

POLITICAL SCIENCE 611
American Political Behavior

Spring 2019

Thursdays 9:00-11:30 p.m.

Professor George Hawley

Office: 306 ten Hour

Email: ghawley@ua.edu

Office Hours: Monday & Thursdays 11:30-1:00 p.m.

Course Description

This course introduces students to the political science literature on American mass political behavior, including political participation, partisanship, vote choice, and partisan change. The prerequisite for the course is graduate status. The class will be conducted as a seminar.

Objectives

By the end of this course, students will:

- understand the major theories of political participation
- understand the debates surrounding party identification and ideology
- be able to discuss and critique different theories of political behavior
- be able to discuss and critique different methods used to consider these questions
- complete a high-quality original research paper

Course Requirements and Grading (Read Carefully)

Student preparation and participation is critical for the success of this course, and thus will be a key component of grading. Students MUST come to class prepared.

1) Every student is expected to carefully read every assigned reading every week.

2) Each class period, a student is to present an overview of each article or book excerpt read for the course unless I specify otherwise. In their overview, students should highlight

- a) the question the author seeks to address
- b) where the article fits within the debate or literature
- c) the author's hypotheses
- d) competing hypotheses, mentioned by the author or not
- e) description of the research design (if appropriate)
 - f) if the article is dated (more than two decades old), an argument as to why the author's arguments remain valid or need to be reevaluated
- g) a critical evaluation of the author's claims, noting any major flaws.

Beyond presenting each paper to the class, students assigned to a particular paper or book excerpt are to submit a 4-5 page paper that analyzes their article. This paper should be e-mailed to the professor and all other students in the class no fewer than twelve hours before the class meets.

In presenting their analysis of the paper to the class, students should be prepared to speak for five to fifteen minutes.

3) Students NOT presenting papers on the day of class must come to class with a list of four CRITICAL questions based on the readings. These questions will help facilitate discussions in class. At the end of each class period, students will turn in their list of questions.

4) A crucial component of this course will be a research paper. As this course has a wide scope, students have a great deal of discretion regarding their topic. I will accept any topic as long as it deals with the subject of this course, and it has clear political implications. Ideally, this should be original research, rather than a mere replication of earlier work. While this course is focused on the United States, I will accept a paper that analyzes these issues in a foreign context. Ideally, this paper should fit within the student's own larger research agenda.

The best papers will be ready, or almost ready, for presentation at an academic conference or even submission at an academic journal. The best papers will include a thorough literature review, a well-developed hypothesis, and an appropriate research design.

At some point mid-semester (we will determine this at a later date), students are to submit a proposal for their paper, and discuss their proposed topic with the class. This will allow me and fellow students to critique the proposed idea and offer helpful suggestions.

At the end of the course, students will present their papers to the class.

The final paper will be due the last day of class.

Students will be evaluated as follows:

30% of grade, attendance and class participation throughout the semester

30% of grade, individual presentations of the assigned readings

40% of grade, research paper and presentation of research paper

Classroom Policies and Instructor Availability

I expect all students to behave professionally in this course. I am intolerant of disruptive behavior in the classroom, including talking during lectures, reading newspapers, and especially the ringing of cell phones or pagers. Laptops may be used for professional purposes, but not for playing games or surfing the Internet. Students engaging in disruptive behavior will be asked to leave the classroom in order to preserve the learning environment for other students. Class discussions are expected to be civil, rational, and respectful of others' opinions. Please do not intimidate, patronize, or ridicule anyone else during the course of classroom activities.

If students would like to speak with me outside of class time, feel free to stop by my office (306 ten Hoor Hall) during regularly scheduled office hours (Mondays and Thursdays 11:30am-1pm). If students are unable to attend office hours, but would like to meet with me, please contact me via email (ghawley@as.ua.edu) to arrange an appointment. I am typically quick to respond to such emails. I, unfortunately, cannot guarantee that I will be able to meet with students that come to my office without first scheduling a time to see me.

Academic Integrity

No form of academic dishonesty will be tolerated. The University of Alabama has detailed its policies on academic integrity (<http://www.studenthandbook.ua.edu/conduct.html>). Students should acquaint themselves with policies concerning cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, and academic interference. Any submission of work by a student in this course constitutes a certificate that the work complies with university policies on academic integrity.

Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990

The American with Disabilities Act of 1990 requires that the university make reasonable accommodation to persons with disabilities as defined in the act. Students who feel they need assistance under the ADA guidelines should approach the instructor to discuss such consideration.

Journals

Abbreviations for frequently used journals are: *APSR* (*American Political Science Review*); *AJPS* (*American Journal of Political Science*); and *JOP* (*Journal of Politics*).

