# Culture and Politics\*

Hauptseminar Spring 2025

Hörsaal 5, UniLu Main Building

# 1 Course Description

Why are citizens of Eastern Germany more likely to vote for the radical right? Why do people turn out to vote even if their likelihood of influencing the election outcome is minimal? How is it possible that support for LGBTQi+ policies increases simultaneously with support for conservative parties? Traditional political science accounts focusing on voters' rationality and institutions fall short of explanatory power to answer these and related questions. Instead, cultural explanations are gaining prominence, and the increasing availability of digitized historical and text data has provided the ground to test them systematically. Following this trend, this course introduces students to the developing field of political culture, with a particular focus on applications in political behavior topics. The course combines a well-curated reading list with introductory lectures and seminar discussions to foster critical thinking about the role of culture in politics. Students who take this course will acquire the skills to analyze political behavior from a cultural perspective, developing original research ideas and designs.

This version of the syllabus: 26 Feb 2025

<sup>\*</sup>This course takes inspiration from the courses *Political Culture*, by Elias Dinas at the European University Institute, *Political Culture & Norms: How Societies Change*, by Daniel Bischof at Aarhus University, and *Advanced Topics in Political Economy*, by Amuitz Garmendia at the University Carlos III of Madrid.

# 2 Course Organization

The course is organized as a block seminar that will run during the Spring term of 2025. Each block will consist of three or four sessions concentrated on a Friday or Saturday. The first block will introduce the core conceptual tools in the study of political culture, such as the concepts of social norms, group identity or cultural transmission. The second and third blocks will then delve into specific political behavior topics revisited from a cultural perspective, such as voting preferences, electoral turnout or inter-group relations. We will also investigate the interaction between political and cultural change and assess the conditions under which they may reinforce or contain each other. Finally, students will present their research proposals on one of these topics.

#### **Block dates**

Block I. Date 28.02.2025 / Time 9:15-17:00

Block II. Date 21.03.2025 / Time 9:15-15:30

Block III. Date 11.04.2025 / Time 9:15-15:30

Block IV. Date 24.05.2025 / Time 9:15-17:00

# 3 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- (knowledge) approach political science topics from a cultural perspective. They will have a clear notion of the concepts of social norms, social identity, cultural origins, transmission and persistence. Moreover, they will have a clear overview of the main cultural explanations of political behavior.
- (competence critical reading) read scientific articles critically, and connect ideas from different fields, such as cultural sociology, historical political economy, and political behavior, in an interdisciplinary manner.

- (competence research skills) develop original ideas, frame them within the relevant literature, turn them into testable hypotheses, and come up with feasible research designs to test them.
- (competence writing skills) write critical response papers to scientific articles on political culture topics. They will also be able to write a research proposal following scientific standards.
- (competence communication) debate in front of and with their colleagues; communicate complex concepts effectively to a broad audience.

## 4 Course Requirements

This course is open to any advanced bachelor's students and master's students interested in the role of culture in politics, without the requirement to be enrolled in any specific program. However, most of the readings will use and engage with political science theories and jargon, so non-political science students may find some concepts challenging. Additionally, no prior knowledge of programming or statistics is required, but most papers will employ econometrics and statistical analyses, so some basic familiarity with these methods is recommended.

# 5 Teaching Policy

Each session will consist of a mix of lecturing parts, in which the lecturer will present, discuss and expand on the readings, and discussion parts, where we will engage in open debates and group activities to reflect critically on the session topic. These latter parts will also focus on the research design aspects of the readings and how to carry students' ideas. The goal is to build research skills gradually so that the final evaluation assignment is dealt with since the beginning of the course.

All students are expected to study all the mandatory readings before class. Slides are not intended to replace given texts and will only be distributed after each session.

# 6 Integration and Interaction Policy

Discrimination due to race, gender, ethnicity, or sexual orientation is strictly forbidden in this course. Students are encouraged to use inclusive language and to respect the sexual and gender identification of others. During each session, the lecturer will actively promote equal participation within the class. More generally, interventions must be carried out respectfully, integrating and engaging with different views and perspectives. Discouraging language or other bullying strategies are strictly forbidden, too.

