

**POLITICAL SCIENCE 496:  
VOTING BEHAVIOR AND ELECTIONS**

Winter 2004: Tuesday 12:00 to 2:00

**Professor Cara Wong**

<u>Office:</u>	Room 6642, Haven Hall Department of Political Science	<u>Office Hours:</u>	2:00 to 4:00, Tuesday Or by appointment
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This course is a seminar on voting and elections in the U.S., with an emphasis on presidential and congressional campaigns. We will examine elections from the perspectives of candidates, political parties, interest groups, the media, and voters. In addition, we will address some basic questions about election laws and processes, as well as the role of elections in American politics. Why do so many Americans fail to vote, and is low voter turnout a problem? Why do incumbents tend to win reelection at such high rates? How do the media and campaign finance laws influence electoral outcomes? And, does racial redistricting advance or undermine black representation? We will conclude the semester by looking at what happened in 2000, with an eye to the upcoming 2004 presidential election.

**Format:**

I will begin each seminar with an introduction to the readings, providing some context and general background about the problem or issue in question. However, the majority of the class time will be devoted to group discussion. Your primary obligation on a weekly basis is to complete the readings and be prepared to discuss them. Each seminar will focus on a critical analysis of the assigned readings for the week.

**Course Requirements & Grading:**

You will be required to write a short reaction paper each week. They should be no longer than one typed, single-spaced page each, and should be reflections on or critiques of the assigned readings. The following is a list of different approaches you might take: juxtapose and comment on alternative explanations or approaches to a substantive topic; criticize the methodologies used and propose other strategies of research; criticize the conceptualization or measurement of a particular construct; analyze the implications of a set of findings; suggest new questions and hypotheses for research; or develop similarities or contrasts with themes covered in previous weeks. The papers do not need to cover all of the readings for a week, but they should contain an argument and not merely a summary or description of the readings.

These papers must be emailed to me no later than noon on the Monday before the scheduled Tuesday session. These essays will serve as the starting point for group discussion.

In addition to these short essays, there will be one research paper on your choice of topic (roughly 20 pages, typed and double-spaced; the topic is subject to approval). Students should submit a preliminary paper topic (or topics) by January 20. A final topic and bibliography are due by February 10. A literature review is due on March 2. Students have the option of submitting a rough draft for comments by March 30. The final paper is due on April 20 *in class*. Late papers will be penalized 1/3 of a grade for each day late (e.g., an A paper automatically becomes an A-).

Your course grade will be based on the following breakdown:

Short 1-page essays	20%
Class participation	30%
Research Paper	50%

**Course Materials:**

There are 4 books ordered for the course. In addition, there are readings online (directly through JSTOR or PROQUEST, or at <http://www.lib.umich.edu/reserves/>). Some of the articles are survey-based in the political behavior tradition – Do not be scared away by the statistics! I do not expect you to critique any particular quantitative analysis. The books will all be made available on reserve at the Undergraduate Library.

Books Ordered:

- Blais, Andre. *To Vote or Not to Vote?*
- Crigler, Ann, et al. *Rethinking the Vote*
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin. *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman*
- West, Darrell M. *Checkbook Democracy*

Please note that the professor reserves the right to alter the syllabus and the requirements as necessary.

**Class Schedule & Readings**

Jan 6            **Introduction**

Jan 13          **Congressional Elections**

Readings:

Abramowitz, Alan I. 1988. "Explaining Senate Election Outcomes." *American Political Science Review* 82: 385-403.

Cox, Gary W. and Jonathan N. Katz. 1996. "Why did the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections Grow?" *American Journal of Political Science* 40:478-97.

Jacobson, Gary C. 2000. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*. 5th ed. Chapter 5 ("Congressional Voters"), Chapter 6 ("National Politics and Congressional Elections"). New York: Longman.

Jan 20

### **Electoral Structure**

Readings:

Abramson, Paul R., John H. Aldrich, Phil Paolino, and David W. Rohde. 1995. "Third-Party and Independent Candidates in American Politics: Wallace, Anderson, and Perot." *Political Science Quarterly* 110:349-67.

