

WOODROW WILSON DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PLAP711
American Political Behavior
Office Hours: W 3:30-5 and by appt.

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Spring 2005
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Course Description

This course aims to provide the student with an introduction to the basic literature on public opinion, electoral behavior and political participation. The course will be conducted as a seminar.

Requirements

I. Readings: All students are responsible for readings in each section of the syllabus. Nearly all readings may be found on the class toolkit web site, with a few from book sources other than the course texts being available in Clemons Library.

II. Major Paper: The major paper in the course will consist of a combination literature review/research design of approximately 25 pages, dealing with one of the substantive areas on the syllabus or on a special topic which is agreed upon by the instructor. A literature review involves reading and synthesizing a collection of recent articles relevant to the given area and tying them together into coherent themes. The research design is an outline of a piece of research which will extend our knowledge of that sub-field in political behavior, and includes why you think the research is important, how it extends previous research, and how you would go about addressing the problem. A short proposal for the paper is due on March 2.

III. Final Exam: Take home exam due via e-mail on May 4, by 5:00 P.M.

IV. Class Participation: The success of the seminar depends on the participation of all class members in the weekly discussions. To further that end, different students will be responsible each week for presenting the arguments and findings from the articles marked with an (*) on the syllabus to the group. These presentations are designed to stimulate discussion on "cutting edge" research in each substantive area.

Grading:

Paper: (due April 27 in class)	40%
Final Exam	35%
Class Participation:	15%
Presentation of Paper:	10%

Books

Green, Donald P., Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler, *Partisan Hearts and Minds* (Yale University Press 2002)

Niemi, Richard, and Herbert Weisberg, *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 4th Edition (Congressional Quarterly Press 2001)

Weisberg, Herbert F. and Clyde Wilcox, *Models of Voting in Presidential Elections: The 2000 U.S. Election* (Stanford University Press 2003)

Zaller, John R. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).

I. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

January 19: **Organizational Meeting**

January 26: **Methods of Studying Public Opinion and Political Behavior**

Niemi and Weisberg, "The Study of Voting and Elections," *Controversies*, 1.

Shively, *The Craft of Political Research*, 4th edition (1998), chapters 6.

Brady and Orren, "Polling Pitfalls: Sources of Error in Public Opinion Surveys," in Mann and Orren, editors, *Media Polls in American Politics* (1992)

Erikson and Wlezien, "Likely (and Unlikely) Voters and the Assessment of Campaign Dynamics," *POQ* (2004)

Finkel, Guterbock, and Borg, "Race of Interviewer Effects in a Pre-Election Poll: Virginia 1989," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (1991)

Kuklinski, Sniderman *et al.*, "Racial Prejudice and Attitudes Towards Affirmative Action," *AJPS* (1997)

Iyengar, Peters and Kinder, "Experimental Demonstrations of the 'Not-So-Minimal' Political Consequences of Television News Programs," *APSR* (1982)

McDermott, "Experimental Methodology in Political Science," *Political Analysis* (2002)

Humphries, "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Firm? The Impact of Economic Scale on Political Participation," *AJPS* (2001)

II. PUBLIC OPINION

February 2: **Ideology, Information and Political Sophistication**

Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* (1964).

Niemi and Weisberg, "Does Lack of Political Information Matter?" *Controversies*, 6.

Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*, chapters 1-5.

Sniderman, Brody and Tetlock, *Reasoning and Choice* (1991), chapters 1-2.

Bartels, "Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections," *AJPS* (1996)

Lupia, "Shortcuts versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections," *APSR* (1994)

Lau and Redlawsk, "Voting Correctly," *Controversies*, 8.

Gilens, "Political Ignorance and Collective Policy Preferences," *APSR* (2001)

Kuklinski *et al.*, "Misinformation and the Currency of Democratic Citizenship," *JOP* (2000)

*Kull, et. al., "Misperceptions, the Media, and the Iraq War," *Political Science Quarterly* (2003-2004)

*Lau and Redlawsk, "Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making," *AJPS* (2002)

February 9: **Opinion Formation and Change: The Role of Core Values and Political Elites**

Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*, chapters 6-end.