# 7 Artificial Intelligence (AI) Policy

The use of ChatGPT and other generative AI tools for preparing class materials is allowed. However, these tools should augment, not replace, human effort (e.g., students should not copy and paste content directly from these tools). The primary concern is not grades but the quality of class discussions, which are central to evaluation. Relying on AI to substitute for human work will hinder meaningful discussion and, ultimately, not only the grade but the learning outcomes.

To help enforcing this policy, students are required to declare the use of AI and specify its scope in an appendix when submitting presentation slides, the research proposal and response papers.

## 8 Evaluation

## Mandatory Requirements (4 credits)

To receive the credits, students are expected to fulfill the following criteria:

#### 1. Attend all the sessions

Attendance is mandatory. Students can miss a maximum of two sessions. Missing more sessions without a justified certificate of absence implies failing the course.

#### 2. Do the mandatory readings before each session

This course is reading-intensive. Therefore, I recommend reviewing the following blog entries, which will help you develop effective strategies for reading and critically engaging with scientific articles:

- How to Read a Scientific Article
- How to Critique a Scientific Article

These resources provide practical guidance on identifying key arguments, assessing the strength of evidence, and critically evaluating research contributions.

Still, the readings may contain complex methodological aspects that could distract from their substantive focus. To help students keep track of the most important aspects of each reading and to center the class discussion, the lecturer will also post **reading questions** for each session in OLAT before the corresponding block. Students do not need to submit their answers to these questions, *nor will they be evaluated*, but they will be helpful to managing the reading loads and discussions.

The texts will be uploaded to the materials folder in OLAT before each block of sessions.

#### 3. Participate actively

Active engagement involves intervening during the discussion with questions, comments and ideas, reflecting on the content of the readings. Students are always encouraged to raise new arguments and debates.

#### 4. Write two response papers

Students must select one session from Block II and one session from Block III, and write one short response paper (500-700 words) to each of them. The response papers should focus on one of the mandatory readings, however, students will benefit from linking them with ideas from additional readings.

#### A good response paper should:

- Start with a short summary of the paper. It should not be a summary of the content but of the main argument and findings.
- *Identify the contribution*. It should state clearly what bigger problem or question the author is contributing to addressing.
- Evaluate the argument from a critical perspective. It should identify the main limitations of the paper and propose ways in which these limitations should be addressed either by the author or in future research.

#### The submission rules are:

- Students must upload their response papers to the *Response papers* folder in OLAT.
- The deadline for submitting the response paper is at least one week before the corresponding session, that is, the **previous Friday at noon (12:00)**.
- The file must be in Word. The title should include the session's number followed by the student's surname in capital letters and the response paper number (either 1 or 2). For example: session05 CANALEJO 1.

#### 5. Write a research proposal

The primary objective of this assignment is to enable students to conceptualize and design an original research study on a topic related to political culture. This task will draw upon the readings, discussions, and ideas explored throughout the course, allowing students to apply their knowledge in a practical and creative manner.

The research proposal will follow the structure of a standard academic paper. However, unlike traditional research papers, students are not required to include a data and results section. Instead, the emphasis will be on crafting a robust research design that could feasibly be executed in the field. The papers must have **between 2500 and 3500 words.** 

#### Components of the research proposal

#### 1. Introduction

- Research Question: Begin with a clear and well-articulated research question. This question should be both relevant to the course material and original in its perspective.
- **Justification:** Explain the significance of your research question. Why is it important? How does it contribute to the existing body of knowledge?

#### 2. Literature Review

- Survey the existing literature relevant to your research question.
- Identify gaps or areas of contention in the current literature that your research aims to address.
- Ensure that your sources are credible and relevant to your topic.

#### 3. Theory Section

- Develop a theoretical framework that will guide your research.
- Clearly state the assumptions you're working under.
- **Hypotheses:** Based on your theoretical framework, propose specific hypotheses that you aim to test or explore with your research.

#### 4. Research Design

- Describe the methodology you intend to use to test your hypotheses.
- Discuss your choice of research methods, be it qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods.
- Explain how your chosen methods are best suited to address your research question and hypotheses.
- Consider potential challenges or limitations of your research design and discuss how you plan to address them.

#### Deadline and mid-steps

Students are asked to upload a research question proposal to OLAT by Thursday, the 20th of March, at noon (12.00). This exercise will not be evaluated but is intended to help students begin shaping their research proposal ideas. A break will be incorporated into the Block II sessions to discuss the research questions and provide peer feedback. Research questions should be uploaded to the folder Research questions within the Research proposals folder in OLAT.

