

**POSC 255**  
**SEMINAR IN AMERICAN ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR**  
**Winter 2003**  
**Fridays 2-5 PM**

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Hours: Tuesday and Wednesday, 10:30-11:30 a.m. and by appointment

This course explores electoral behavior in the U.S., with a focus on the major models of voting behavior scholars have developed and used since 1945. We will also take an interest in voter turnout, economic voting, the comparative political behavior of members of different racial and ethnic groups, and the role emotions, or affects, play in voter decision-making.

This course is intended to provide you with a thorough review of literature and prepare you to demonstrate this knowledge on a field examination treating mass political behavior as well as in the design of your own original research.

While the readings, coursework, and most of our discussion will likely focus on U.S. behavior, the readings may from time to time discuss electoral behavior in other countries and other comparative research.

***Required Books***

Campbell, Angus, Phillip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald T. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*  
Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*.

Fiorina, Morris. 1980. *Retrospective Voting*

Lazarsfeld, Bernard, Paul L. Berelson, and William McPhee. 1954. *Voting*

Leighley, Jan. 2001. *Strength in Numbers*

Marcus, George, W. Russell Neuman, and Michael MacKuen. 2000. *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*.

Rosenstone, Steven J., and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation and Democracy in America*.

Teixeira, Ruy. 1992. *The Disappearing American Voter*.

Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*.

In addition to these books, there will be a great deal of supplementary readings, discussed below. Most of these will be available either through J-STOR ([www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)) or through other electronic resources at the library ([library.ucr.edu](http://library.ucr.edu)).

Note these abbreviations, many of which are likely familiar to you: *APSR* (*American Political Science Review*), *AJPS* (*American Journal of Political Science*), *BJPS* (*British Journal of Political Science*), *JOP* (*Journal of Politics*), *APQ* (*American Politics Quarterly*), *POQ* (*Public Opinion Quarterly*), *PB* (*Political Behavior*)

**Course Assignments**

*Weekly Readings Memoranda*

In order to help you prepare for class discussion, I would like you to write a memo each week responding to the readings. The reaction memos should discuss issues raised by the readings, incorporating your own original thoughts about them. Compare and contrast the readings, critique theory and methodology.

Pay particular attention to how these readings integrate with your own research. These should be about 3 pages, but the important thing is your insight, not the length of the writing.

### *Alternative Reading Summaries*

Each week several class participants will be absolved of their responsibilities for a readings memorandum, instead producing summaries of assigned alternative readings. The journals are filled with interesting research articles well beyond the scope of any single student's ability to read in a single 10-week period. Consequently, to expose you to additional readings, I will ask several students each week to read an additional 2-3 articles or a supplementary book. These students will provide summaries of their extra readings to everyone in the class.

Whether you are writing a memorandum or summaries of extra readings, your written work will be due by the end of day Thursday. You should either place this in my mailbox or e-mail it to me at [martin.johnson@ucr.edu](mailto:martin.johnson@ucr.edu). These weekly writing assignments are worth a 30 percent of your course grade.

### *Directed Literature Review*

After the first five weeks of class, I will ask you to begin work on a longer writing project. This will be an expansion of your reaction memos, about 10 pages in length. Specifically, a major issue for political researchers remains the relative strengths and weaknesses of each of three major sets of explanations for political and social behavior: a "socialized" or "socializing" explanation that recognizes interdependencies among political decision makers, and two "individualizing" explanations, centered on internal psychological factors and the incentives individuals face respectively. These explanations roughly correspond to the Columbia, Michigan, and rational choice perspectives we will discuss in January.

Your literature review will primarily compare and contrast the merits and liabilities of these three major models. However, I would like to work with you individually on the specific direction for your midterm literature review in order to tailor it to your specific on-going research interests. In the service of this goal, I will plan to schedule a brief meeting with each of you during the week of February 3. The literature review is due February 18. It is worth 30 percent of your grade.

### *Final Exam*

In addition to these weekly writing assignments, we will have a final exam. This final will roughly mirror a field examination in mass political behavior, with questions focused on elections and voter decision-making. The exam will be self-scheduled during exam week (March 17-21). You will pick up the exam from me and have 48 hours to complete it. This will be a take-home open-book examination, worth 40 percent of your grade.

### *Summary*

Weekly writing assignments & class participation	30%
Directed Literature Review	30%
Final Exam	40%

## **Course Outline**

### Jan. 3 Introduction

Getting acquainted with each other and the study of political behavior

Gosnell, Harold F. 1926. "An Experiment in the Stimulation of Voting." *APSR* 20(4):869-74.

Jan. 10 Columbia, Social Learning, and Effects of Context

Berelson, Bernard R., Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. 1954. *Voting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.\*\*

Huckfeldt, Robert, and John Sprague. 1993. "Citizens, Contexts, and Politics." In Ada Finifter, ed. *The State of the Discipline II*. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association.