Feldman, "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: The Role of Core Beliefs and Values," *AJPS* (1988).

Alvarez and Brehm, "American Ambivalence Towards Abortion Policy?" *AJPS* (1995)

Hurwitz and Peffley, "How Are Foreign Policy Attitudes Structured? A Hierarchical Model," *APSR* (1987)

Gilens, "'Race Coding' and White Opposition to Welfare" *APSR* (1996)

Layman and Carmines, "'Cultural Conflict in American Politics: Religious Traditionalism,

Postmaterialism, and U.S. Political Behavior," *JOP* (1997)
*Feldman and Steenbergen, "The Humanitarian Foundation of Public Support for Social Welfare," *APSR* (2001)
Nelson and Kinder, "Issue Frames and Group-Centrism in American Public Opinion," *JOP* (1996)
Nelson *et al.*, "Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Dispute and its Effect on Tolerance," *APSR* (1997)
Druckman, "On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame?" *JOP* (2001)
*Druckman, "Framing and Deliberation: How Citizens' Conversations Limit Elite Influence," *AJPS* (2003)

February 16: **The Effects of The Mass Media**

Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication* (1960), pp. 15-52.
Page and Shapiro, "What Moves Public Opinion?" *APSR* (1987).
Bartels, "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Mass Media," *APSR* (1993).
Brians and Wattenberg, "Campaign Issue Knowledge and Salience: Comparing Reception from TV Commercials, TV News, and Newspapers," *AJPS* (1996)
*Freedman, Franz and Goldstein, "Campaign Advertising and Democratic Citizenship," *AJPS* (2004)
Dalton, Beck, and Huckfeldt, "Partisan Cues and the Media: Information Flows in the 1992 Presidential Election," *APSR* (1998)
Ansolebehare, et. al. "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" *APSR* (1994)
Finkel and Geer, "A Spot Check: Casting Doubt on the Demobilizing Effect of Attack Advertising," *AJPS* (1998)
Freedman and Goldstein, "Measuring Media Exposure and the Effects of Negative Campaign Ads," *AJPS* (1999)
Kahn and Kenney, "Do Negative Campaigns Mobilize or Suppress Turnout? Clarifying the Relationship between Negativity and Participation," *APSR* (1999)
*Mutz and Martin, "Facilitating Communication Across Lines of Political Difference: The Role of Mass Media," *APSR* (2001)

February 23: **Political Partisanship**

Campbell, et. al., *The American Voter* (1960), 117-145.
Green, Palmquist and Schickler, *Partisan Hearts and Minds*.
Niemi and Weisberg, "How Much Does Politics Affect Party Identification," *Controversies*, chapter 17.
MacKuen, Erikson, and Stimson, "Macropartisanship," *Controversies*, chapter 20.
Bartels, "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996," *AJPS* (2000)
Abramowitz and Saunders, "Ideological Realignment in the U.S. Electorate," *JOP* (1998)
Klinker, "Red and Blue Scare: The Continuing Diversity of the American Electoral Landscape," *The Forum* (2004)
*Hetherington, "Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization," *APSR* (2001)

III. VOTING BEHAVIOR

March 2: **Voting Behavior in Primary Elections**

Mayer, "Caucuses: How They Work, What Difference They Make," chapter 4 in Mayer, ed., *In Pursuit of the White House* (1996).
Geer, "Rules Governing Presidential Primaries," *JOP* (1986).

Kaufman Gimpel and Hoffman, "A Promise Fulfilled? Open Primaries and Representation," *JOP* (2003)
 *Fowler *et al.*, "Sheep in Wolves' Clothing: Undeclared Voters in New Hampshire's Open Primary," *PS: Political Science and Politics* (2003)
 Atkeson, "Divisive Primaries and General Election Outcomes: Another Look at Presidential Campaigns," *AJPS* (1998)
 Bartels, "Candidate Choice and the Dynamics of the Presidential Nominating Process," *AJPS* (1987).
 Brady and Johnston, "What's the Primary Message: Horse Race or Issue Journalism?," in Orren and Polsby, eds., *Media and Momentum* (1987).
 Abramson, et. al., "Sophisticated Voting in the 1988 Presidential Primaries," *APSR* (1992).
 Mayer, "Forecasting Presidential Nominations, or, My Model Worked Just Fine, Thank You," *PS: Political Science and Politics* (2003)
 *Bernstein, "The Rise and Fall of Howard Dean and Other Notes on the 2004 Democratic Presidential Nomination," *The Forum* (2004)