Fiorina, Morris P. 1992. "An Era of Divided Government." *Political Science Quarterly* 107:387-410.

Gamble, Barbara S. 1997. "Putting Civil Rights to a Popular Vote." *American Journal of Political Science* 41:245-69.

Richie, Robert and Steven Hill. 1999. *Reflecting All of Us: The Case for Proportional Representation*. (and "Cautionary Notes" by John Ferejohn). Boston: Beacon Press.

Jan 27

### **Linkage Between Constituents and Representatives**

Readings:

Carey, John M. 1996. *Term Limits and Legislative Representation*. Chapter 1 ("The Electoral Disconnection") and Chapter 7 ("Applying Lessons about Term Limits"). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fenno, Richard F. 2003. *Going Home: Black Representatives and Their Constituents*. Chapter 4 ("Chaka Fattah: 1996-2001") and Chapter 6 ("Stephanie Tubbs Jones: 2000-2002"). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Karp, Jeffrey A. 1995. "Explaining Public Support for Legislative Term Limits." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 59: 373-91.

Miller, Warren E. and Donald E. Stokes. 1963. "Constituency Influence in Congress." *The American Political Science Review* 57: 45-56.

Feb 3

### **Candidate Characteristics**

Readings:

Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1996. *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman: How Stereotypes Influence the Conduct and Consequences of Political Campaigns*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rahn, Wendy M. 1993. "The Role of Partisan Stereotypes in Information Processing about Political Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 37:472-96.

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

Feb 10           **Racial Redistricting**

Readings:

- Gay, Claudine. 2001. "The Effect of Black Congressional Representation on Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 95: 589-602.
- Lublin, David. 1997. *The Paradox of Representation: Racial Gerrymandering and Minority Interests in Congress*. Chapter 3 ("The Election of Black and Latino Representatives"), Chapter 5 ("Race and Representation"), and Chapter 6 ("Racial Redistricting and Public Policy"). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Petrocik, John R. and Scott W. Desposato. 1998. "The Partisan Consequences of Majority-Minority Redistricting in the South, 1992 and 1994." *The Journal of Politics* 60: 613-633.
- Tate, Katherine. 2003. "Black Opinion on the Legitimacy of Racial Redistricting and Minority-Majority Districts." *American Political Science Review* 97: 45-56.

Feb 17           **Campaign Finance**

Readings:

- Corrado, Anthony. 2001. "Financing the 2000 Elections" in *The Election of 2000: Reports and Interpretations*, ed. Gerald M. Pomper. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers.
- West, Darrell M. 2000. *Checkbook Democracy: How Money Corrupts Political Campaigns*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Feb 24           **Spring Break**

March 2           **Media**

Readings:

- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Shanto Iyengar, Adam Simon, and Nicholas Valentino. 1994. "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" *American Political Science Review* 88:829-38.
- Dalton, Russell J., Paul A. Beck, and Robert Huckfeldt. 1998. "Partisan Cues and the Media: Information Flows in the 1992 Presidential Election." *American Political Science Review* 92: 111-26.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin and Patrick J. Kenney. 1999. *The Spectacle of U.S. Senate Campaigns*. Chapter 5 ("Deciding What is News") and Chapter 6 ("The Struggle for Control over the News Media's Agenda"). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Patterson, Thomas E. 1993. *Out of Order*. Prologue ("Truth and Falsehood on the Campaign Trail"), Chapter 1 ("The Miscast Institution"), and Chapter 2 ("Of Schemas—Games and Governing"). New York: A. Knopf.

March 9            **Party Identification**

Readings:

Bartels, Larry M. 2000. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 35-50.

Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1981. "Issue Evolution, Population Replacement, and Normal Partisan Change." *American Political Science Review* 75: 107-118.

Hetherington, Marc J. 2001. "Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization." *American Political Science Review* 95:619-31.

