 22nd 2019

3. Risk, Insurance Needs and Redistribution

How does risk and insecurity affect demand for insurance and redistribution? The microfoundation of social policy as a response to risk.

- Moene, Karl Ove and Michael Wallerstein. 2001. "Inequality, Social Insurance, and Redistribution." *American Political Science Review* 95(04):859–874.
- Iversen, T., & Soskice, D. (2001). An asset theory of social policy preferences. *American Political Science Review*, 95(4), 875-893.

II. ECONOMIC RISKS

October 29th 2019

4. Labor Market Risks and Redistribution

How does occupation and sector specific risk matter for social policy preferences? Does experience of unemployment leave a long lasting imprint on demand for social protection

compared to those who did not experience job loss? How do parties respond to job insecurities among voters?

- Rehm, P. 2009. “Risks and Redistribution: An Individual-Level Analysis.” *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Rueda, D. (2005). Insider–outsider politics in industrialized democracies: the challenge to social democratic parties. *American Political Science Review*, 99(1), 61-74.

Recommended:

- Margalit, Yotam. 2013. “Explaining Social Policy Preferences: Evidence from the Great Recession.” *American Political Science Review* 107(1):80–103.
- Rehm, Philipp (2016) *Risk inequality and welfare states: social policy preferences, development, and dynamics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rehm, Philipp. 2011. “Social policy by popular demand.” *World Politics* 63(2):271–299.

November 5th 2019

5. Automation, Digitalization and Technological Change

Technological innovation creates new types of jobs and can replace old ones with robots (automation). How do voters respond to these risks of changes in job structure and technology? Is automation a new/old risk?

- Gingrich, J. (2019). Did State Responses to Automation Matter for Voters?. *Research & Politics*, 6(1).
- Autor, David H, and David Dorn (2013) The growth of low-skill service jobs and the polarization of the US labor market. *The American Economic Review* 103 (5):1553–1597.
- Frey, C. B., & Osborne, M. A. (2017). The future of employment: How susceptible are jobs to computerisation?. *Technological forecasting and social change*, 114, 254-280.

Recommended:

- Gallego, A., Kurer, T., & Schöll, N. (2018). Not so disruptive after all: how workplace digitalization affects political preferences. Working Paper.

November 12th 2019

6. Trade and Globalization

We look at the implications of trade liberalization and protectionism and analyze who supports trade reforms. Subsequently, we study the impact of globalization on support for social protection, taking a closer look at the mechanism.

- Walter, S. (2010). Globalization and the welfare state: Testing the microfoundations of the compensation hypothesis. *International Studies Quarterly*, 54(2), 403-426.
- Walter, S. (2017). Globalization and the demand-side of politics: How globalization shapes labor market risk perceptions and policy preferences. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 5(1), 55-80.
- K. F. Scheve and M. J. Slaughter. What determines individual trade-policy preferences? *Journal of International Economics*, 54(2):267–292, Aug. 2001

Recommended:

- M. J. Hiscox (2006) Through a Glass and Darkly: Attitudes Toward International Trade and the Curious Effects of Issue Framing. *International Organization*, 60(03):755–780.
- Baker, A. (2003) Why is Trade Reform So Popular in Latin America?: A Consumption-Based Theory of Trade Policy Preferences. *World Politics*, 55(03):423–455.

III. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL “RISKS”

November 19th 2019

7. Identity, Nationalism, Migration and Redistribution

With whom do voters identify in times of crisis – nation or class? How does immigration influence perception of economic and job stability? How do voters respond to out-group threat regarding support for redistribution?

- Moses Shayo. 2009. ‘A Model of Social Identity with an Application to Political Economy: Nation, Class, and Redistribution’ *American Political Science Review* 103: 17-74.
- J. Hainmueller and M. J. Hiscox (2010) Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low-skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment. *American Political Science Review*, 104(01):61–84.

Recommended:

- Alt, J., & Iversen, T. (2017). Inequality, labor market segmentation, and preferences for redistribution. *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(1), 21-36.

November 26th 2019

8. Refugee Crises, Risks and Political Behavior

Taking into account current challenges, how do voters respond to the so called ‘refugee crisis’? How is migration related to risk?

- Brader, Ted, Nicholas A Valentino, and Elizabeth Suhay. 2008. What triggers public opposition to immigration? Anxiety, group cues, and immigration threat. *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (4):959–978.
- Hangartner, D., Dinas, E., Marbach, M., Matakos, K., & Xefteris, D. (2019). Does exposure to the refugee crisis make natives more hostile?. *American Political Science Review*, 113(2), 442-455.

Recommended:

- Dinas, E., Matakos, K., Xefteris, D., & Hangartner, D. (2019). Waking up the golden dawn: does exposure to the refugee crisis increase support for extreme-right parties?. *Political Analysis*, 27(2), 244-254.

VI. LOCAL RISKS: CLIMATE AND VIOLENCE

December 3rd 2019

9. Risks of Climate Change and Natural Catastrophes

Is climate change a risk? If so, to whom? How do voters respond to climate policy? How do voters respond to natural disasters and possible negative externalities of climate change? Do

they punish the incumbent?

- Stokes, L. C. (2016). Electoral backlash against climate policy: A natural experiment on retrospective voting and local resistance to public policy. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(4), 958-974.
- Carlin, Ryan E., Gregory J. Love, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. (2014) Natural Disaster and Democratic Legitimacy: The Public Opinion Consequences of Chile's 2010 Earthquake and Tsunami. *Political Research Quarterly* 67(1): 3-15.