March 16: **Sociological Models of the Vote**

Berelson, et al. *Voting* (1954), pp. 54-76, 118-149.
 Stanley and Niemi, "Partisanship, Party Coalitions, and Group Support, 1952-2000," Chapter 7 in *Models of Voting*.
 Conover, "Feminists and the Gender Gap," *JOP* (1988).
 Kaufmann and Petrocik, "The Changing Politics of American Men: Understanding the Sources of the Gender Gap," *AJPS* (1999)
 Kanthak and Norrander, "The Enduring Gender Gap," chapter 8 in *Models of Voting*.
 Sanbonmatsu, "Gender Stereotypes and Vote Choice," *AJPS* (2002)
 Plutzer and Mcburnett, "Family Life and American Politics: The 'Marriage Gap' Reconsidered," *POQ* (1991)
 Layman, "Religion and Political Behavior in the United States" *POQ* (1997)
 Wald, *et al.*, "Churches as Political Communities," *APSR* (1988)
 *Guth, Kellstedt, Green and Smidt, "America 50/50: Religion and the 2000 Presidential Election," *First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life* (2001)
 *Beck, *et al.*, "The Social Calculus of Voting: Interpersonal, Media and Organizational Influences on Presidential Choices," *APSR* (2002)

March 23: **Social-Psychological Models of the Vote**

Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, *The American Voter* (1960), pp.1-88, 523-538.
 Niemi and Weisberg, "What Determines the Vote," *Controversies*, 10.
 Weisberg and Hill, "The Succession Presidential Election of 2000: The Battle of the Legacies," Chapter 2 in *Models of Voting*.
 Carmines and Stimson, "The Two Faces of Issue Voting," *APSR* (1980)
 Marcus, "The Structure of Emotional Response: The 1984 Presidential Candidates," *APSR* (1988).
 Sullivan and Masters, "'Happy Warriors': Leaders' Facial Displays, Viewers' Emotions, and Political Support" *AJPS* (1988).
 Lodge, Steenbergen and Brau, "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation," *Controversies*, 13.
 Funk, "Bringing the Candidate into Models of Candidate Evaluation," *JOP* (1999)
 Marcus and MacKuen, "Anxiety, Enthusiasm and the Vote: The Emotional Underpinnings of Learning and Involvement During Presidential Campaigns," *APSR* (1993)

- *Lavine, "The Electoral Consequences of Ambivalence Toward Presidential Candidates," *AJPS* (2001)
 *Goren, "Character Weakness, Partisan Bias, and Presidential Evaluation," *AJPS* (2002)

March 30: **Economic Models and the Effects of Campaigns**

- Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (1981), pp. 1-43.
 Nadeau and Lewis-Beck, "National Economic Vorgin in U.S. Presidential Elections," *Controversies*, 11.
 Erikson, "Economic Conditions and the Presidential Vote," *APSR* (1989).
 MacKuen, et. al., "Peasants or Bankers: The American Electorate and the U.S. Economy," *APSR* (1992).
 Lewis-Beck, "Comparative Economic Voting," *AJPS* (1986).
 Norpoth, "Bush v. Gore: The Recount of Economic Voting," Chapter 3 in *Models of Voting*.
 Wlezien and Erikson, "The Fundamentals, the Polls, and the Presidential Vote," *PS* (2004)
 Holbrook, "Campaigns, National Conditions, and U.S. Presidential Elections," *AJPS* (1994)
 Finkel, "Reexamining the 'Minimal Effects' Model in Recent Presidential Elections," *JOP* (1993)
 Gelman and King, "Why are American Presidential Election Polls So Variable When Votes are so Predictable?" *British Journal of Political Science* (1993)
 Shaw, "The Effect of TV Ads and Candidate Appearances on Statewide Presidential Votes, 1988-1996," *APSR* (1999)
 *Hillygus and Jackman, "Voter Decision Making in Election 2000: Campaign Effects, Partisan Activation, and the Clinton Legacy," *AJPS* (2003)