Course outline

I. INTRODUCTION

January 10: **Organizational meeting**

II. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

January 17: **Electoral participation 1: Economic and social-psychological models**

Anthony Downs. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chapter 14: "The Causes and Effects of Rational Abstention."

Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter: An Abridgement*. Chapter 4.

John Aldrich. 1997. "When Is It Rational to Vote?" In Dennis Mueller (ed.), *Perspectives on Public Choice*. Chapter 17.

Benjamin Highton and Raymond E. Wolfinger. 1998. "Estimating the Effects of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993." *Political Behavior* (June).

Adam J. Berinsky. 2005. "The Perverse Consequences of Electoral Reform in the United States." *American Politics Research* 33: 471-491.

January 24: **Electoral participation 2: Mobilization**

Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation and Democracy in America* (reprinted 2003). Chapter 6.

Fredrick Harris. 1994. "Something Within: Religion as a Mobilizer of African-American Political Activism." *Journal of Politics* 56 (1): 42-68.

Alan S. Gerber and Donald P. Green. 2000. "The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment," *APSR* (Sep.).

R. Michael Alvarez, Asa Hopkins, and Betsy Sinclair. 2010. "Mobilizing Pasadena Democrats: Measuring the Effects of Partisan Campaign Contacts." *JOP* 72: 31-44.

Nickerson, David W. 2015. "Do Voter Registration Drives Increase Participation? For Whom and When?" *JOP* 77: 88-101.

III. PARTISANSHIP

January 31: **Partisanship Models**

Alan Abramowitz and Kyle Saunders. 2006. "Exploring the Bases of Partisanship in the American Electorate." *Political Research Quarterly* (June).

Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. Chapters 1 and 2.

Paul Goren. 2005. "Party Identification and Core Political Values," *AJPS* (Oct.).

Thomas M. Carsey and Geoffrey C. Layman. 2006. "Changing Sides or Changing Minds? Party Identification and Policy Preferences in the American Electorate," *AJPS* (April).

Leonie Huddy, Lilliana Mason, and Lene Aarøe. 2015. "Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity." *APSR* 109: 1-17.

Delia Baldassari and Andrew Gelman. 2008. "Partisans without Constraint." *American Journal of Sociology*. (September)

IV. VOTE CHOICE

February 7: **Issues (prospective) and candidates**

Arthur H. Miller, Martin P. Wattenberg, and Oksana Malanchuk. 1986. "Schematic Assessments of Presidential Candidates," *APSR* (June).

Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson. 1980. "The Two Faces of Issue Voting." *APSR* 74: 78-91.

George Rabinowitz and Stuart Elaine MacDonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." 83: 93-121. *APSR* 74: 78-91.

Richard R. Lau and David P. Redlawsk. 1997. "Voting Correctly," *APSR* (Sept.).

Michael Tomz and Robert P. Van Houweling. 2008. "Candidate Positioning and Voter Choice." *APSR* (Aug.).

Stephen A. Jesse. 2010. "Partisan Bias, Political Information, and Spatial Voting." *JOP* 72: 327-40.

February 14: **(Retrospective) economic voting**

Morris P. Fiorina. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in America National Elections*. Chapters 1-3.

Robert S. Erikson. 1989. "Economic Conditions and the Presidential Vote." *APSR* June.

Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 1992. "Peasants or Bankers? The American Electorate and the U.S. Economy," *APSR* (Sept.).

John R. Wright. 2012. "Unemployment and Democratic Advantage." *APSR* 685-702.

February 21: **Voter Turnout**

Richard Timpono. 1998. "Structure, Behavior, and Voter Turnout in the United States." *APSR*. (March)

Jack Citrin, Eric Schickler, and John Sides. 2003. "What if Everyone Voted?" *AJPS*. (January)

Jan Leighley and Jonathan Nagler. 1992. "Individual and Systemic Influences on Turnout." *JOP*. (August)

Eric Plutzer. 2002. "Becoming a Habitual Voter: Inertia, Resources, and Growth in Young Adulthood." *APSR* (Mar.).

February 28: **Class cancelled (professor will be at a conference presenting)**

March 7: **Campaigns 1**

Steven E. Finkel. 1993. "Reexamining the 'Minimal Effects' Model in Recent Presidential Campaigns," *JOP* (Feb.).

Thomas M. Holbrook. 1994. "Campaigns, National Conditions, and U.S. Presidential Elections." *AJPS* (Nov.).

Milton Lodge and Marco R. Steenburgen, with Shaun Brau. 1995. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation," *APSR* (June).

Christopher Wlezien and Robert S. Erikson. 2002. "The Timeline of Presidential Election Campaigns." *JOP* 64: 969-993.

