

**Political Science 333: Elections, American Style**  
**Spring 2006**

**Professor Paul Gronke**  
**434 Eliot Hall**  
**503-517-7393**

**Office Hours: Thursday, 9-11 am or by appointment**

**Course Summary:**

**Readings and other resources:**

The following books are available for purchase at the Reed bookstore.

Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press. This is the seminal text that combines rational choice institutionalism to electoral rules and voting.

Abramson, Paul, John Aldrich, and David Rohde. 2006. *Change and Continuity in the 2004 Elections*. Washington DC: CQ Press. This is a standard reference for elections and electoral behavior research. Note that if you are going to buy this book, make sure you get the newest edition.

Popkin, Samuel. 1994. *The Reasoning Voter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. This book provides a very accessible introduction to the way the cognitive psychology and communication studies help us think about electoral behavior.

As befits an area of political science as dynamic as electoral behavior, the course will rely on recent journal articles and significant portions of other books. All books have been placed on reserve, and when there is only one copy in the library, we have also produced a second printed copy of the readings. If the book is not owned by Reed, there will be a reserve copy and an "honor" copy kept outside my office.

We will make use of an online guide to analyzing the 2004 Election, called "Setups", available at this website: <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/SETUPS/>. The system uses the same online data analysis package that is taught in Soc211 and Pol210.

Websites that provide good sources for election results, electoral systems, public opinion, and voting behavior include

1. The Lijphart Elections Archive: <http://dodgson.ucsd.edu/lij/> provides a wealth of election statistics and links to other archives. This archive contains the data used in Cox's book.
2. Elections and Election Systems around the world, a comprehensive guide: <http://www.psr.keele.ac.uk/election.htm>
3. Wikipedia guide to recent elections provides results on recent elections: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_by\\_country](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_by_country)

4. [Pollingreport.com](http://pollingreport.com) provides all sorts of polling data, but only recent.
5. Project Vote Smart is a voter guide for US citizens. <http://www.vote-smart.org/index.htm>
6. The National Journal's website, available to Reed users, has one of the best sources of "inside the Beltway" information, campaign updates, "tip sheets", and a wonderful archive of recent campaign ads  
<http://nationaljournal.com/about/policycentral/>
7. The National Election Study conducted at the University of Michigan is the premier academic survey dedicated to American electoral behavior. It is available either at <http://sda.berkeley.edu>, via a web-based statistics interface, or can be directly downloaded at NES home page: <http://www.umich.edu/~nes/>.

#### **Class requirements:**

- Class participation: 20% of course grade.
- Short assignments: 20% of course grade.
- Midterm paper: 20% of course grade.
- Final research paper:(15-20 pages): 40% of course grade.

#### **Course Schedule**

##### **1. January 24: What is Political Behavior?**

- a. Carmines, Edward and Robert Huckfeldt. "Political Behavior: An Overview." Ch. 8 in Goodin and Klingermann, *A New Handbook of Political Science*.

##### **2. January 26: What happened in the 2004 Election?**

- a. Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde. Part 1 (pg. 1-72)

##### **3. January 31. The current state of the American political system**

- a. Pomper, Gerald. 2005. "The Presidential Elections: The Ills of American Politics after 9/11". Ch. 3 in Michael Nelson (ed), *The Elections of 2004*. CQ Press.
- b. Mellow, Nicole. 2005. "Voting Behavior: The 2004 Election and the Roots of Republican Success." Ch. 4 in Nelson (ed), *The Elections of 2004*. CQ Press.
- c. Jeffrey M. Stonecash (2005) "Scaring the Democrats: What's the Matter with Thomas Frank's Argument? *The Forum*: Vol. 3: No. 3, Article 4.  
<http://www.bepress.com/forum/vol3/iss3/art4>
- d. Alan Abramowitz and Kyle Saunders (2005) "Why Can't We All Just Get Along? The Reality of a Polarized America", *The Forum*: Vol. 3: No. 2, Article 1. <http://www.bepress.com/forum/vol3/iss2/art1>

##### **4. February 2: Empirical Exercise, our first take on the 2004 Election**

- a. Complete exercises 1-4 in "Setups: Voting Behavior in the 2004 Election". Discuss in class.

