

Political Science 671
American Political Behavior: Campaigns and Elections
Fall 2004

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Office hours: By appointment—I won't keep regular office hours this semester, but I will be around most of the time and am generally available. If you need to meet, you can either stop by my office, email me, or we can set up a specific time.

Course Overview: This seminar is meant to introduce you to a few of the themes of mass politics: campaigns and elections. I have broken the course in to several sections: who voters make choices in elections, how they are influenced by campaigns, how the context of an election shapes its outcome, historical patterns in elections, and how elections are send meaning to elected officials.

Students in this seminar have several assignments and responsibilities. First and foremost, I expect that you will do the assigned reading and participate in the seminar discussions. Second, each week students will write a two page essay reacting to the major issues discussed in the readings. These papers should not be summaries, but critical and analytical evaluations of the reading. These will be due two days before class. Third, students will select one week's readings and serve as the discussion leader for that topic. A number of discussion questions should be sent to everyone in the course (including me) by Monday morning of the week you are in charge of. Fourth, you will be asked to write an extended literature review pertaining to a topic relevant to the class. These literature reviews will contain a discussion of the important measurement and technical concerns related to the topic. These will also be shared with the class. Finally, you will have an exam, modeled after the American prelim. You will be asked to write one or two (I have not decided) essays based on the type of question I would ask on a prelim.

Grades	
Final:	35%
Lit review	35%
Weekly Papers	20%
Class participation/ discussion leadership	10%

January 18: Introduction & organization

Kinder, Donald. 1998. "Opinion and action in the realm of politics." *Handbook of Social Psychology* 778-867

January 25: How do voters choose? Answer 1: Partisanship.

Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Shickler. 2004. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Campbell, Angus, Phillip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *American Voter*. New York: Wiley. Chapters 6 & 7.

Franklin, Charles E. and John E. Jackson. 1983. The Dynamics of Party Identification. *American Political Science Review* 77: 957-973

Fiorina, Morris P. "Explorations of a Political Theory of Party Identification" Chapter in *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Carsey, Thomas M., and Geoffrey C. Layman. 2006. "Changing Sides or Changing Minds?: Party Identification and Policy Preferences in the American Electorate." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (April): 464-477.

Johnston, Richard. 2006. "Party Identification: Unmoved Mover or Sum of Preferences?" *Annual Review of Political Science*. 9:329-51.

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

Hetherington, Marc J. 2001. Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization. *American Political Science Review* 95: 619-632.

February 1: Answer 2, Issues

Alvarez, R. Michael. 1998. *Information & Elections*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. Second edition.

Rahn Wendy M, John H. Aldrich, Eugene Borgida, and John L. Sullivan. 1990. A Social-Cognitive Model of Candidate Appraisal. In *Information and Democratic Processes*, John A. Ferejohn and James H. Kuklinski eds. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1980. The Two Faces of Issue Voting. *American Political Science Review*. 74: 78-91.

Page, Benjamin I. and Richard A. Brody. 1972. Policy Voting and the Electoral Process: The Vietnam War issue. *American Political Science Review* 66: 979-95.

Jackson, John. 1975. Issues, Party Choices, and Presidential Votes. *American Political Science Review* 161-185.

Key, V.O. 1966. *the Responsible Electorate*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapters 1&2.

Nie, Norman, Sidney Verba, and John Petrocik. 1979. *The changing American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapters 6, 8, 10, & 18

Sullivan, John L. James E. Piereson, and George, E. Marcus. 1978. "Ideological Constraint in the Mass Public: A Methodological Critique and Some New Findings." *American Journal of Political Science*. 22: 233-49.

Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science*. 40(3):825-50.

February 8: Answer 3, Economy

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: 137-54.

Erikson, Robert S. Michael B. MacKuen and James A. Stimson. 1992. Peasants or Bankers. *American Political Science Review* 86: 597-611

Nadeau, Richard and Michael S. Lewis-Beck. 2001. National Economic Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections. *Journal of Politics* 63:159-181.

Gomez, Brad T. and J. Matthew Wilson. 2001. "Political Sophistication and Economic Voting in the American Electorate: A Theory of Heterogeneous Attribution." *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 899-914.

Mutz, Diana C. 1992. Mass Media and the Depoliticization of Personal Experience. *American Political Science Journal* 36: 483-508.

Erikson, Robert S. 1989. "Economic Conditions and the Presidential Vote." *American Political Science Review*. 83:567-83.