Key, V.O., and Frank Munger. 1959. "Social Determinism and Electoral Decision: The Case of Indiana." In *American Voting Behavior*, eds. E. Burdick and A.J. Brodbeck. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

***Additional readings***

Books, John W., and Charles L. Prysby. 1988. "Studying Contextual Effects on Political Behavior: A Research Inventory and Agenda." *APQ* 16:211-38.

Brown, Thad A. 1981. "On Contextual Change and Partisan Attitudes." *BJPS* 11:427-47.

Harvey, Anna L. 2001. "Partisanship as a Social Convention." *Rationality and Society* 13:462-504.

Huckfeldt, R. Robert, and John Sprague. 1991. "Discussant Effects on Vote Choice: Intimacy, Structure, and Interdependence." *JOP* 53(1):122-58.

Burbank, Matthew J. 1997. "Explaining Contextual Effects on Vote Choice." *PB* 19:113-32.

Mutz, Diana C. 1992. "Impersonal Influence: Effects of Representations of Public Opinion on Political Attitudes." *PB* 14:89-122.

Jan. 17 Michigan, the National Election Studies, and Party Identification

Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. *The American Voter*.\*\*

Sapiro, Virginia. 1998. *NES Contributions to Scholarship: A Review*.  
<http://www.umich.edu/~nes/resources/papers/sapintro.htm>

***Additional Readings****Measuring Party Identification*

Green, Donald P., and Eric Schickler. 1993. "Multiple-Measure Assessment of Party Identification." *POQ* 57(4):503-35,

Keith, Bruce E., David B. Magleby, Candice L. Nelson, Elizabeth Orr, Mark C. Westlye. 1986. "The Partisan Affinities of Independent 'Leaners'," *BJPS* 16: 155-85.

Niemi, Richard H., David Reed, and Herbert F. Weisberg. 1991. "The Nature and Measure of Partisanship," *PB* 13: 213-21.

*Decline of Parties and Partisanship*

Abramson, Paul R. 1976. "Generational Change and the Decline of Party Identification," *APSR* 70: 469-78.

Bartels, Larry M. 2000. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996." *AJPS* 44:35-50.

Niemi, Richard, and Herbert Weisberg. 1976. "Are Political Parties Becoming Irrelevant?" In Niemi and Weisberg, eds. *Controversies in American Voting Behavior*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Co.

Jan. 24 Sophistication, Knowledge, and Persuasion

Converse, Phillip. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In David Apter, ed. *Ideology and Discontent*. Free Press.

Zaller, John. *The Nature and Origin of Mass Opinions*.

Iyengar, Shanto, and Adam F. Simon. 2000. "New Perspectives on Political Communication and Campaign Effects." *Annual Review of Psychology* 51:149-69.

***Additional Readings****Sophistication*

Conover, Pamela Johnston, and Stanley Feldman. 1984. "How People Organize the Political World: A Schematic Model." *AJPS* 28:95-126

Peffley, Mark A., and Jon Hurwitz. 1985. "A Hierarchical Model of Attitude Constraint." *AJPS* 29:871-90.

Nie, Norman H., and Kristi Anderson. 1974. "Mass Belief Systems Revisited: Political Change and Attitude Structure," *JOP* 8: 545-91.

*...Or Lack Thereof*

Lau, Richard R. and David P. Redlawsk. 1997. "Voting Correctly." *APSR* 91 (3, September): 585-598.

Galston, William A. 2001. "Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 217-234.

Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior on California Insurance Reform Elections." *APSR* 88:63-76

*Persuasion and Stability*

Bartels, Larry. 1996. "Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections." *AJPS* : 194-220.

Converse, Philip E. 1962. "Information Flow and the Stability of Partisan Attitudes." *POQ* 26:578-599.

Lodge, Milton, et al., "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation," *APSR*, 1995, pp. 309-326

Jan. 31 Rational Choice Perspectives and Controversies

Aldrich, John. 1993. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *AJPS* 37:246-78.

Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*.\*\*

Whiteley, Paul F. "Rational Choice and Political Participation – Evaluating the Debate." *PRQ* 48(1):211-33.

***Additional Readings***

*Critiques*

Green, Donald P., and Ian Shapiro. 1996. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory*. Chapters 2-4. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

*Defenses*

Fiorina, Morris P. 1996. "Rational Choice, Empirical Contributions and the Scientific Enterprise." In Jeffrey Friedman, ed. *The Rational Choice Controversy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Ordeshook, Peter C. 1996. "Engineering or Science: What is the Study of Politics?" In Jeffrey Friedman, ed. *The Rational Choice Controversy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

*Spatial vs. Directional Voting*

Rabinowitz, George, and Stuart Elaine McDonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting," *APSR* 83(1): 93-121.

