

Seminar in Political Behavior
PLSC 502
TH 6:00-8:30, Damen 966

Dr. John Frendreis
Office: Damen 903
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This course will focus on voting behavior, with particular emphasis on voting behavior in the United States. A secondary, but related, focus will be on the development and structure of political attitudes. Specific topics to be covered include: models of voting behavior, the nature of belief systems, the role of political partisanship, ideology and issue voting, comparative voting behavior, nationalization of the American electorate, and realignment. The course requirements will include a major research paper, and students will be encouraged to develop a data-based paper (e.g., using National Election Studies data) to fulfill this requirement.

REQUIRED TEXTS:

Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley and Sons. Edition ordered is the 1980 University of Chicago Press edition issued through the Midway Reprint Series.

Morris P. Fiorina. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ Press.

Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg (eds.). 1993. *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, Third Edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

RECOMMENDED TEXT:

Richard Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg (eds.). 1993. *Classics in Voting Behavior*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Readings: Students are expected to complete reading assignments before class and are responsible for material from lectures, assigned readings, and class discussions.

Attendance: Attendance is not required, but participation in weekly class discussions of the assigned readings and lecture materials is one of the components of the course.

Assignments/Examination/Grading: There will not be any examinations in this class; instead, there will be four written assignments: a book review of a recommended book, two essays in which students will synthesize a substantial body of assigned readings, and a major research paper on an instructor-approved topic of the student's choice. Students will also be expected to participate in weekly class discussions. Detailed descriptions of each of the writing assignments will be handed out. The final course grade will be computed as follows:

15% class participation
5% book review
25% integrative essay #1

25% integrative essay #2
30% major research paper

Academic Honesty: "Academic honesty is an expression of an ethic of interpersonal justice, responsibility and care, applicable to Loyola University faculty, students, and staff, which demands that the pursuit of knowledge in the university community be carried out with sincerity and integrity. Academic dishonesty is characterized by the failure to apply this ethic, i.e., any action whereby faculty, student, or staff misrepresents the ownership of academic work submitted in his or her name... [This includes] plagiarism [which] is the appropriation for gain of ideas, language, or work of another without sufficient public acknowledgement that the material is not one's own... Student failure to practice academic honesty will, depending upon the seriousness of the misconduct, result in a sanction ranging from the grade of 'F' for the assignment to expulsion from the university." (The Graduate School Bulletin 1992-1994, pp. 15-16) If anyone has any questions concerning the meaning or implementation of this policy, please contact the course instructor.

OFFICE HOURS:

My scheduled office hours are Monday and Thursday from 5:00-6:00. I am also available by appointment.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Note: The instructor reserves the right to make adjustments in the following schedule.

Week Topic

8/31 Introduction
 Voting and Democracy

Required: Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg. 1993. The Study of Voting and Elections. Pp. 1-13 in R. Niemi and H. Weisberg (eds.), *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, Third Edition.

Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg. 1993. The Classics of Voting Behavior. Pp. 1-12 in R. Niemi and H. Weisberg (eds.), *Classics in Voting Behavior*.

Norman R. Luttbeg. 1981. Political Linkage in a Large Society. Pp. 1-10 in N. Luttbeg (ed.), *Public Opinion and Public Policy*, Third Edition. Itasca, IL: Peacock Publishers.

9/7 Models of Voting: The American Voter

Required: Angus Campbell, et al. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley.

Recommended: Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1966. *Elections and the Political Order*. New York: Wiley.

Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik. 1979. *The Changing American Voter*, Revised Edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

9/14 Models of Voting: Retrospective Voting

Required: Morris P. Fiorina. 1981. Retrospective Voting in American National Elections. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Recommended: V. O. Key. 1966. The Responsible Electorate. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

9/21 Mass Belief Systems

Required: Herbert McClosky. 1964. Consensus and Ideology in American Politics. American Political Science Review 58: 361-382.

Philip E. Converse. 1964. The Nature of Belief Systems in the Mass Public. Pp. 206-261 in D. Apter (ed.), Ideology and Discontent. New York: The Free Press.

Norman H. Nie with Kristi Andersen. 1974. Mass Belief Systems Revisited: Political Change and Attitude Structure. Journal of Politics 36: 540-587.

John L. Sullivan, 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: 233-249.