Students should also upload a brief research proposal outline (maximum 1 page) to OLAT by Thursday, the 10th of April, at noon (12.00). Again, this exercise will not be evaluated but will help students prepare their final research proposal. A break will be included in the Block III sessions to discuss the outlines and provide peer feedback. Research proposal outlines should be uploaded to the folder Research proposal outlines within the Research proposals folder in OLAT.

Finally, students must upload their **research proposal** by **Friday**, **the 2nd of May**, **at noon (12:00)**, three weeks after Block III. The evaluation of the research proposal will be based entirely on this document. Research proposals must be uploaded to the folder *Research proposals (final)* within the *Research proposals* folder in OLAT. The name of the file should be *research\_proposal\_YOURSURNAME* (e.g., *research\_proposal\_CANALEJO*). The file must be in Word or PDF.

#### Recommendation

While students are encouraged to choose any topic of interest within the realm of political culture, it is advisable to consult with the lecturer during the topic selection process to ensure alignment with course objectives and academic rigor.

#### 6. Present their research proposal

Following the submission of the research proposal, students will receive personalized feedback from the lecturer. They must reflect on this feedback, make corrections and improvements to their research proposal, and prepare a presentation that will take place on the last Block of the course.

The presentation of the research proposal is just as important as the proposal itself. The key objective of the course is not merely for students to write a strong research proposal but to demonstrate their ability to incorporate feedback from the lecturer, make necessary revisions, and refine their work to address its limitations and weaknesses effectively.

The presentation must follow the same structure as the research proposal and make explicit references to the changes made in response to the lecturer's feedback. It must last a maximum of 15 minutes and will be followed by an open discussion.

The presentation slides must be uploaded to the folder *Presentations* in OLAT at the beginning of the week of the last Block, by Wednesday, the 21th of May, at noon (12:00). This will allow students and the lecturer to prepare comments in advance. The name of the slides file should be *presentation\_slides\_YOURSURNAME* (e.g., *presentation\_slides\_CANALEJO*).

#### How to make a good presentation

• Summarize the Core Ideas: Briefly summarize the motivation (interest, puzzle, or gap), research question, and main argument of your proposal.

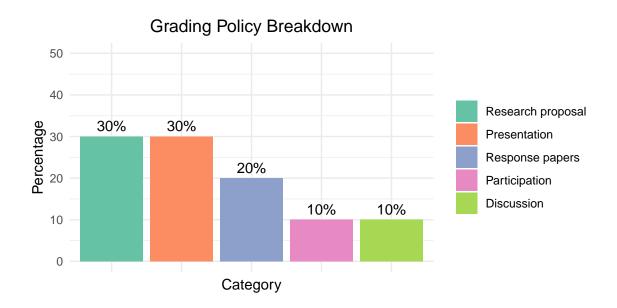
- Develop Your Argument: Clearly articulate your theoretical framework and explain how it informs your research question. Define key concepts and clarify their relationships. If relevant, outline competing perspectives and justify your approach. Use concrete examples or empirical evidence where possible to illustrate your argument and make it more persuasive.
- Explain Your Research Design: Describe the methodology you will use to answer your research question. Specify the type of data, case selection, variables of interest, and analytical strategy. Justify your choices and explain how your approach allows you to test your argument effectively.
- Evaluation Criteria: The presentation will be evaluated based on clarity and communication effectiveness, understanding of key concepts, quality of reasoning, and suitability and feasibility of the proposed research design.
- Avoiding Common Pitfalls: Poor presentations often suffer from overcrowded slides, superficial content, and poor time management. To avoid these issues, start preparing the presentation well in advance, sketch the presentation content beforehand, rehearse to ensure it fits within the 15-minute limit, and refine the slides by removing redundant content. Practicing in front of a friend and seeking feedback can also help improve the presentation. Additionally, ensure that visuals (graphs, tables, or figures) are clear and support your argument rather than serving as mere decoration.

#### 7. Serve as discussant

At the beginning of the course, during the organization of the presentations, each student will be assigned as a discussant of another student's presentation. The discussant will use the presentation slideS to prepare comments in advance that will share after the presentation.