- Hetherington, Marc J. 1996. The Media's Role in Forming Voters Retrospective Evaluations in 1992. *American Journal of Political Science*. 40: 372-395.
- Kinder, Donald, Gordon S. Adams, and Paul W. Gronke, 1989. "Economics and Politics in the 1984 American Presidential Election." *American Journal of Political Science*. 33: 491-515.
- Kinder, Donald R. and D. Roderick Kiewiet. 1981. Sociotropic Politics: The American Case." *British Journal of Political Science*. 11: 129-162.
- Kramer, Gerald. 1983. "The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate vs. Individual-Level Findings on Economics and Elections, and Sociotropic Voting." *American Political Science Review*. 77: 92-111.
- Norpoth, Helmut. 1996. "The President and the Prospective Voter." *Journal of Politics*. 58: 776-792
- MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1996. Comment on 'Presidents and the Prospective Voter.' *Journal of Politics* 58:793-801.
- Hetherington, Marc J. 1996. "The Media's Role in Forming Voters' National Economic Evaluations in 1992." *American Journal of Political Science*. 40: 372-95.
- Rudolph, Thomas J. 2003. "Who's Responsible for the Economy? The Formation and Consequences of Responsibility Attributions." *American Journal of Political Science*. 47: 698-713.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael and Mark Stegmaier. 2000. "Economic Determinants of Electoral Outcomes." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 3: 183-219.
- De Boef, Suzanna and Paul M. Kellstedt. 2004. "The Political a(and Economic) Origins of Consumer Confidence." *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 633-49.

February 15: Answer 4: Candidates

- Stokes, Donald E. 1966. Some Dynamic Elements of Contests for the Presidency. *American Political Science Review*. 60: 19-28.
- Kelley, Stanley Jr. and Thad W. Mirer. 1976. "The Simple Act of Voting." *American Political Science Review*. 68: 572-591.
- Abelson, Robert P., Donald R. Kinder, Mark D. Peters, and Susan T. Fiske. 1982. Affective and Semantic Components in Political Person Perception. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 42: 619-30.
- Markus, Gregory B. 1982. Political Attitudes During an Election Year: A Report on the 1980 NES Panel Study. *American Political Science Review* 76: 538-60.
- Miller, Arthur H., Martin P. Wattenberg, and Oksana Malanchuk. 1986. Schematic Assessments of Presidential Candidates. *American Political Science Review* 80:521-540.
- Rapoport, Ronald B. Kelly L Metcalf, and Jon A. Hartman. 1989. Candidate Traits and voter Inferences: An Experimental Study. *Journal of Politics* 51:917-932.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1993. Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure. *American Political Science Review* 87:267-284.
- Funk, Carolyn L. 1999. Brining the Candidate into Models of Candidate Evaluations. *Journal of Politics* 61: 700-720.
- Hayes, Danny. 2005. "Candidate Qualities through a Partisan Lens: A Theory of Trait Ownership." *American Journal of Political Science*. 49: 908-923.
- Goren, Paul. 2002. "Character Weakness, Partisan Bias, and Presidential Evaluation." *American Journal of Political Science*. 46: 627-641.
- Druckman, James N. Lawrence R. Jacobs, and Eric Ostermeier. 2004. "Candidate Strategies to Prime Issues and Image." *Journal of Politics*. 66: 1180-1202.
- Bartels, Larry M. 2002. "The Impact of Candidate Traits in American Presidential Elections." In Anthony King ed. *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. New York: Oxford University Press. P. 44-69.

McGraw, Kathleen M. 2003. "Political Impression: Formation and Management." In David Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds. *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 394-432.

Rahn, Wendy M., Jon A. Krosnick and Marijke Breuning. 1994. Rationalization and Derivation Processes in Survey Studies of Political Candidate Evaluation. *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 582-600.

February 22: Heterogeneity

Converse, Phillip E. 1964. The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics. In *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David P. Apter. New York: Free Press.

Stimson, James A. 1975. Belief Systems: Constraint, Complexity, and the 1972 Election. *American Journal of Political Science* 19:393-417.

Joanne Miller and David A. M. Peterson. 2004. "Theoretical and Empirical Implications of Attitude Strength." *Journal of Politics*. 66(3): 847-867.

David A. M. Peterson. 2004. "Certainty or Accessibility: Attitude Strength in Candidate Evaluations." *American Journal of Political Science*. 48(3): 513-520.

Lavine, Howard. 2001. "The Electoral Consequences of Ambivalence toward Presidential Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (October): 915-29.

Gomez, Brad T., and J. Matthew Wilson. 2001. "Political Sophistication and Economic Voting in the American Electorate: A Theory of Heterogeneous Attribution." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (October): 899-914.

Aldrich, John H., John L. Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida. 1989. "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz Before a Blind Audience?'" *American Political Science Review* 83 (March): 123-41.

Krosnick, Jon A. 1988. "The Role of Attitude Importance in Social Evaluation: A Study of Policy Preferences, Presidential Candidate Evaluations, and Voting Behavior." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 55 (August): 196-210.