George F. Bishop, Alfred J. Tuchfarber, and Robert W. Oldendick. 1978. Change in the Structure of American Political Attitudes: The Nagging Question of Question Wording. American Journal of Political Science 22: 250-269.

Philip E. Converse and Gregory B. Markus. 1979. Plus ca Change...: The New CPS Election Study Panel. American Political Science Review 79: 32-49.

William G. Jacoby. 1991. Ideological Identification and Issue Attitudes. American Journal of Political Science 35: 178-205.

William G. Jacoby. 1995. The Structure of Ideological Thinking in the American Electorate. American Journal of Political Science 39: 314-335.

William Lyons and John M. Scheb, II. 1992. Ideology and Candidate Evaluation in the 1984 and 1988 Presidential Elections. Journal of Politics 54: 573-584.

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

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

9/28 Partisan Identification I

Required: Philip E. Converse. 1966. The Concept of a Normal Vote. In A. Campbell, et al. (eds.), Elections and the Political Order.

Philip E. Converse. 1969. Of Time and Partisan Stability. Comparative Political Studies 2: 139-171.

Philip E. Converse and Gregory B. Markus. 1979. Plus ca Change...: The New CPS Election Study Panel. American Political Science Review 79: 32-49.

Jerrold G. Rusk and Helmut Norpoth. 1982. Partisan Dealignment in the American Electorate: Itemizing the Deductions since 1964. American Political Science Review 76: 522-537.

Charles Hadley. 1985. Dual Partisan Identification in the South. Journal of Politics 47: 254-268.

John E. Stanga and James F. Sheffield. 1987. The Myth of Zero Partisanship. American Journal of Political Science 31: 829-855.

William G. Jacoby. 1988. The Impact of Party Identification on Issue Attitudes. American Journal of Political Science 32: 643-661.

Recommended: Martin P. Wattenberg. 1990. *The Decline of American Political Parties 1952-1988*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

10/5 Partisan Identification II

Required: Michael B. MacKuen, Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Macropartisanship*. *American Political Science Review* 83: 1125-1142. [in *Controversies*]

Bradley M. Richardson. 1991. *European Party Loyalties Revisited*. *American Political Science Review* 85: 751-776.

Bruce E. Cain, D. Roderick Kiewiet, and Carole J. Uhlaner. 1991. *The Acquisition of Partisanship by Latinos and Asian Americans*. *American Journal of Political Science* 35: 390-422.

Warren E. Miller. 1991. *Party Identification, Realignment, and Party Voting: Back to the Basics*. *American Political Science Review* 85: 557-568.

Paul R. Abramson and Charles W. Ostrom, Jr. 1991. *Macropartisanship: An Empirical Reassessment*. *American Political Science Review* 85: 181-192.

Richard G. Niemi and M. Kent Jennings. 1991. *Issues and Inheritance in the Formation of Party Identification*. *American Journal of Political Science* 35: 970-988. [in *Controversies*]

Micheal W. Giles and Kaenan Hertz. 1994. *Racial Threat and Partisan Identification*. *American Political Science Review* 88: 317-326.

Michael B. MacKuen, et al. 1992. *Question Wording and Macropartisanship*. *American Political Science Review*, 86 (June): 475-486.

Shaun Bowler, David J. Lanoue, and Paul Savoie. 1994. *Electoral Systems, Party Competition, and Strength of Partisan Attachment: Evidence from Three Countries*. *Journal of Politics* 56: 991-1007.

Jay A. DeSart. 1995. *Information Processing and Partisan Neutrality: A Reexamination of the Party Decline Thesis*. *Journal of Politics* 57: 776-795.

George F. Bishop, Alfred J. Tuchfarber, Andrew E. Smith, Paul R. Abramson, and Charles W. Ostrom. 1994. *Controversy: Question Form and Context Effects in the Measurement of Partisanship: Experimental Tests of the Artifact Hypothesis*. *American Political Science Review* 88: 945-958.

10/12 Issue Voting I

Required: David E. RePass. 1971. *Issue Salience and Party Choice*. *American Political Science Review* 65: 389-400.

Benjamin I. Page and Richard A. Brody. 1972. *Policy Voting and the Electoral Process: The Vietnam War Issue*. *American Political Science Review* 66: 979-995.

Gerald M. Pomper. 1972. *From Confusion to Clarity: Issues and American Voters, 1956-1968*. *American Political Science Review* 66: 415-428.