### **Grading policy**

- 10% of the grade is determined by the quality and quantity of the participation in class.
- 20% of the grade is determined by the response papers.
- 30% of the grade is determined by the written research proposal.
- 30% of the grade is determined by the presentation.
- 10% of the grade is determined by the quality of the discussion.



## Seminar Paper (6 credits)

Students can choose to write a seminar paper to obtain six extra credits. The seminar paper must have between 5000 and 7000 words for a hauptseminar paper and between 7000 and 9000 words for a master seminar paper. The topic should be agreed upon between the instructor and the student. To this end, students are asked to write a paper outline of 1-2 pages consisting of the following elements:

- Introduction of the topic
- Research question
- Academic and societal relevance
- Theories and hypotheses
- Approach and structure of the paper (including a tentative empirical design)

The deadline for the submission of the paper outline is May 9th 2025.

The deadline for the submission of the seminar paper can be agreed with the lecturer, altough and approximate deadline is **September 1st 2025**.

Please refer to the Guidelines on How to Do Research of the Department of Political Science for more details.

Students are strongly encouraged to develop their research proposal assignment for their seminar paper.

## 9 Office Hours

This course is a block seminar and does not follow a weekly basis. Therefore, there are not weekly office hours. Instead, any student can send an e-mail to the lecturer at alvaro.canalejo@unilu.ch to schedule a meeting within a one-week time.

The required readings for this course are listed in the Course Schedule section below.

## 10 Course Schedule

The list of readings is tentative and may be updated before each block.

## Block I. Introduction to Political Culture (28.02.25 / 9:15–17:00)

This block introduces the conceptual framework of the course. It discusses the notions of culture, social norms and group identity, exploring how cultural differentiation occurs and persists. This introductory block aims to provide the analytic tools to study political behavior from a cultural perspective. It will allow us to dig into specific topics in blocks II and III.

#### Session 1. Introduction to the course (28.02.25 / 9:15-10:45)

#### Required readings:

- Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world? Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 33 (2–3), 61–83, discussion 83–135.
- Jared Rubin (2020). Culture in Historical Political Economy. Broadstreet blogpost

- Alesina, A., & Fuchs-Schündeln, N. (2007). Good-bye lenin (or not?): The effect of communism on people's preferences. American Economic Review, 97(4), 1507–1528.
- Becker, S. O., & Voth, H.-J. (2023). From the Death of God to the Rise of Hitler [{SSRN} {Scholarly} {Paper}]. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4622026
- Lee, M. M., Zhang, N., & Herchenroeder, T. (2024). From pluribus to unum? The civil war and imagined sovereignty in nineteenth-century america. American Political Science Review, 118(1), 127–143.
- Vadlamannati, K. C., & Brazys, S. (2023). Does cultural diversity hinder the implementation of IMF-supported programs? An empirical investigation. The Review of International Organizations, 18(1), 87–116.

#### Session 2. A scientific approach to culture (28.02.25 / 11:00–12:30)

#### Required readings:

- Henrich, J. (2015). The Secret of Our Success: How Culture Is Driving Human Evolution, Domesticating Our Species, and Making Us Smarter. Ch. 1-2
- Bail, C. A. (2014). The cultural environment: Measuring culture with big data. Theory and Society, 43(3), 465–482.

- Almond, Gabriel Abraham, and Sidney Verba. "The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations." (2015): 1-576.
- Boyd, R., & Richerson, P. J. (1987). The evolution of ethnic markers. Cultural Anthropology, 2(1), 65–79.
- Cao, Y., Zhou, L., Lee, S., Cabello, L., Chen, M., & Hershcovich, D. (2023). Assessing cross-cultural alignment between ChatGPT and human societies: An empirical study. arXiv preprint arXiv:2303.17466.
- Cohen, A. B., Wu, M. S., & Miller, J. (2016). Religion and culture: Individualism and collectivism in the east and west. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 47(9), 1236–1249.
- Cohen, D., Nisbett, R. E., Bowdle, B. F., & Schwarz, N. (1996). Insult, aggression, and the southern culture of honor: An" experimental ethnography.". Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70(5), 945.
- D'Andrade, R. (2008). Some kinds of causal powers that make up culture. In Explaining Culture Scientifically, 19-36.
- Haidt, J., Koller, S. H., & Dias, M. G. (1993). Affect, culture, and morality, or is it wrong to eat your dog? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65(4), 613.

