

Political Science 252
Fall Quarter, 2009
Wed 9-11:50am SSB 104

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American Politics: Behavior

This course provides an introduction to some of the major themes in political behavior including partisanship and elections, political attitudes and ideology, and the role of the mass media in shaping the public's political beliefs and orientations. This course is also designed to help prepare graduate students in political science to pass the political behavior component of comprehensive examination in the field of American Politics.

Course Requirements:

(1) Prepare for every class by reading and digesting the assigned material. Recommended readings will not be discussed in-depth in class but you will want to read them at some point for exams.

(2) Actively participate in class discussions. In addition, each student will be assigned the task of introducing and briefly critiquing one of the readings each class. In their overview, students should highlight the question, research design, evidence, results, and implications of their reading as well as note any major flaws.

(3) For the writing part of the course you have two options.

Option A: Write three 5 page papers critically reviewing the literature in some specific topic of political behavior. Each paper should consist of:

A. A description of the work that has been published on your topic of choice. This section should be organized to illuminate the differing perspectives in the literature, and (possibly) show how those perspectives have emerged over time.

B. A critical evaluation of the strengths and weakness of the differing perspectives. This section should also address the extent to which the different perspectives are complementary to or in conflict with each other.

C. An evaluation of what sort of future research would be most important to further our understanding of the specific topic you chose.

These three papers are due October 14th, November 4th, and December 4th

Option B: Write a research paper on some aspect of American political behavior. The paper should be a quality product that should ultimately be publishable – although you do not have to complete all parts of the project for this class. The paper should be different from papers you have written for other classes or should show substantial progress from previous work. Please see me to discuss different projects and the exact requirements for the paper

Books you should have:

Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, Harper and Row, 1957, paper.

Angus Campbell, et. al, *The American Voter*, Chicago, 1976, paper.

Warren Miller and Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter*, Harvard, 1996, paper.

Samuel Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter*, 2nd ed., Chicago, 1994, paper.

Arthur Lupia and Mathew McCubbins, *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?* Cambridge, 1998.

Carmines, Edward G., and James A. Stimson. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton 1989

S. Rosenstone and M. Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and American Democracy* 1993

Green, Donald P., Bradley Palmquist, Eric Schickler, and Giordano Bruno. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identity of Voters*. (2002)

We will also read major sections from other books. They are almost all classics and you might want to purchase them as well. Look through the syllabus to determine what makes sense for you. In addition, I will place one copy of all books that I have not recommended for purchase and any articles that are not on JSTOR in the grad lounge.

I. Ideology- How well organized or sophisticated is our thinking about politics?

Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. *The American Voter* (1960), Ch 10

Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David Apter (ed.), (1964) *Ideology and Discontent*, ch. 6.

David O. Sears, Richard R. Lau, Tom R. Tyler, and Harris M. Allen, Jr. "Self-Interest vs Symbolic Politics in Policy Attitudes and Voting" *APSR* 74 (1980): 670-684

Pamela Conover and Stanley Feldman. "The Origins and Meaning of Liberal/Conservative Self-Identification," *AJPS* 25 (1981):617-645.

Marcus and MacKuen. "Anxiety, Enthusiasm, and the Vote: The Emotional Underpinnings of Learning and Involvement during Presidential Campaigns" *APSR* 87(1993): 672-685

Recommended:

Eric R.A.N. Smith. "Levels of Conceptualization: False Measures of Ideological Sophistication," *APSR* 74(1980):685-96.

Kay Schlozman and Sidney Verba. "Unemployment, Class Consciousness, and Radical Politics: What Didn't Happen in the Thirties." *JoP* 39 (1977):291-323

Stanley Feldman "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: The Role of Core Beliefs and Values" *AJPS* 32 (1988): 416-440

Ted Brader *Campaigning for hearts and minds : how emotional appeals in political ads work* (2006)

Thomas Nelson and Donald Kinder "Issue Frames and Group-Centrism in American Public Opinion" *JoP* 58 (1996):1055-1078

II. Information – Do we have enough information to make reasoned political decisions?

Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes. *The American Voter* (1960), Ch. 8

Christopher H. Achen. "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response" *APSR* 69 (1975):1218-1231

John Zaller and Stanley Feldman. "A Simple Theory of Survey Response," *AJPS* 36 (1992): 579-616.

Samuel Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns* (1991) Chs 1-3, 7.

Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in America's Policy Preferences*. (1992) Chs 1-3

Larry M. Bartels. "Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections" *AJPS* 40 (1996): 194-230.