Michael Margolis. 1977. *From Confusion to Confusion: Issues and the American Voter (1956-1972)*. *American Political Science Review* 71: 31-43.

Gregory B. Markus. 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. [in *Controversies*]

Gregory B. Markus. 1992. *The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on Presidential Voting, 1956-1988*. *American Journal of Political Science* 36: 829-834.

George Rabinowitz and Stuart Elaine MacDonald. 1989. *A Directional Theory of Issue Voting*. *American Political Science Review* 83: 93-121.

Recommended: Benjamin I. Page. 1978. Choices and Echoes in Presidential Elections. Chicago: Univ of Chicago Press.
Donald E. Stokes. 1966. Some Dynamic Elements of Contests for the Presidency. American Political Science Review 60: 19-28.

10/19 Integrative Essay #1 Due in Class

Issue Voting II

John H. Aldrich, 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: 123-141. [in Controversies]
Robert S. Erikson. 1989. Economic Conditions and the Presidential Vote. American Political Science Review 83: 567-573.
Michael B. MacKuen, Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1992. Peasants or Bankers? The American Electorate and the U. S. Economy. American Political Science Review 86: 597-611.
Harold D. Clarke and Marianne C. Stewart. 1994. Prospecctions, Retrospections, and Rationality: The "Bankers" Model of Presidential Approval Revisited. American Journal of Political Science 38: 1104-1123.
John L. Sullivan, Amy Fried, and Mary G. Dietz. 1992. Patriotism, Politics, and the Presidential Election of 1988. American Journal of Political Science 36: 200-234.
Elizabeth Adell Cook, Ted G. Jelen, and Clyde Wilcox. 1994. Issue Voting in Gubernatorial Elections: Abortion and Post-Webster Politics. Journal of Politics 56: 187-199.
R. Michael Alvarez and Jonathan Nagler. 1995. Economics, Issues and the Perot Candidacy: Voter Choice in the 1992 Presidential Election. American Journal of Political Science 39: 714-744.
Alan I. Abramowitz. 1995. It's Abortion, Stupid: Policy Voting in the 1992 Presidential Election. Journal of Politics 57: 176-186.

10/26 N. B. Each student will only be assigned a portion of this week's readings.

Formal Models of Voting

Required: Alberto Alesina and Howard Rosenthal. 1989. Partisan Cycles in Congressional Elections and the Macroeconomy. American Political Science Review 83: 373-398.
Robert S. Erikson and David W. Romero. 1990. Candidate Equilibrium and The Behavioral Model of the Vote. American Political Science Review 84: 1103-1126.
Arthur Lupia. 1992. Busy Voters, Agenda Control, and the Power of Information. American Political Science Review 86: 390-403.
John H. Aldrich. 1993. Rational Choice and Turnout. American Journal of Political Science 37: 246-278.
Robert W. Jackman. 1993. Rationality and Political Participation. American Journal of Political Science 37: 279-290.
Carol B. Goldberg. 1994. The Accuracy of Game Theory Predictions for Political Behavior: Cumulative Voting in Illinois Revisited. American Journal of Political Science 56: 885-900.
John E. Roemer. 1994. The Strategic Role of Party Ideology When Voters Are Uncertain About How the Economy Works. American Political Science Review 88: 327-335.

Recommended: Anthony Downs. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row.

William Riker and Peter Ordeshook. 1968. A Theory of the Calculus of Voting. *American Political Science Review* 62: 25-42.

William Riker and Peter Ordeshook. 1973. *An Introduction to Positive Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

George A. Quattrone and Amos Tversky. 1988. Contrasting Rational and Psychological Analyses of Political Choice. *American Political Science Review* 82: 719-736.

Turnout

Required: G. Bingham Powell, Jr. 1986. American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective. *American Political Science Review* 80: 17-43. [in Controversies]

Stephen Earl Bennett and David Resnick. 1990. The Implications of Non-Voting for Democracy in the United States. *American Journal of Political Science* 34: 771-802.

Jonathan Nagler. 1991. The Effect of Registration Laws and Education on U. S. Voter Turnout. *American Political Science Review* 85: 1393-1405.

Jan E. Leighley and Jonathan Nagler. 1992. Socioeconomic Class Bias in Turnout, 1964-1988: The Voters Remain the Same. *American Political Science Review* 86: 725-736.