- Kitayama, S., Duffy, S., Kawamura, T., & Larsen, J. T. (2003). Perceiving an object and its context in different cultures: A cultural look at new look. Psychological Science, 14(3), 201–206.
- Lena, J. C., Lizardo, O., McDonnell, T. E., Mische, A., Tavory, I., Wherry, F. F. V., ... & Frye, M. (2019). *Measuring culture*. Columbia University Press.
- Lenz, G. S. (2009). Learning and opinion change, not priming: Reconsidering the priming hypothesis. American Journal of Political Science, 53(4), 821–837.
- Miyamoto, Y., Nisbett, R. E., & Masuda, T. (2006). Culture and the physical environment: Holistic versus analytic perceptual affordances. Psychological Science, 17(2), 113–119.
- Putnam, R. D. (1994). Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy. Princeton university press.

#### Session 3. Social norms and social identity (28.02.25 / 13:45–15:15)

#### Required readings:

- Bicchieri, C. (2016). Norms in the wild: How to diagnose, measure, and change social norms. Oxford University Press. Ch. 1
- Huddy, L. (2001). From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory. Political Psychology, 22(1), 127–156. https://doi.org/10.1111/0162-895X.00230

- Cialdini, R. B., & Trost, M. R. (1998). Social influence: Social norms, conformity and compliance. In *The Handbook of Social Psychology*. Wiley.
- Shayo, M. (2009). A Model of Social Identity with an Application to Political Economy: Nation, Class, and Redistribution. American Political Science Review, 103(2), 147–174. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055409090194

- Tajfel, H. (1982). Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations. Annual Review of Psychology, 33(1), 1–39. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.33.020182.000245
- Valentim, V. (2023). Social Norms (Entry for the Encyclopedia of Political Sociology).

#### Session 4. Cultural origins, evolution and persistence (28.02.25 / 15:30–17:00)

#### Required readings:

- Axelrod, R. (1997). The dissemination of culture: A model with local convergence and global polarization. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 41(2), 203–226.
- Lowes, Sara. (2022). "Culture in Historical Political Economy". National Bureau of Economic Research, no. w30511.

- Alesina, A., Giuliano, P., & Nunn, N. (2013). On the origins of gender roles: Women and the plough. The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 128(2), 469–530.
- Axelrod, R. (1986). An Evolutionary Approach to Norms. American Political Science Review, 80(4), 1095–1111. https://doi.org/10.2307/1960858
- Bisin, A., & Verdier, T. (2011). The Economics of Cultural Transmission and Socialization. In J. Benhabib, A. Bisin, & M. O. Jackson (Eds.), Handbook of Social Economics (Vol. 1, pp. 339–416). North-Holland. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-444-53187-2.00009-7
- Dehdari, S. H., & Gehring, K. (2017). The origins of common identity: Division, homogenization policies and identity formation in Alsace-Lorraine. CESifo Working Paper Series.
- Michalopoulos, S. (2012). The origins of ethnolinguistic diversity. American Economic Review, 102(4), 1508–1539.

- Nunn, N., & Wantchekon, L. (2011). The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa. American Economic Review, 101(7), 3221–3252. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.101.7.3221
- Nunn, N. (2022). On the Dynamics of Human Behavior: The Past, Present, and Future of Culture, Conflict, and Cooperation (Working Paper 29804). National Bureau of Economic Research. https://doi.org/10.3386/w29804
- Talhelm, T., & English, A. S. (2020). Historically rice-farming societies have tighter social norms in China and worldwide. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 117(33), 19816–19824. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1909909117

## Block II. Topics in Political Culture I (21.03.25 / 9:15–15:30)

This block dives into the study of specific political behavior topics from a cultural perspective. It focuses on three topics: vote choice, electoral turnout and inter-group conflict.

In addition, we will discuss your research interests and prepare guidelines to craft and choose a research question.

## Session 5. The cultural determinants of vote choice (21.03.25 / 9:15-10:45)

Required readings:

- Ziblatt, D., Hilbig, H., & Bischof, D. (2023). Wealth of Tongues: Why Peripheral Regions Vote for the Radical Right in Germany. American Political Science Review, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055423000862
- Domènech, J., & Sánchez-Cuenca, I. (2022). The Long Shadow of Agrarian Conflict: Agrarian Inequality and Voting in Spain. British Journal of Political Science, 52(4), 1668–1688.