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

Recommended:

Carpini, Michael X. Delli, and Scott Keeter. *What Americans Know about Politics and Why it Matters*. (1996) Ch 6

Alvarez, R. Michael, and John Brehm. *Hard Choices, Easy Answers*. (2002). Chs 1-7

Paul Abramson et al., "'Sophisticated' Voting in the 1988 Presidential Primaries." *APSR* 86 (1992), pp. 55-69.

Arthur Lupia Shortcuts vs Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections *APSR* 88 (1994):63-76

Richard Lau and David Redlawsk. "Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making" *AJPS* 45 (2001):951-971

III. Influences – What are the factors that drives public opinion and how do they distort our views?

Samuel Kernell. “Explaining Presidential Popularity,” *APSR* 72 (1978):506-22.

B. Page, R. Shapiro, and G. Dempsey. “What Moves Public Opinion?” *APSR* 81 (1987):23-44.

Shanto Iyengar. “Television News and Citizens’ Explanations of National Affairs” 81 *APSR* (1987):815-832

James Druckman. “Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)relevance of Framing Effects” *APSR* (Nov 2004): 671-686

Arthur Lupia and Mathew McCubbins. *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?* (1998). Chs 1-4, 6,7,9

Paul Allen Beck, Russel Dalton, Steven Greene, and Robert Huckfeldt. “The Social Calculus of Voting: Interpersonal, Media, and Organizational Influences on Presidential Choices” *APSR* 96(2002):57-73

Michael D. Cobb and James H. Kuklinski. “Changing Minds: Political Arguments and Political Persuasion” *AJPS* 41 (1997): 88-121

John Alford, Carolyn L. Funk and John R. Hibbing. “Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?” *APSR* 99 (May 2005): 153-167.

Recommended:

James A. Stimson, *Public Opinion in America: Moods, Cycles, and Swings* (1991).

Andrew Gelman and Gary King “Why are American Presidential Campaign Polls so Variable When Votes are so Predictable?” *BJPS* 23 (1993): 409-451

Robert Huckfeldt; Eric Plutzer; John Sprague. “Alternative Contexts of Political Behavior: Churches, Neighborhoods, and Individuals” *JoP* 55 (1993): 365-381

Diana Mutz. “Cross-cutting Social Networks: Testing Democratic Theory in Practice” *APSR* 96 (2002):111-126

Diana Mutz. *Impersonal Influence: How Perceptions of Mass Collectives Affect Political Attitudes* (1998)

Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro. *Politicians Don’t Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness* (2000)

James Druckman and Kjerten Nelson. “Framing and Deliberation: How Citizens’ Conversations Limit Elite Influence” *AJPS* 47(2003): 729-745

IV. Party Identification – What is it?

Downs. *Economic Theory of Democracy*, (1957) chs. 3, 7

Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes. *The American Voter* (1960) Ch 7

M. MacKuen, R. Erikson, and J. Stimson, “Macropartisanship,” *APSR* 83 (1989):1125-1142.

R. Neimi and M. K. Jennings. “Issues and Inheritance in the Formation of Party Identification,” *AJPS* 35 (1991):970-988.

Green, Donald P., Bradley Palmquist, Eric Schickler, and Giordano Bruno. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identity of Voters*. (2002) Chs 1-4

Recommended:

Keith, Bruce E., David B. Magleby, Candice J. Nelson, Elizabeth Orr, Mark C. Westlye, and Raymond E. Wolfinger. *The Myth of the Independent Voter*. (1992) Chs 1,3,4

Hajnal, Zoltan, and Taeku Lee. *Race, Immigration, and Political Independents in America*. (manuscript) Selected Chapters

V. Vote Choice- What factors govern vote choice?

- Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes. *The American Voter* (1960), Ch 6.
Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. "The Two Faces of Issue Voting." *APSR*, 74 (1980):78-91.
Morris Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (1981), chs. 1, 2, 7, 8, 9
Carl McCurley and Geoffrey Mondak. "Inspected by ... The Influence of Incumbents' Competence and Integrity in U.S. House Elections" *AJPS* 39 (1995): 864-885
Miller, Warren E., and J. Merrill Shanks. *The New American Voter* (1996), Chs 8-17

Recommended:

- V.O. Key, Jr., *The Responsible Electorate* (1966), chs. 1-3.
Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and McPhee, *Voting* (1954), chs. 1, 4-7, 11,13
Kramer, Gerald H. "Short-term Fluctuations in Voting Behavior, 1896-1964." *APSR* 65 (1971):131-143.
George Quattrone and Amos Tversky, "Contrasting Rational and Psychological Analyses of Political Choice," *APSR* 82 (1988):719-736.
Milton Lodge, Kathleen McGraw, and Patrick Stroh. "An Impression-Driven Model of Candidate Evaluation" *APSR* 83 (1989): 399-419
Greg Adams "Abortion: Evidence of Issue Evolution" *AJPS* 41 (1997): 718-737
Geoffrey Layman and Edward Carmines "Cultural Conflict in American Politics: Religious Traditionalism, Postmaterialism, and U.S. Political Behavior" *JoP* 59 (1997): 751-777

VI. Dealignment/Realignment – Explaining major partisan changes

- V.O. Key, Jr., "A Theory of Critical Elections," *JoP* 17 (1955):3-18.
James Sundquist. *The Dynamics of the Party System*, revised ed. (1983). Chs 1-3, 16,17,18
John Aldrich. *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Party Politics in America* (1995). Chs 1-2, 6, 8
L. Bartels. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996," *AJPS* (2000):35-50
Carmines, Edward G., and James A. Stimson. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. (1989) Chs 1, 2, 6,7
Alan Abramowitz. "Issue Evolution Reconsidered: Racial Attitudes and Partisanship in the US Electorate" *AJPS* 38 (1994):1-24

Recommended:

- Nie, Verba, and Petrocik. *The Changing American Voter* (1976) Chs. 4, 6, 10
A. Abramowitz and K. Saunders, "Ideological Realignment in the American Electorate," *JOP* 60(1998):634-652.
Morris Fiorina and Samuel Abrams. "Political Polarization in the American Public" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2008:563-588

VII. Participation- Why do we vote in the first place? Who votes? When do we vote?

- Riker and Ordeshook, "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting," *APSR* (1970):25-41
Sidney Verba and Norman Nie. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality* (1972) Chs. 2-6, 8-10
H Brady, S. Verba, and K.L. Schlozman. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation, (1994) *APSR* 829-838.
S. Rosenstone and M. Hansen. *Mobilization, Participation, and American Democracy* (1993). Chapters 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7
G. Bingham Power. "American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective" *APSR* 80 (1986): 17-43
Gerber, Alan S., and Donald P. Green. "The Effects of Canvassing, Direct Mail, and Telephone Contact on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment." *APSR* 94 (2000):653-63.

Recommended:

- R. Wolfinger and S. Rosenstone. *Who Votes?* (1980). Chapters 1-4
McDonald, Michael P. and Samuel L. Popkin. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *APSR*, 95 (2001):963-974.
John H. Aldrich "Rational Choice and Turnout" *AJPS* 37(1993):247-278
Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Shanto Iyengar. "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" *APSR* 88 (1994): 829-38.
Robert D. Putnam. "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 28 (1995): 664-683

Recommended Continued:

James Fowler and Chris Dawes "Two Genes Predict Voter Turnout" *Journal of Politics* (2008)
Zoltan Hajnal. *America's Uneven Democracy: Turnout, Race, and Representation in City Politics* (2009)

VIII. Values- What are the basic values of the American public? Are we exceptional?

Alexis de Toqueville. *Democracy in America*, Part I, Sections 1 (Origins of the Anglo Americans) 2 (Democratic Social Condition), and 3 (The Sovereignty of the People).

Louis Hartz. *The Liberal Tradition in America* (1955) pp 3-86

S. M. Lipset. "Why No Socialism in the United States?" in S. Bialer and S. Sluzar, *Sources of Contemporary Radicalism*, (1977), Ch. 2

Jennifer Hochschild, *What's Fair?* (1981), Chs. 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9.

Rogers M. Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions of America," *APSR* 87 (1993), pp. 549-566.

Sullivan, John L., James Pierson, and George E. Marcus. *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*. (1982) Chs 2,3

Recommended:

Herbert McCloskey and Ada Brill, *Dimensions of Tolerance* (1983), chs. 3,6

Herbert McCloskey and John Zaller, *The American Ethos* (1985), Chs. 1-5.

Dennis Chong. "How People Think, Reason, and Feel About Rights and Liberties" *AJPS* 37 (1993):867-899

Stanley Feldman and Marco Steenbergen "The Humanitarian Foundation of Public Support for Social Welfare" *AJPS* 45 (2001):658-677

IX. Race- What role does race play in American politics?

Nayda Terkildsen "When White Voters Evaluate Black Candidates: The Processing Implications of Candidate Skin Color, Prejudice and Self-Monitoring" *AJPS* 37 (1993): 1032-1053

Highton, Benjamin. White Voters and African American Candidates for Congress. *Political Behavior* 26 (2004):1-25.

Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn Sanders. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. (1996) Chapters 2,5

Sniderman, Paul M. & Edward G. Carmines. (1997). *Reaching Beyond Race. Chs 1,3,4*

Dawson, Michael C. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. (1994). Chapters 1, 5

Kim, Claire Jean. "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans". *Politics and Society* 27 (1999):10-138.

Recommended:

Sanders, Lynn M. "What is Whiteness?" (1994) Unpublished Manuscript

Verba, Sidney, and Norman H. Nie. 1972. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. Ch 10

Bobo, Lawrence, and Jr. Franklin D. Gilliam."Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment." *APSR* 84 (1990):377-393.

V.O. Key. *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (1949)

Rodney Hero. *Faces of Inequality* (1998)

Hurwitz, Jon, and Mark Peffley. "Public Perceptions of Race and Crime: The Role of Racial Stereotypes." *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (1997): 375-401.

Marisa Abrajano and Michael Alvarez *New Faces, New Voices: The Hispanic Electorate in America* (2010).

Pei-te, Lien et al. *The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity and Community*. (2004)

X. Public Opinion, Participation, and Democratic Outcomes- What are the consequences of our political views and our actions?

- R. Stimson et al, "Dynamic Representation" *APSR* (1995): 543-565
- L. Bartels *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. (2008) Ch 9
- R. Wolfinger and S. Rosenstone, *Who Votes?* (1980). Chapter 6
- S. Verba et al., "Citizen Activity: Who Participates? What Do They Say?" *APSR* (1993):303-318.
- Zoltan Hajnal and Jessica Trounstine.. "Where Turnout Matters: The Consequences of Uneven Turnout in City Politics". *JoP* 67 (2005): 515-535.
- Kay Lehman Schlozman "What Accent the Heavenly Chorus? Political Equality and the American Pressure System" *The Journal of Politics*. 46 (1984):1006-1032.
- Bachrach, Peter, and Morton S. Baratz. The Two Faces of Power. *APSR* 56 (1962):947-952.
- Recommended:**
- B. Page and R. Shapiro, "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy," *APSR* 77 (1983):175-190
- L. Bartels, "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Buildup," *APSR* 85 (1991):457-74
- Z. Hajnal "Who Loses in American Democracy? A Count of Votes Demonstrates the Limited Representation of African Americans" *APSR* (2009)
- John D. Griffin and Brian Newman. Minority Report: Evaluating Political Equality in America (2008)

STUFF YOU SHOULD KNOW BUT WON'T LEARN HERE

Voting Behavior in Congressional Elections

- G. Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 5th ed. (2001).
- Samuel Kernell, "Presidential Popularity and Negative Voting: An Alternative Explanation of the Midterm Congressional Decline of the President's Party," *APSR* 71 (1977):44-66.
- G. Jacobson, "Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of House Elections, 1946-1986," *APSR* 83 (1989):773-793.
- A. Alesina and H. Rosenthal, "Partisan Cycles in Congressional Elections and the Macroeconomy," *APSR* 83 (1989):373-398
- Mark C. Westlye, *Senate Elections and Campaign Intensity* (1991).
- G. Jacobson, "Impeachment Politics in the 1998 Congressional Elections." *Political Science Quarterly* 114 (1999):31-51.
- G. Jacobson, "A House Divided: The Clinton Legacy and the Congressional Election of 2000, *Political Science Quarterly* (Spring 2001):5-28..

Interest Groups

- David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process*, 2nd ed. (1971), Introduction and chs. 2 and 16.
- Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action* (1965), chs 1, 2, 5, 6
- Grant McConnell, *Private Power and American Democracy* (1966), chs. 5, 8, 9, 10.
- Theodore Lowi, *The End of Liberalism*, 2nd ed (1979), chs. 3, 5, 8, 10
- A. Denzer and Munger, "Legislators and Interest Groups: How Unorganized Interests Get Represented," *APSR* (1986):86-106.
- Russell Hardin, *Collective Action* (1982)
- James Q. Wilson, *Political Organizations* (1973), chs. 1-6, 9.
- Jack L. Walker, "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups in America," *APSR* 77 (1983):390-406.
- Kay L. Schlozman and John Tierney, *Organized Interests and American Democracy* (1986)
- Bauer, Pool and Dexter, *American Business and Public Policy* (1963)
- J. M. Hansen, "The Political Economy of Group Membership," *APSR* 79 (1985):79-86
- Robert Salisbury, *Interests and Institutions* (1992), Chs. 1-4