IV. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

April 6: **Voter Turnout**

- Niemi and Weisberg, "Why is Voter Turnout Low (and Declining)?" *Controversies*, 2.
 Powell, "American Voting Turnout in Comparative Perspective," *APSR* (1986)
 Franklin, "Electoral Participation," *Controversies*, 5.
 Rosenstone and Hansen, "Solving the Puzzle of Participation in Electoral Politics," *Controversies*, 4.
 Highton, "Easy Registration and Voter Turnout," *JOP* (1997)
 Finkel and Freedman, "The Half-Hearted Rise: Voter Turnout in the 2000 Elections," Chapter 10 in *Models of Votings*.
 Bennett and Resnick, "The Implications of Nonvoting for Democracy in the United States," *AJPS* (1990)
 Gerber and Green, "The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment," *APSR* (2000)
 *Gerber *et al.*, "Voting May Be Habit-Forming: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment," *AJPS* (2003)
 *Citrin, Schickler, and Sides, "What if Everyone Voted? Simulating the Impact of Increased Turnout in Senate Elections," *AJPS* (2003)

April 13: **Non-Electoral Political Participation**

- Brady, Verba and Schlozman, "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation," *APSR* (1995)
 Brady, Schlozman and Verba, "Prospecting for Participants: Rational Expectations and the Recruitment of Political Activists," *APSR* (1999)
 Leighley, "Attitudes, Opportunities, and Incentives: A Field Essay on Political Participation," *Political*

Research Quarterly (1995)

Gay, "The Effect of Black Congressional Representation on Political Participation," *APSR* (2001)

Leighley and Vedlitz, "Race, Ethnicity, and Political Participation: Competing Models and Contrasting Explanations," *JOP* (1999)

Verba, Burns and Schlozman, "Knowing and Caring about Politics: Gender and Political Engagement," *JOP* (1997)

Finkel and Muller, "Rational Choice and the Dynamics of Collective Action: Evaluating Alternative Models with Panel Data," *APSR* (1998)

Gibson, "Mass Opposition to the Soviet Putsch of August 1991: Collective Action, Rational Choice, and Democratic Values in the Former Soviet Union," *APSR* (1997)

*Campbell, "Self-Interest, Social Security, and the Distinctive Participation Patterns of Senior Citizens," *APSR* (2002)

Oliver, "The Effects of Metropolitan Economic Segregation on Local Civic Participation," *AJPS* (1999)

*Mutz, "The Consequences of Cross-Cutting Networks for Political Participation," *AJPS* (2002)

April 20: **Trust, Social Capital, and Political Participation**

Putnam, "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America," *Controversies*, 3.

Brehm and Rahn, "Individual Level Evidence for the Causes and Consequences of Social Capital," *AJPS* (1997)

Paxton, "Is Social Capital Declining in the United States? A Multiple Indicator Assessment," *American Journal of Sociology* (1999)

Hetherington, "The Effect of Political Trust on the Presidential Vote, 1968-1996," *APSR* (1999)

Shah, "Civic Engagement, Interpersonal Trust, and Television Use: An Individual-Level Assessment of Social Capital," *Political Psychology* (1998)

Stolle, D. "Bowling Together, Bowling Alone: The Development of Generalized Trust in Voluntary Associations," *Political Psychology* (1998)

Finkel, "Can Democracy Be Taught?" *Journal of Democracy* (2003)

*LaDue Lake and Huckfeldt, "Social Capital, Social Networks, and Political Participation," *Political Psychology* (1998)

*Schneider *et al.*, "Institutional Arrangements and the Creation of Social Capital: The Effects of Public School Choice," *APSR* (1997)

*******FINAL EXAM DUE MAY 4*******