

CROSS-LEVEL INFERENCE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

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Abstract. Political Science research encounters inferences across levels of analysis; however, they are fraught with challenges. After introducing voting examples of aggregation bias, problems posed by aggregation bias are summarized more generally. Subsequently, the article reviews the major methodological approaches to overcome aggregation bias and to solve the ecological inference (disaggregation) problem. The article highlights the possibility that aggregation bias may lead governments to accept (or reject) international climate agreements when negotiating as blocs of countries as compared to the distribution of the preferences of all countries involved in the negotiations.

Keywords: cross-level inference, political science, aggregation bias, ecological fallacy.

[T]here may or not may be a unanimously preferred outcome. And even if one of the outcomes is unanimously chosen, we cannot infer that it is preferred from the fact that it is universally chosen.

(Schelling 1978, 98-99)

1. The Problem of Cross-Level Inference

Schelling's observation points to the problem of incongruity between individual preferences and collective outcomes and the challenge to make inferences from one level of analysis about another level. Fortunately, social scientists have a long tradition in modeling across various levels of analysis or levels of aggregation. While economists often distinguish microeconomics (e.g., the study of individual firms, individual consumers, etc.) and macroeconomics (e.g., whole economies as part of the world economy), sociologists distinguish, *inter alia*, individuals, groups, and states. Similarly, political scientists, especially specialists in international relations, focus on at least three levels of analysis such as the individual decision-maker, country aggregates (e.g., country positions in international environmental negotiations), and the international system of countries (e.g., the occurrence of international war on the global level) (see Singer 1969; Waltz 1959; Waltz 1979). However, the problems encountered by making inferences across various levels of analysis do not necessarily receive



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