Keith, Bruce E., David B. Magleby, Candice J. Nelson, Elizabeth Orr, Mark C. Westlye, and Raymond E. Wolfinger. 1986. "The Partisan Affinities of Independent 'Leaners'." *British Journal of Political Science* 16: 155-185.

MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1989. "Macropartisanship." *American Political Science Review* 83:1125-42.

March 16           **Citizen Competence**

Readings:

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

Converse, Philip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In D.E. Apter (Ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: The Free Press. p. 206-261.

Galston, William A. 2001. "Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 217-34.

Lau, Richard R. and David P. Redlawsk. 1997. "Voting Correctly." *American Political Science Review* 91:585-598.

Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts versus encyclopedias: Information and voting behavior in California Insurance reform elections." *American Political Science Review* 88:63-76.

March 23      **Vote Choice**

Readings:

- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chapter 8 (“The Statics and Dynamics of Party Ideologies”). New York: Harper. (CP)
- Huckfeldt, Robert, Paul Allen Beck, Russell J. Dalton, and Jeffrey Levine. 1995. “Political Environments, Cohesive Social Groups, and the Communication of Public Opinion.” *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 1025-1054.
- Miller, Warren E. and J. Merrill Shanks. 1996. *The New American Voter*. Chapter 8 (“Multiple-Stage Explanation of Political Preferences”). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Markus, Gregory B. 1988. “The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on the Presidential Vote: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis.” *American Journal of Political Science* 32: 137-154.
- Petrocik, John R. 1996. “Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study.” *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 825-50.

March 30      **Turnout**

Readings:

- Blais, Andre. 2000. *To Vote or Not to Vote?: The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Highton, Benjamin. 1997. “Easy Registration and Voter Turnout.” *Journal of Politics* 59:565-75.
- Timpono, Richard J. 1998. “Structure, Behavior, and Voter Turnout in the United States.” *American Political Science Review* 92:145-58.

April 6

## Participation/ Mobilization

### Readings:

- Brady, Henry E., Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 89: 271-94.
- Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 1997. "The Public Consequences of Private Inequality: Family Life and Citizen Participation." *American Political Science Review* 91:373-89.
- Gerber, Alan S. and Donald P. Green. 2000. "The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 94:653-64.
- Skocpol, Theda, Marshall Ganz, and Zia Munson. 2000. "A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 94:527-46.
- Timpone, Richard J. 1995. "Mass Mobilization or Government Intervention? The Growth of Black Registration in the South." *Journal of Politics* 57: 425-42.

April 13

## Presidential Elections

### Readings:

- Mayer, William G. 2001. "The Presidential Nominations." In *The Election of 2000: Reports and Interpretations*, ed. Gerald M. Pomper. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers. (CP)
- Pomper, Gerald M. 2001. "The Presidential Election." In *The Election of 2000: Reports and Interpretations*, ed. Gerald M. Pomper. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers. (CP)
- Frankovic, Kathleen A. 2004. "Election Reform: The U.S. News Media's Response to the Mistakes of Election 2000." In *Rethinking the Vote: The Politics and Prospects of American Electoral Reform*. Eds. Ann N. Crigler, Marion R. Just, and Edward J. McCaffery. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, D.E. Sinclair, and Catherine H. Wilson. 2004. "Counting Ballots and the 2000 Election: What Went Wrong." In *Rethinking the Vote: The Politics and Prospects of American Electoral Reform*. Eds. Ann N. Crigler, Marion R. Just, and Edward J. McCaffery. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Krosnick, Jon A., Joanne M. Miller, and Michael P. Tichy. 2004. "An Unrecognized Need for Ballot Reform." In *Rethinking the Vote: The Politics and Prospects of American Electoral Reform*. Eds. Ann N. Crigler, Marion R. Just, and Edward J. McCaffery. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Gelman, Andrew, Jonathan N. Katz, and Gary King. 2004. "Empirically Evaluating the Electoral College." In *Rethinking the Vote: The Politics and Prospects of American Electoral Reform*. Eds. Ann N. Crigler, Marion R. Just, and Edward J. McCaffery. NY: Oxford University Press.

April 20

## Conclusion