March 14: **Class cancelled for spring break**

March 21: **Campaigns 2**

Richard R. Lau and Lee Sigelman. 2007. "The Effects of Negative Political Campaigns: A Meta-Analytic Reassessment." *JOP* (Nov.).

Deborah Jordan Brooks and John Geer. 2007. "Beyond Negativity: The Effects of Incivility on the Electorate." *AJPS* (Jan.).

Milton Lodge, Marco Steenbergen, and Shawn Brau. 1995. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation." *APSR*. (June)

Daron Shaw. 1999. "The Effects of TV Ads and Candidate Appearances on Statewide Presidential Votes, 1988-96." *APSR* (June)

March 28: **Media and Politics**

Markus Prior. 2005. "News vs. Entertainment: How Increasing Media Choice Widens Gaps in Political Knowledge and Turnout." *AJPS* (July)

Joanne Miller and Jon Krosnick. 2000. "News Media Impact on the Ingredients of Presidential Evaluations: Politically Knowledgeable Citizens are Guided by a Trusted Source." *AJPS* (April).

Kim Fridka Kahn and Patrick Kenney. 2002. "The Slant of the News: How Editorial Endorsements Influence Campaign Coverage and Citizen's Views of Candidates." *APSR* (June)

James N. Druckman, S. R. Gubitz, and Ashley M. Lloyd. 2019. "How Incivility on Partisan Media (De)Polarizes the Electorate." *JOP* (Forthcoming, but available online)

V. PARTISAN CHANGE

April 4: **Realignments 1: Classics**

V.O. Key. 1955. "A Theory of Critical Elections," *JOP* (Feb.).

V.O. Key. 1959. "Secular Realignment and the Party System," *JOP* (May).

Walter Dean Burnham. 1970. *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*. Chapter 1.

Paul Allen Beck. 1974. "A Socialization Theory of Partisan Realignment." In Richard G. Niemi et al. (eds.), *The Politics of Future Citizens*.

James L. Sundquist. 1983. *Dynamics of the Party System*. Chapters 1 and 3.

April 11: **Realignments 2: Issue Evolution, Southern Realignment**

Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson. 1986. "On the Structure and Sequence of Issue Evolution," *APSR* (Sept.).

Alan I. Abramowitz. 1994. "Issue Evolution Reconsidered: Racial Attitudes and Partisanship in the U.S. Electorate," *APSR* (Feb.).

Greg D. Adams. 1997. "Abortion: Evidence of an Issue Evolution," *AJPS* (July).

Alan I. Abramowitz and Kyle L. Saunders. 1998. "Ideological Realignment in the U.S. Electorate," *JOP* (Aug.).

Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. "Party Realignment in the American South." Ch. 6, pp. 140-63.

Nicholas A. Valentino and David O. Sears. 2005. "Old Times Are Not Forgotten: Race and Partisan Realignment in the Contemporary South," *AJPS* (July).

April 18: **Polarization in the Electorate 1**

Geoffrey C. Layman and Thomas M. Carsey. 2002. "Party Polarization and Conflict Extension in the American Electorate." *AJPS* 46: 786-802.

Morris P. Fiorina and Samuel J. Abrams. 2008. "Political Polarization in the American Public." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 563-588.

Alan I Abramowitz and Kyle L. Saunders. 2008. "Is Polarization a Myth?" *JOP* 70: 542-55.

Morris P. Fiorina, Samuel A. Abrams, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2008. "Polarization in the American Public: Misconceptions and Misreadings." *JOP* 70: 556-60.

Matthew Levendusky. 2009. *The Partisan Sort: How Liberals Became Democrats and Conservatives Became Republicans*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1, 3, and 6 (pp. 1-11; 38-77; 109-119).

April 25: **Polarization in the Electorate 2**

Edward G. Carmines, Michael J. Ensley, and Michael W. Wagner. 2012. "Who Fits the Left-Right Divide? Partisan Polarization in the American Electorate." *American Behavioral Scientist* 56: 1631-1653.

Shanto Iyengar, Gaurav Sood, and Yphtach Lelkes. 2012. "Affect, Not Ideology: A Social Identity Perspective on Polarization." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76(3): 405-431.

Lilliana Mason. 2015. "'I Disrespectfully Disagree': The Differential Effects of Partisan Sorting on Social and Issue Polarization." *AJPS* 59: 128-145.

Matthew Levendusky and Neil Malhotra. 2016. "Does Media Coverage of Partisan Polarization Affect Political Attitudes?" *Political Communication* 33: 283-301.

Corwin Smidt. 2015. "Polarization and the Decline of the American Floating Voter." *AJPS* Oct. 14 online.