Benjamin Radcliff. 1992. The Welfare State, Turnout, and the Economy: A Comparative Analysis. *American Political Science Review* 86: 444-456.

Lyn Ragsdale and Jerrold G. Rusk. 1993. Who Are nonvoters? Profiles from the 1990 Senate Elections. *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 721-746.

Henry E. Brady, Sidnes Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation. *American Political Science Review* 89: 271-294.

Recommended: Jan E. Leighley and Jonathan Nagler. 1992. Individual and Systemic Influences on Turnout: Who Votes? 1984. *Journal of Politics* 54: 718-740.

11/2 Comparative Voting Behavior

Required: Bo Sarlvik. 1969. Socioeconomic Determinants of Voting Behavior in the Swedish Electorate. *Comparative Political Studies* 2: 99-135.

Giacomo Sani. 1974. A Test of the Least Distance Model of Voting Choice: Italy, 1972. *Comparative Political Studies* 7: 193-208.

Arend Lijphart. 1979. Religious vs. Linguistic vs. Class Voting: The "Crucial Experiment" of Comparing Belgium, Canada, South Africa, and Switzerland. *American Political Science Review* 73: 442-458.

Roy Pierce, Henry Valen, and Ola Listhaug. 1983. Referendum Voting Behavior: The Norwegian and British Referenda on Membership in the European Community. *American Journal of Political Science* 27: 43-63.

John R. Alford and Jerome S. Legge, Jr. 1984. Economic Conditions and the Individual Vote in the Federal Republic of Germany. *Journal of Politics* 46: 1168-1181.

Thomas D. Lancaster and Michael S. Lewis-Beck. 1986. The Spanish Voter: Tradition, Economics, Ideology. *Journal of Politics* 48: 648-674.

Bradley M. Richardson. 1988. Constituency Candidates Versus Parties in Japanese Voting Behavior. *American Political Science Review* 82: 695-718.

Ian McAllister and Donley T. Studlar. 1992. Region and Voting in Britain, 1979-87: Territorial Polarization of Artifact?" *American Journal of Political Science* 36: 168-199.

Christopher J. Fleury and Michael S. Lewis-Beck. 1993. Anchoring the French Voter: Ideology versus Party. *Journal of Politics* 55: 1100-1109.

Alexander C. Pacek. 1994. Macroeconomic Conditions and Electoral Politics in East Central Europe. *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 723-744.

Kenneth D. Wald and Samuel Shye. 1995. Religious Influence in Electoral Behavior: The Role of Institutional and Social Forces in Israel. *Journal of Politics* 57: 495-507.

Recommended: Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan. 1967. Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments. Pp. 1-64 in S. M. Lipset and S. Rokkan (eds.) *Party systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: Free Press.

W. Phillips Shively. 1972. Voting Stability and the Nature of Party Attachments in the Weimar Republic. *American Political Science Review* 66: 1203-1225.

Harold D. Clarke, Lawrence LeDuc, Jane Jenson, and Jon H. Pammett. 1979. *Political Choice in Canada*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

David Butler and Donald Stokes. Various Editions. *Political Change in Britain*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Kendall L. Baker, Russell J. Dalton, and Kai Hildebrandt. 1981. *Germany Transformed*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ Press.

Mark Franklin. 1985. *The Decline of Class Voting in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Clive Bean and Anthony Mughan. 1989. Leadership Effects in Parliamentary Elections in Australia and Britain. *American Political Science Review* 83: 1165-1179.

11/9 Presidential and Congressional Voting/Surge and Decline

Required: Angus Campbell. 1966. Surge and Decline: A Study of Electoral Change. In A. Campbell, et al. (eds.), *Elections and the Political Order*.

Samuel Kernell. 1977. Presidential Popularity and Negative Voting: An Alternative Explanation of the Midterm Congressional Decline of the President's Party. *American Political Science Review* 71: 44-66.

Edward Tufte. 1975. Determinants of the Outcomes of Congressional Elections. *American Political Science Review* 69: 812-826.

James E. Campbell. 1987. Evaluating the 1986 Congressional Election Forecasts. *PS* 20: 37-42.

James E. Campbell. 1987. The Revised Theory of Surge and Decline. *American Journal of Political Science* 31: 965-79.

Robert S. Erikson. 1988. The Puzzle of Midterm Loss. *Journal of Politics* 50: 1011-29.