- Albertus, M. (2023). The Political Price of Authoritarian Control: Evidence from Francoist Land Settlements in Spain. The Journal of Politics, 000–000. https://doi.org/10.1086/723991
- Acemoglu, D., De Feo, G., De Luca, G., & Russo, G. (2022). War, Socialism, and the Rise of Fascism: An Empirical Exploration. The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 137(2), 1233–1296.
- Carillo, M. F. (2018). Fascistville: Mussolini's New Towns and the Persistence of Neo-Fascism.
- Charnysh, V., & Peisakhin, L. (2022). The Role of Communities in the Transmission of Political Values: Evidence from Forced Population Transfers. British Journal of Political Science, 52(1), 238–258.
- Menon, A. (2022). The Political Legacy of Forced Migration: Evidence from Post-WWII Germany. Comparative Political Studies, 00104140221141833.
- Haffert, L. (2022). The Long-Term Effects of Oppression: Prussia, Political Catholicism, and the Alternative für Deutschland. American Political Science Review, 116(2), 595–614.
- Paulsen, T., Scheve, K., & Stasavage, D. (2021). Foundations of a New Democracy: Schooling, Inequality, and Voting in the Early Republic. American Political Science Review, 1–19.
- Ponticelli, J., & Miao, M. (2022). Eclipses and the Memory of Revolutions: Evidence from China.

## Session 6. The social norm of voting turnout (21.03.25 / 11:00-12:30)

#### Required readings:

• Gerber, A. S., Green, D. P., & Larimer, C. W. (2008). Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment. American Political Science Review, 102(1), 33–48. https://doi.org/10.1017/S000305540808009X

• Doherty, D., Dowling, C. M., Gerber, A. S., & Huber, G. A. (2017). Are Voting Norms Conditional? How Electoral Context and Peer Behavior Shape the Social Returns to Voting. The Journal of Politics, 79(3), 1095–1100. https://doi.org/10.1086/691689

#### Additional readings:

- Blais, A., & Achen, C. H. (2019). Civic Duty and Voter Turnout. Political Behavior, 41(2), 473–497. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-018-9459-3
- Gerber, A. S., & Rogers, T. (2009). Descriptive Social Norms and Motivation to Vote: Everybody's Voting and so Should You. The Journal of Politics, 71(1), 178–191. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381608090117

# Session 7. Conflicting identities and inter-group relations (21.03.25 / 14:00-15:30)

#### Required readings:

- Levendusky, M. S. (2018). Americans, Not Partisans: Can Priming American National Identity Reduce Affective Polarization? The Journal of Politics, 80(1), 59–70. https://doi.org/10.1086/693987
- Turnbull-Dugarte, S. J., & López Ortega, A. (2023). Instrumentally Inclusive: The Political Psychology of Homonationalism. American Political Science Review, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055423000849

- Dinas, E., Fouka, V., & Schläpfer, A. (2021). Family History and Attitudes toward Out-Groups: Evidence from the European Refugee Crisis. The Journal of Politics, 83(2), 647–661.
- Fouka, V., & Tabellini, M. (2022). Changing in-group boundaries: The effect of immigration on race relations in the United States. American Political Science Review, 116(3), 968–984.

- Gershon, R., & Fridman, A. (2022). Individuals prefer to harm their own group rather than help an opposing group. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 119(49), e2215633119.
- Rubenson, D., & Dawes, C. T. (2022). Subtle primes of in-group and out-group affiliation change votes in a large scale field experiment. Scientific Reports, 12(1), 22526.

## Block III. Topics in Political Culture II (11.04.2025 / 9:15–15:30)

This block digs further into the relationship between culture and politics, exploring how political change can induce cultural change and *vice versa*. It also looks at the opposite: how 'sticky' cultural preferences can contain political change. The goal is to identify patterns of reinforcement and contention between politics and culture.

We will also discuss your ideas for the research proposal and discuss the elements that your research proposal must contain.