5. **February 7: Why do we hold elections? Models of representation**
  - a. Manin, Bernard. *The Principles of Representative Government*. Chs. 1-2.
6. **February 9: Rules of the Game 1: The diverse world of election systems**
  - a. Lijphart, Arend. 1994. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*. Chapter 2.
  - b. Turn in a brief (2-3 page) memo, including empirical results, on either party polarization, the working class vote, or on economics and politics in the 2004 election.
7. **February 14: Duverger's Law and the impact of electoral laws on party systems**
  - a. Duverger, Maurice. *Political Parties*. Book 2, Chapter 1, Section I (dealing with two party systems), p. 206-228
  - b. Cox, Gary. *Making Votes Count*. Part I.
8. **February 16: Electoral laws, strategic Voting and strategic candidate entry**
  - a. Cox, Gary. *Making Votes Count*. Parts II and III.
9. **February 21: Duverger's Law, what does Cox conclude?**
  - a. Cox, Gary. *Making Votes Count*. Part IV and Chapter 15
10. **February 23: Empirical Exercise: Duverger's Law, what do we conclude?**
  - a. Produce updated estimates for the ENP (Effective Number of Parties) for at least five countries, using Chapter 8 (especially Table 8.1) of Rein Taagpera and Matthew Shugart. *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. Write a 1-2 page memo on your results and be prepared to discuss these results in class. You may work in groups of two on this project.
11. **February 28: Election laws and election reform in the US?**
  - a. Thompson, Dennis. *Just Elections*. Introduction and Ch. 1
  - b. "Voting: What Is, What Could Be". Report of the CalTech/MIT Voting Technology Project. Available online here:  
<http://www.vote.caltech.edu/reports/2001report>
12. **March 2: Election laws and election reform, proposals for change**
  - a. Each student will research one reform proposal (listed below) and provide a 2-3 page memo on the advantages and disadvantages of it.
    - i. "Building Confidence in U.S. Elections: A Report of the Commission on Federal Election Reform." Available online here:  
<http://www.american.edu/ia/cfer/>
    - ii. "One Ballot One Oregon": A proposal to reform the primary election system in Oregon. <http://www.oneballot.com>
    - iii. Instant Run Off Voting: <http://www.fairvote.org/?page=22>
    - iv. Non-partisan legislative redistricting:  
<http://www.fairvote.org/?page=1428>

- v. Reed's Single Transferable Vote system, described at wikipedia ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Single\\_Transferable\\_Vote](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Single_Transferable_Vote)).

**13. March 7: The "Michigan Model" of Voter Choice**

- a. Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. *The American Voter*. Chapter 2 "Theoretical Orientation."
- b. Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. *Elections and the Political Order*. Chs. 2-4.

**14. March 9: Updates on the Michigan Model**

- a. Kelly, Stanley and Thad W. Mirer. 1974. "The Simple Act of Voting." *American Political Science Review*. 68(June): 572-91.
- b. Dalton, Russell and Martin Wattenberg. "The Not So Simple Act of Voting." Chapter 8 In Ada Finifter (ed), *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*.
- c. Lau, Richard and David P. Redlawsk. 1997. "Voting Correctly." *American Political Science Review*. 91(September): 585-98.

**15. Midterm Essay. Did voters vote "simply" in 2004?**

- a. Replicate either Lau and Redlawsk or Kelly and Mirer model using 2004 data. Discuss results in class and turn in a five to seven page academic paper describing your results on **March 23rd**.

**16. March 21: Partisan Identification**

- a. Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde. Ch. 8.
- b. Wattenberg, Martin. 1991. *The Rise of Candidate Centered Politics*. Chs. 1-3.
- c. Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. Chs. 1-2 and 8.
- d. Erikson, Robert, Michael MacKuen, and James Stimson. 2002. *The Macro Polity*. Cambridge Univ. Press. Chs. 4-5.