Richard Born. 1990. Surge and Decline, Negative Voting, and the Midterm Loss Phenomenon: A Simultaneous Choice Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science* 34: 615-645.

Richard W. Waterman, Bruce I. Oppenheimer, and James A. Stimson. 1991. Sequence and Equilibrium in Congressional Elections: An Integrated Approach. *Journal of Politics* 53: 372-393.

James E. Campbell. 1993. Surge and Decline: The National Evidence. Pp. 222-240 in R. Niemi and H. Weisberg (eds.), *Controversies in Voting Behavior*.

Gregory R. Thorson and Stephen J. Stambough. 1995. Anti-Incumbency and the 1992 Elections: The Changing Face of Presidential Coattails. *Journal of Politics* 57: 210-220.

Recommended: Robert B. Arsenau and Raymond Wolfinger. 1973. Voting Behavior in Congressional Elections. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Edward Tufte. 1978. *Political Control of the Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

11/16 Research Paper Due in Class

Nationalization of the American Electorate

Required: Donald E. Stokes. 1967. Parties and the Nationalization of Electoral Forces. In W. Chambers and W. Burnham (eds.), *The American Party System*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Robert W. Jackman. 1972. Political Parties, Voting, and National Integration: The Canadian Case. *Comparative Political Studies* 4: 512-536.

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita. 1978. Redistricting and Political Integration in India. *Comparative Political Studies* 11: 279-288.

Eric C. Browne and Laura L. Vertz. 1983. An Old People in a New State: The Problem of National Integration in West Germany. *Comparative Politics* 16: 85-95.

William Claggett, William Flanigan, and Nancy Zingale. 1984. Nationalization of the American Electorate. *American Political Science Review* 78: 77-91.

Laura Vertz, John Fren dreis, and James Gibson. 1987. Nationalization of the Electorate in the United States. *American Political Science Review* 81: 961-66.

Sadafumi Kawato. 1987. Nationalization and Partisan Realignment in Congressional Elections. *American Political Science Review* 81: 1235-50.

Recommended: Donald E. Stokes. 1965. A Variance Components Model of Political Effects. In John M. Claunch (ed.), *Mathematical Applications in Political Science*. Dallas: Arnold Foundation.

11/23 ***No Class*** Happy Thanksgiving

11/30 Realignment

Required: V. O. Key. 1955. A Theory of Critical Elections. *Journal of Politics* 17: 3-18.

Kristi Andersen. 1979. Generation, Partisan Shift, and Realignment: A Glance Back to the New Deal. Pp. 74-95 in N. Nie, S. Verba, and J. Petrocik, *The*

Changing American Voter, Enlarged Edition. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Robert S. Erikson and Kent L. Tedin. 1981. The 1928-1936 Partisan Realignment: The Case for the Conversion Hypothesis. *American Political Science Review* 75: 951-962.

David W. Brady. 1985. A Reevaluation of Realignment in American Politics: Evidence from the House of Representatives. *American Political Science Review* 79: 28-49.

Stuart Elaine MacDonald and George Rabinowitz. 1987. The Dynamics of Structural Realignment. *American Political Science Review* 81: 775-796.

John R. Petrocik. 1987. Realignment: New Party Coalitions and the Nationalization of the South. *Journal of Politics* 49: 347-375.

Courtney Brown. 1988. Mass Dynamics of U. S. Presidential Competitions, 1928-1936. *American Political Science Review* 82: 1153-81.

Harold W. Stanley. 1988. Southern Partisan Changes: Dealignment, Realignment or Both? *Journal of Politics* 50: 64-88.

Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson. 1993. Modeling Change in Mass Identification with the Parties. Pp. 333-349 in R. Niemi and H. Weisberg (eds.), *Controversies in Voting Behavior*.

Peter F. Nardulli. 1995. The Concept of a Critical Realignment, Electoral Behavior, and Political Change. *American Political Science Review* 89: 10-22.

Recommended: Walter Dean Burnham. 1970. *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*. New York: Norton.

James L. Sundquist. 1983. *Dynamics of the Party System*. Revised Edition. Washington, DC: Brookings.

Jerome M. Clubb, William H. Flanigan, and Nancy H. Zingale. 1980. *Partisan Realignment: Voters, Parties, and Government in American History*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Friday, May 7th - Integrative Essay #2 Due by 5:00 p.m.