Brady, Henry E. and Paul M. Sniderman (1985). "Attitude Attribution: A Group Basis for Political Reasoning", *American Political Science Review*, 79: 1061-1078

Niemi, Richard G., and Larry M. Bartels. 1985. "New Measures of Issue Salience: An Evaluation." *The Journal of Politics*. 47 (November): 1212-20.

Repass, David E. 1971. "Issue Salience and Party Choice." *American Political Science Review* 65 (June): 389-400.

Rivers, Douglas. 1988. "Heterogeneity in Models of Electoral Choice." *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (August): 737-57.

Visser, Penny S., Jon A. Krosnick, and Joseph P. Simmons. 2003. "Distinguishing the Cognitive and Behavioral Consequences of Attitude Importance and Certainty: A New Approach to Testing the Common Factor Hypothesis." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 39 (March): 118-41

Fazio, Russell H., and Carol J. Williams. 1986. Attitude Accessibility as a Moderator of the Attitude-Perception and Attitude Behavior Relations: An Investigation of the 1984 Presidential Election. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 51 (3):505-14.

Rabinowitz, George, James W. Prothro, and William Jacoby. 1982. Salience as a Factor in the Impact of Issues on Candidate Evaluation. *The Journal of Politics* 44:41-63.

March 1: What is the model, on-line or memory based

Lau, Richard and David Redlawsk. 2006. *How Voters Decide: Information Processing in Election Campaigns*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lodge, Milton, Kathleen McGraw, and Patrick Stroh. 1989. An Impression-Driven Model of Candidate Evaluation. *American Political Science Review* 83: 399-419.

Lodge, Milton, Marco R. Steenbergen, and Shawn Brau. 1994. The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation. *American Political Science Review* 89:309-326.

Lavine, Howard. 2002. On-line versus Memory-Based Process Models of Political Evaluation in *Political Psychology* ed Kristen Renwick Monroe. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Lau, Richard R. 2003. Models of Decision-Making. In *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, ed. David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Steenbergen, Marco R., and Milton Lodge. 2003. Process Matters: Cognitive Models of Candidate Evaluation. In *Electoral Democracy*, ed. Michael B. MacKuen and George Rabinowitz. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Taber, Charles S. 2003. Information Processing and Public Opinion. In *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, ed. David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lodge, Milton, and Charles S. Taber. 2005. The Automaticity of Affect for Political Leaders, Groups, and Issues: An Experimental Test of the Hot Cognition Hypothesis. *Political Psychology* 26: 455-482.

Taber, Charles S., and Milton Lodge. 2006. Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs. *American Journal of Political Science* 50: 755-769.

Redlawsk, David P. 2002. Hot Cognition or Cool Consideration? Testing the Effects of Motivated Reasoning on Political Decision Making. *Journal of Politics* 64: 1021-1044.

March 8: Heuristics

Lupia, Arthur and Matthew D. McCubbins. 1998. *The Democratic Dilemma*. New York: Cambridge University Press

Lau, Richard R., and David P. Redlawsk. 2001. Advantages and Disadvantages of Using Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making. *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 951-971.

James H. Kuklinski and Paul J. Quirk. "Reconsidering the Rational Public: Cognition, Heuristics, and Mass Opinion." In Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Samuel L. Popkin (eds.), *Elements of Reason: Understanding and Expanding the Limits of Political Rationality*, 2000.

James H. Kuklinski, Paul J. Quirk, Jennifer Jerit, David Schwieder, and Robert F. Rich. "Misinformation and the Currency of Democratic Citizenship," *Journal of Politics* 62: 790-816, 2000.

Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections." *American Political Science Review* 88(1): 63-76.

Ottati, Victor C., Martin Fishbein, and S.E. Middlestat. 1988. "Determinants of Voters' Beliefs about the Candidates' Stands on the Issues," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 55: 517-529.

March 22 Social Influences on the vote

Katherine Kramer Walsh. 2003. *Talking about Politics: Informal Groups and Social Identity in American Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Berinsky, A. 1999. "The Two Faces of Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science*. 43(4):1209-30.

Huckfeldt et al. 1995. "Political Environments, Cohesive Social Groups and the Communication of Public Opinion." *American journal of Political Science* 39: 1025-1054

Huckfeldt, Robert and John Sprague. 1987. "Networks in Context: The Social Flow of Political Information" *American Political Science Review* 81: 1197-216.

Mutz, Diana C., and Paul S. Martin. 2001. Facilitating Communication Across Lines of Political Difference: The Role of Mass Media. *American Political Science Review* 95:97-114.