Shepsle, Kenneth A., and Mark S. Bonchek. 1997. "Spatial Models of Majority Rule." In *Analyzing Politics: Rationality, Behavior, and Institutions* (chapter 5). New York: Norton.

Feb. 7. Institutions, Turnout and Voting

Institutions matter, you may have heard. But how? Readings for next week explore some of the ways institutions affect turnout, participation, vote decision, candidate or elite behavior, and social outcomes like representation. All will read the work in the **Aggregation Rules and Manipulation** and **Electoral Systems and Methods** sections. However, one person will be responsible for preparing summaries of the **Electoral Systems and Methods** readings. Everyone will write one page explaining how (and whether, perhaps) electoral institutions in the U.S. minimize concerns raised by the Condorcet paradox. Also, you need to make an appointment to talk about the longer writing assignment due February 18.

Aggregation Rules and Manipulation

Ordeshook, Peter. 1986. *Game Theory and Political Theory: An Introduction*. Chapter 2. New York : Cambridge University Press

Romer, Thomas and Howard Rosenthal. 1979. "Bureaucrats Versus Voters: On the Political Economy of Resource Allocation by Direct Democracy." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 93:563-587.

Electoral Systems and Methods

Bowler, Shaun, David Brockington, and Todd Donovan. 2001. "Election Systems and Voter Turnout: Experiments in the United States." *JOP* 63:902-915.

Robert W. Jackman. 1987. "Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies." *APSR* 81:405-424.

Voting Rights

Key, V.O., Jr. 1984[1949]. *Southern Politics in State and Nation: A New Edition*. Chapters 26-28. Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press.

Registration Rules and Turnout

Mitchell, Glenn E., II, and Christopher Wlezien. 1995. "The Impact of Legal Constraints on Voter Registration, Turnout and the Composition of the Electorate." *PB* 17:179-202.

Timpone, Richard. 1998. "Structure, Behavior, and Voter Turnout in the United States." *APSR* 92: 145-58.

Ballot Forms I

Miller, Joanne M. and Jon A. Krosnick. 1998. "The Impact of Candidate Name Order on Election Outcomes." *POQ* 62:291-330.

Walker, Jack L. 1966. "Ballot Forms and Voter Fatigue: An Analysis of the Office Block and Party Column Ballots" *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 10: 448-463.

Ballot Forms II

Cassel, Carol A. 1987. "The Nonpartisan Ballot and the Decline of American Parties: A Contextual Effect?" *PB* 9:246-256.

Rusk, Jerrold G. 1970. "The Effect of the Australian Ballot Reform on Split Ticket Voting: 1876-1908" *APSR* 64:220-1238.

Reforms

Highton, Benjamin. 1997. "Easy Registration and Voter Turnout," *JOP* : 565-75.

Stein, Robert M. 1998. "Early Voting" *POQ* 62:57-69.

Knack Stephen. 1995. "Does "Motor Voter" Work? Evidence from State-Level Data" *JOP* 57:796-811.

Feb. 14            The Economy, Issues, and Voting

Fiorina, Morris. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*.

Carmines, Edward G., and James A. Stimson. 1980. "The Two Faces of Issue Voting." *APSR* 74: 78-91.

Economic Voting I: Levels of Analysis

Kramer, Gerald H. 1983. "The Ecological Fallacy Revisited, Aggregate- versus Individual-Level Findings on Economics and Elections and Sociotropic Voting." *APSR* 77: 92-111.

MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1992. "Peasants or Bankers? The American Electorate and the U. S. Economy." *APSR* 86: 597-611.

Economic Voting II: Ego-centric and Sociotropic Judgments

Kinder, Donald R., and D. Roderick Kiewiet. 1979. "Economic Discontent and Political Behavior: The Role of Personal Grievances and Collective Economic Judgments in Congressional Voting." *AJPS* 23: 495-527.

Diana C. Mutz and Jeffery J. Mondak. 1997 "Dimensions of Sociotropic Behavior: Group-Based Judgments of Fairness and Well-Being." *AJPS* 41:284-308.

Economic Voting III: Cross-national Research

Pacek, Alexander C., and Benjamin Radcliff. 1995. "Economic Voting and the Welfare State: A Cross-National Analysis." *JOP* 57:44-61.

Powell, G. Bingham, and Guy D. Whitten. 1993. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context." *AJPS* 37:391-414.

Issue Voting and Issue Publics

Aldrich, John H., John L. Sullivan; Eugene Borgida. 1989. "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz Before a Blind Audience?'" *APSR* 83:123-41.

Krosnick, Jon A. 1990. "Government Policy and Citizen Passion: A Study of Issue Publics in Contemporary America." *PB* 12:59-92.