# Session 8. Political change and ideological (de-)stigmatization (11.04.2025 / 9:15-10:45)

Required readings:

- Valentim, V. (2022). Political Stigmatization and Preference Falsification: Theory and Observational Evidence (SSRN Scholarly Paper 4023263). https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4023263
- Dinas, E., Martínez, S., & Valentim, V. (2023). Social Norm Change, Political Symbols, and Expression of Stigmatized Preferences. The Journal of Politics. https://doi.org/10.1086/726951

- Alesina, A., & Fuchs-Schündeln, N. (2007). Good-bye Lenin (or not?): The effect of communism on people's preferences. American Economic Review, 97(4), 1507– 1528.
- Bursztyn, L., Egorov, G., & Fiorin, S. (2020). From extreme to mainstream: The erosion of social norms. American Economic Review, 110(11), 3522–3548.
- Clayton, K., Davis, N. T., Nyhan, B., Porter, E., Ryan, T. J., & Wood, T. J. (2021). Elite rhetoric can undermine democratic norms. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 118(23), e2024125118. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2024125118
- Colombo, F. (2022). Collective Memory and the Stigmatization of Authoritarian Nostalgia: Evidence from Italy.
- Dinas, E., & Northmore-Ball, K. (2020). The ideological shadow of authoritarianism. Comparative Political Studies, 53(12), 1957–1991.
- Valentim, V. (2021). Parliamentary Representation and the Normalization of Radical Right Support. Comparative Political Studies, 0010414021997159. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414021997159
- Valentim, V. (2024). The normalization of the radical right: A norms theory of political supply and demand. Oxford University Press.

## Session 9. Institutions and cultural change (11.04.2025 / 11:00-12:30)

#### Required readings:

- Bau, N. (2021). Can Policy Change Culture? Government Pension Plans and Traditional Kinship Practices. American Economic Review, 111(6), 1880–1917. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20190098
- Tankard, M. E., & Paluck, E. L. (2017). The effect of a Supreme Court decision regarding gay marriage on social norms and personal attitudes. Psychological Science, 28(9), 1334–1344.

#### Additional readings:

- Finseraas, H., Kotsadam, A., & Polavieja, J. (2020). Ancestry Culture, Assimilation, and Voter Turnout in Two Generations. Political Behavior, 1–26.
- Fouka, V. (2020). Backlash: The unintended effects of language prohibition in US schools after World War I. The Review of Economic Studies, 87(1), 204–239.
- Lowes, S., Nunn, N., Robinson, J. A., & Weigel, J. L. (2017). The evolution of culture and institutions: Evidence from the Kuba Kingdom. Econometrica, 85(4), 1065–1091.
- Villamil, F., & Balcells, L. (2021). Do TJ policies cause backlash? Evidence from street name changes in Spain. Research & Politics.

#### Session 10. Cultural change and backlash (11.04.2025 / 14:00-15:30)

#### Required readings:

- Gándara, N. (2023). 'We are your pack': Feminist Social Movements on Countering Violence Against Women
- Anduiza, E., & Rico, G. (2022). Sexism and the Far-Right Vote: The Individual Dynamics of Gender Backlash. American Journal of Political Science. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12759

- Baccini, L., & Weymouth, S. (2021). Gone for good: Deindustrialization, white voter backlash, and US presidential voting. American Political Science Review, 115(2), 550–567.
- de Abreu Maia, L., Chiu, A., & Desposato, S. (2023). No Evidence of Backlash: LGBT Rights in Latin America. The Journal of Politics, 85(1), 000–000.

- Guess, A., & Coppock, A. (2018). Does counter-attitudinal information cause backlash? Results from three large survey experiments. British Journal of Political Science, 1–19.
- Off, G. (2022). Gender equality salience, backlash and radical right voting in the gender-equal context of Sweden. West European Politics, 1–26.
- Schäfer, A. (2021). Cultural Backlash? How (Not) to Explain the Rise of Authoritarian Populism. British Journal of Political Science, 1–17.
- Walter, S. (2021). The backlash against globalization. Annual Review of Political Science, 24, 421–442.

## Block IV. Presentations (24.05.2025 / 9:15-17:00)

In this final block, students will present their research proposals and connect them to the topics studied during the course. If time allows, the final session will include a feedback loop and a wrapping-up discussion.

Session 11. Presentations I (24.05.2025 / 9:15-10:45)

Session 12. Presentations II (24.05.2025 / 11:00-12:30)

Session 13. Presentations III (24.05.2025 / 13:45–15:15)

Session 14. Presentations IV / Wrap-up session (24.05.2025 / 15:30-17:00)