**17. March 23: Empirical exercise, party ID and voter choice since 1972**

- a. In class exercise. Using SDA, we will estimate the proportion of strong, weak, and "leaners" who voted for the other party's presidential candidate since 1972.
- b. **Midterm essay is due.**

**18. March 28: Presidential personality assessment**

- a. Bryce, James. *The American Commonwealth*. "Why great men are not elected president." Chapter 8 of volume 1, available online: <http://oll.libertyfund.org/ToC/0004.php>
- b. Kinder, Donald R. 1986. "Presidential Character Revisited." Ch. 10 in Lau and Sears (ed), *Political Cognition*. Lawrence Erlbaum.
- c. Funk, Carolyn. 1999. "Bringing the Candidate into Models of Candidate Evaluation." *Journal of Politics* 6(August): 700-20.

- d. Goren, Paul. 2002. "Character Weakness, Partisan Bias, and Presidential Evaluations." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(July): 627-41.
- e. Aldrich, John and Paul Gronke. 2004. "Policy, Personality, and Presidential Performance." Unpublished manuscript. Available at <http://www.reed.edu/~gronkep>

**19. March 30: Empirical Exercise, Trait and Affect in the 2004 Election**

- a. Using SDA, examine the trait and affect profiles of Bush and Kerry in the 2004 election. Provide a brief 2-3 page memo describing your results.

**20. April 4<sup>th</sup> Issue Voting**

- a. Fiorina, Morris. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American Presidential Elections*. Chs. 1-3.
- b. Kinder, Donald, Gordon Adams, and Paul Gronke. 1989. "Economics and Politics in 1984." *American Journal of Political Science* 33: 491-515.
- c. Nadeau, Richard and Michael S. Lewis Beck. 2001. "National Economic Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections." *Journal of Politics*. 63(January): 159-81.

**21. April 6<sup>th</sup> Issues in the 2004 Presidential Contest**

- a. Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde. Chs. 6-7.

**22. April 11<sup>th</sup> Election Forecasting**

- a. Campbell, James. 2000. "The Science of Presidential Forecasting." Ch. 10 in Campbell and Garand. *Before the Vote: Forecasting American National Elections*.
- b. Fair, Roy. 2002. *Forecasting Presidential Elections and other things*. Chs. 1-4.
- c. Lewis-Beck, Michael and Tom Rice. 1992. *Forecasting Elections*. Ch. 4: "House elections."

**23. April 13<sup>th</sup>: Forecasting models in 2004**

- a. Symposium on 2004 Forecasts in *PS: Political Science and Politics* October 2004. All articles are available here: [http://apsanet.org/content\\_13000.cfm](http://apsanet.org/content_13000.cfm)
- b. Produce your own forecast for the 2006 Midterm contests. Write a 1-2 page memo and turn in.

**24. April 18<sup>th</sup> Campaign Advertising and Voter Learning**

- a. Johnson, Richard, Michael Hagen, and Kathleen Jamieson. 2004. *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics*. Chs. 2-4 and conclusion.
- b. Just, Marion, Ann Crigler, Dean Alger, Timothy Cook, Montague Kern, and Darrell West. 1996. *Crosstalk*. Chs. 3-5 and conclusion.

- c. Ansolabehere, Stephen and Shanto Iyengar. 1995. *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink and Polarize the Electorate*. Chs. 3-5.

**25. April 20<sup>th</sup>      Movie day: viewing campaign advertisement**

- a. We will view as a class campaign advertisements from the PBS “60 Second Candidate” documentary as well as National Journal’s Policy Central.

**26. April 25-27:    Can voters make sense of it all? The “reasoning” voter.**

- a. Popkin, Samuel. *The Reasoning Voter*. Entire book.
- b. Pappi, Franz. “Political Behavior: Reasoning Voters and Multi-Party Systems.” Ch. 9 in Goodin and Klingemann, *A New Handbook of Political Science*.

**27. May 8<sup>th</sup>:      Final papers due in my office**