Issue Voting and Candidate Strategy

Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *AJPS* 40: 825-850.

Carmines, Edward G., and James A. Stimson, 1986. "On the Structure and Sequence of Issue Evolution." *APSR* 80:901-20.

**Feb. 18**            **Directed Literature Review Due**

Feb. 21            Affect

Marcus, George, W. Russell Neuman, and Michael MacKuen. 2000. *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*.

Lodge, Milton, and Charles Taber. 2000. "Three Steps Toward a Theory of Motivated Reasoning." In Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Samuel Popkin, eds. *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Feb. 28            Race, Ethnicity, and Voting Behavior

Leighley, Jan. 2001. *Strength in Numbers? The Political Mobilization of Racial and Ethnic Minorities*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Uhlener, Carole J. 1991. "'Relational Goods' and Participation: Incorporating Sociability into a Theory of Rational Action." *Public Choice* 62:253-85.

African-American Voting

Bobo, Lawrence, and Franklin D. Gilliam, Jr. 1992. "Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment." *APSR* 84: 377-393.

Hagner, Paul R., and John Pierce. 1984. "Racial Differences in Political Conceptualization," *Western Political Quarterly* 37: 212-35.

Tate, Katherine. 1991. "Black Political Participation in the 1984 and 1988 Presidential Elections." *APSR* 85:1159-1176.

Partisanship

Cain, Bruce E., D. Roderick Kiewiet, and Carole J. Uhlener. 1991. "The Acquisition of Partisanship by Latinos and Asian Americans." *AJPS* 35:390-422.

Glaser, James M. 1995. "Black and White Perceptions of Party Differences." *PB* 17:155-177.

Anglos Respond or React

Carsey, Thomas M. 1995 "The Contextual Effects of Race on White Behavior: The 1989 New York City Mayoral Election." *JOP* 57:221-228.

Terkildsen, Nayda. 1993. "When White Voters Evaluate Black Candidates: The Processing Implications of Candidate Skin Color, Prejudice, and Self-Monitoring." *AJPS* 37:1032-53.

Voss, D. Stephen. 1996. "Beyond Racial Threat: Failure of an Old Hypothesis in the New South." *JOP* 58:1156-1170.

Immigration and Immigrants

Bass, Loretta E., and Lynne M. Casper. 2001. "Impacting the Political Landscape: Who Registers and Votes among Naturalized Americans?" *PB* 23:103-30.

Cho, Wendy K. Tam. 1999. "Naturalization, Socialization, Participation: Immigrants and (Non-Voting)." *JOP* 61(4):1140-55.

Mar. 7 Declining Political Participation: An Overview

McDonald, Michael P., and Samuel Popkin. 2001. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *APSR* 95(4): 963-974.

Rosenstone, Steven J., and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation and Democracy in America*.

Teixeira, Ruy. 1992. *The Disappearing American Voter*.

Mar. 14 No Meeting

There is no class meeting next week, March 14. Also, I have canceled office hours next week. I will be attending the State Politics conference in Tucson, AZ. However, I will be available via e-mail so please contact me with any questions, thoughts, or concerns. If you find you need to talk between now and the final, e-mail me with a time and we can schedule a telephone conversation.

Your final exam will roughly mirror a field examination in mass political behavior, with questions focused on elections and voter decision-making. The exam will be self-scheduled during exam week (March 17-22). The deadline for completing this exam and turning it in to me is 5 p.m. Saturday, March 22.

You will pick up the exam from my office anytime that week (starting Monday) and have 48 hours to complete it. You will need to pick-up and begin the exam by the close of business Thursday afternoon (5 p.m.) in order to take full advantage of the 48 hours you have at your disposal prior to the close of business Saturday afternoon (5 p.m.). I will have the exams in my office, and am there most working hours, but you might schedule an appointment with me to pick-up the exam (or do so during office hours) so you don't catch me away from the office.

The exam will include three broad questions related to theoretical and empirical issues from the class. On at least two of the questions you will have a choice between two options, again like many Master's and Ph.D. exams. This will be a take-home open-book examination. However you may not work with each other on the final. It must represent your work alone.

As you prepare for the exam, you might find a few additional review pieces of interest:

Carmines, Edward G., and Robert Huckfeldt. 1996. "Political Behavior: An Overview." In Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, eds. *A New Handbook of Political Science*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kinder, Donald. 1998. "Opinion and Action in the Realm of Politics." In Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske, Gardner Lindzey, eds. *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Boston : McGraw-Hill.

Leighley, Jan E. 1995. "Attitudes, Opportunities, and Incentives: A Field Essay on Political Participation." *Political Research Quarterly* 48:181-209.

Simon, Herbert. 1985. "Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue Between Psychology and Rational Choice." *APSR* 79:293-304.

**Mar. 21 Final Exam Period Ends for POSC 255**