March 29: Primaries

Brady, Henry E. and Richard Johnston. 1987. What's the Primary Message: Horse Race or Issue Journalism? In *Media and Momentum: The New Hampshire Primary and Nomination Politics*, ed. Gary R. Orren and Nelson W. Polsby. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers.

Bartels, Larry M. 1988. *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mutz, Diana. 1994. Effects of horse-race coverage on campaign coffers: strategic contributing in presidential primaries. *Journal of Politics* 57:1015-1044.

Cohen, Marty, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. *Beating Reform*.

Vavreck, L., C. Spiliotes, and L. Fowler. 2002. "The Effects of Retail Politics in the New Hampshire Primary." *American Journal of Political Science*. 46(3):595-610.

Abramowitz, A. 1989. "Viability, Electability, and Candidate Choice in a Presidential Primary Election: A Test of Competing Models." *Journal of Politics*. 51(4):977-92.

April 5: Campaign learning

Johnston, Richard, Michael G. Hagen, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2004. *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hillygus, D. Sunshine and Simon Jackman. 2003. Voter Decision Making in Election 2000: Campaign Effects, Partisan Activation, and the Clinton Legacy. *American Journal of Political Science* 47: 583-597.

Gelman, Andrew and Gary King. 1993. Why Are American Presidential Election Campaign Polls so Variable When Votes Are so Predictable? *British Journal of Political Science*. 23: 409-451.

Finkel, Steven E. 1993. "Reexamining the 'Minimal Effects' model in Recent Presidential Campaigns." *Journal of Politics* 55: 1-21.

Hillygus, Sunshine and Todd Shields. Nd. The Persuadable Voter: Strategic Candidates and Wedge Issues in Political Campaigns.

April 12: Campaigns Advertising

Ted Brader. 2006. *Campaigning for Hearts and Minds: How Emotional Appeals in Political Ads Work*. University of Chicago Press.

Freedman, P., M. Franz, and K. Goldstein. 2004. "Campaign Advertising and Democratic Citizenship." *American Journal of Political Science*. 48(4):723-41.

Goldstein, K. and P. Freedman. 2002. "Lessons Learned: Campaign Advertising in the 2000 Elections." *Political Communication*. 19(1):5-28.

Goldstein, K. and P. Freedman. 2000. "New Evidence for Old Arguments: Money and Advertising in the 1996 Senate Elections." *Journal of Politics*. 62(4):1087-108.

Paul Freedman, Michael Franz, and Kenneth Goldstein. 2004. "Campaign Advertising and Democratic Citizenship." *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 723-741.

April 19: Issue evolutions

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

Adams, Greg D. 1997. Abortion: Evidence of Issue Evolution. *American Journal of Political Science* 41: 718-37.

Abramowitz, Alan I. 1994. Issue Evolution Reconsidered: Racial Attitudes and Partisanship in the U.S. Electorate. *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 1-24.

Carmines, Edward G. and Michael W. Wagner. 2006. "Political Issues and Party Alignments: Assessing the Issue Evolution Perspective." *Annual review of Political Science*. 9: 67-81.

Layman Geoff, and Thomas M. Carsey. 2002. "Party polarization and conflict extension in the American electorate." *American Journal of Political Science* 46:786-802

April 26: Mandates and electoral interpretation.

Lawrence J. Grossback, David A. M. Peterson, and James A. Stimson. 2005. "What Causes a Mandate? Competing Theories on the Causes of Mandate Perceptions." *American Journal of Political Science* 49:406-419.

Lawrence J. Grossback, David A. M. Peterson, and James Stimson. 2007. *Mandate Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hershey, Marjorie Randon. 1992. The Constructed Explanation: Interpreting Election Results in the 1984 Presidential Race." *Journal of Politics* 54:943-956.

Weinbaum, Marvin G. & Dennis R. Judd. 1970. In Search of the Mandate Congress. *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 14:276302.

Conley, Patricia Heidotting. 2001. *Presidential Mandates: How Elections Shape the National Agenda*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-3.

Dahl, Robert A. 1990. Myth of the Presidential Mandate." *Political Science Quarterly* 105:355-372.

Smirov, Oleg and James H. Fowler. 2007. "Moving with the Mandate: Policy-Motivated Parties in Dynamic Political Competition." *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 19 (1): TBD

I expect that all students will conduct themselves in a manner that is consistent with the Aggie Code. Any lying or cheating in this class will be handled in accordance with Texas A&M policy.

ADA Statement:

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. Among other things, this legislation requires that all students with disabilities be guaranteed a learning environment that provides for reasonable accommodation of their disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring an accommodation, please contact the Department of Student Life, Services for Students with Disabilities in Room 126 of the Koldus Building. The phone number is 845-1637.