Recommended:

- Bechtel, M. M., Genovese, F., & Scheve, K. F. (2017). Interests, norms and support for the provision of global public goods: the case of climate co-operation. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-23.
- Healy, A., & Malhotra, N. (2009). Myopic voters and natural disaster policy. *American Political Science Review*, 103(3), 387-406.
- Carlin, R. E., Love, G. J., & Zechmeister, E. J. (2014). Trust shaken: Earthquake damage, state capacity, and interpersonal trust in comparative perspective. *Comparative Politics*, 46(4), 419-453.

December 10th 2019

10. Crime, Violence, and Redistribution

How does fear of crime affect support for redistribution and social solidarity? How does insecurity, in the form of physical threat, influence the fiscal contract between taxpayers and the state? We will draw from empirical work on Western Europe and Latin America.

- Rueda, David and Daniel Stegmueller. 2016. "The Externalities of Inequality: Fear of Crime and Preferences for Redistribution in Western Europe." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(2):472–489.
- Flores-Macías, Gustavo A. 2014. "Financing Security Through Elite Taxation: The Case of Colombia's "Democratic Security Taxes". *Studies in Comparative International Development* 49(4):477–500.

Recommended:

- Dammert, L., & Malone, M. F. T. (2006). Does it take a village? Policing strategies and fear of crime in Latin America. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 48(4), 27-51.
- Skogan, Wesley. 1986. The Fear of Crime and Its Behavioural Implications. In *From Crime Policy to Victim Policy*, ed. Ezzat A. Fattah. London: Macmillan.

December 17th 2019

11. Electoral Responses to Crime and Violence

In this session, we re-address the issue of criminal violence, with a focus on behavioral responses to risk and insecurity following from crime in contexts of low state capacity. How does organized crime and drug cartels influence voting behavior and support for democracy in Latin America?

- Ley, Sandra (2017) "To Vote or Not to Vote: How Criminal Violence Shapes Electoral Participation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- Carreras, Miguel and Alejandro Trelles. (2012) "Bullets and Votes: Violence and Electoral Participation in Mexico." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 2:89–123.

Recommended:

- Berens, Sarah and Mirko Dallendörfer (2019) “Apathy or Anger? How Crime Experience Affects Individual Vote Intention in Latin America and the Caribbean.” *Political Studies*, online first.
- Carreras, Miguel. 2013. “The Impact of Criminal Violence on Regime Legitimacy in Latin America.” *Latin American Research Review* 48(3):85–107.

V. RISK AND POLITICAL ACTIVISM

January 7th 2020

12. Emotional Responses to Threat and Political Behavior

How does risk and insecurity affect emotions? How are different types of threat (diseases, migration, terrorism) influencing political support and vote choice when taking emotional change as mechanism into account? We will draw upon political psychology research and examples from the US.

- Albertson, B., & Gadarian, S. K. (2015). *Anxious politics: Democratic citizenship in a threatening world*. Cambridge University Press. Chp 1, 2, 4.
- Valentino, N. A., Brader, T., Groenendyk, E. W., Gregorowicz, K., & Hutchings, V. L. (2011). Election night’s alright for fighting: The role of emotions in political participation. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(1), 156-170.

Recommended:

- Merolla, Jennifer L., and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Terrorist Threat, Leadership, and Vote Choice: Evidence from Three Experiments. *Political Behavior* 31(4): 575-600.
- Lerner, J. S., Gonzalez, R. M., Small, D. A., & Fischhoff, B. (2003). Effects of fear and anger on perceived risks of terrorism: A national field experiment. *Psychological Science*, 14(2), 144-150.
- Merolla, Jennifer L., and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. *Democracy at Risk: How Terrorist Threats Affect the Public*. University of Chicago Press.

January 14th 2020

13. Political Activism and Protest as response to risk

How lack of social protection influences the likelihood to participate in protests, to demand political rights and generally engage with the state. When does risk increase the likelihood to turn toward non-state solutions and private means (vigilantism)?

- Brooks, Sarah M. 2014. “Insecure Democracy: Risk and Political Participation in Brazil.” *The Journal of Politics* 76(4): 972–985.
- Phillips, Brian J. 2017. “Inequality and the Emergence of Vigilante Organizations: The Case of Mexican Autodefensas.” *Comparative Political Studies* 50(10): 1358–1389.

Recommended:

- Machado, F., Scartascini, C., & Tommasi, M. (2011). Political institutions and street protests in Latin America. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55(3), 340-365.
- Moncada, Eduardo. 2019. “The Politics of Criminal Victimization: Pursuing and Resisting Power.” *Perspectives on Politics* DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S153759271900029X>.

January 21th 2020

14. Regime Change and Risk

Revolution entails risk: either the revolution fails to usher in democracy and is met with harsh repression or the new regime collapses and reverts back into authoritarianism. Regime change from below can therefore be a task that entails massive risk and uncertainty. We study the impact of insecurity and fear on the likelihood of revolution and the impact of fear and insecurity on coordination and collective action more generally.

- Kuran, T. (1991). Now out of never: The element of surprise in the East European revolution of 1989. *World Politics*, 44(1), 7-48.
- Young, L. E. (2019). The psychology of state repression: Fear and dissent decisions in Zimbabwe. *American Political Science Review*, 113(1), 140-155.

Recommended:

- Aldama, A., Vásquez-Cortés, M., & Young, L. E. (2019). Fear and citizen coordination against dictatorship. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 31(1), 103-125.
- Tullock, G. (1971). The paradox of revolution. *Public Choice*, 11(1), 89-99.
- Finkel, S. E., Muller, E. N., & Opp, K. D. (1989). Personal influence, collective rationality, and mass political action. *American Political Science Review*, 83(3), 885-903.
- Olson, M. (1993). Dictatorship, democracy, and development. *American political science review*, 87(3), 567-576.

January 28th 2020

15. Final Discussion

Discussion of Term Papers, Course wrap-up.