

VOTING AND ELECTIONS

This is a reading, discussion, and research seminar intended to introduce you to the literature on voting, candidates, and elections, both generally and as it relates to legislatures in particular. There is an enormous literature in this field, and it is growing all of the time. Nonetheless, if we can get through this reading list, you will have an excellent foundation.

We have included on the list a few classic readings, but most are contemporary works that represent the latest theories and empirical work about voting behavior and elections as well as suggesting new directions for their study. Where appropriate, the material deals with public opinion more broadly and with institutional factors that influence elections. On occasion we will deal with comparative studies.

You should finish the course with a comprehensive understanding of past research and a good idea of the directions in which that research is now moving.

TEXTS:

You may find it convenient to purchase Niemi & Weisberg, *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 4th ed., CQ Press, 2001.

REQUIREMENTS:

1. You will be responsible for the numbered readings as assigned in class.
2. You will be expected to participate in class discussions.
3. You should submit two relatively specific questions on the readings for each week (except week 1). The questions may involve either the substance or the methodology. Questions are due by 8 a.m. on the day of class, but handing them in the day before would be appreciated. E-mail submission is fine.
4. There is a research paper due at the end of the course. The paper will be discussed in class and in individual meetings. Note, however, that we expect to see a draft, which we will critique, as well as the final copy.
5. Periodically, you will be expected to lead a discussion of selected work.

SCHEDULE OF READINGS:

I. Course Overview; Historical Perspective and Current Trends in Voting Research

1. *Controversies*, ch. 1.
2. Knight & Marsh, "Varieties of Election Studies," in Wlezien & Franklin, *The Future of Election Studies*.

II. Political Information

1. *Controversies*, ch. 6.
2. Delli Carpini & Keeter, *What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters*, chs. 2-3, 6.
3. Page & Shapiro, "Rational Public Opinion," *Controversies*, ch. 9.

4. Althaus, *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics*, ch. 4.
5. Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter*, chs. 2-3.
6. Lau & Redlawsk, "Advantages and Disadvantages of Using Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making," *AJPS*, Oct., 2001.

III. Representation

1. Miller & Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress," *APSR*, Mar., 1963.
2. Achen, "Measuring Representation," *AJPS*, Aug., 1978.
3. Powell, "Issue Representation in Congress," *JOP*, Aug., 1982.
4. Ansolabehere, Gerber, & Snyder, "Equal Vote, Equal Money," *APSR*, Dec., 2002.
5. Rosenthal, *The Decline of Representative Democracy*, ch. 1.
6. Ansolabehere, Snyder, & Stewart, "Candidate Positioning in U.S. House Elections," *AJPS*, Jan., 2001.
7. Canes-Wrone, Brady, & Cogan, "Out of Step, Out of Office: Electoral Accountability and House Members' Voting," *APSR*, Mar., 2002.

IV. Issues, Candidates, and the Vote

1. *Controversies*, ch. 10.
2. Miller & Shanks, *The New American Voter*, chs. 8, 12, 17.
3. Dalton, in LeDuc et al., *Comparing Democracies 2*, ch. 9.
4. Lodge, Steenbergen, & Brau, "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation," *Controversies*, ch. 13.
5. Lau, Sigelman, Heldman, & Babbitt, "The Effects of Negative Political Advertisements," *APSR*, Dec., 1999.
6. Blais et al., "Which Matters Most? Concerning the Impact of Issues and the Economy in American, British, and Canadian Elections." *BJPS*, July, 2004.
7. Fournier et al., "Issue Importance and Performance Voting," *Political Behavior*, Mar., 2003.

V. Democratic Support

1. Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, *Congress as Public Enemy*, ch. 4.
2. Dalton, *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices*, chs. 1-2 (remaining chapters to be divided up for individual reports).
3. Norris, *Critical Citizens*, chs. 5, 12.
4. Norris & Inglehart, "Islamic Culture and Democracy," *Comp. Soc.*, 1, 2002.

VI. Candidate Polarization

1. Fiorina, "Whatever Happened to the Median Voter," MIT, 1999.
2. King, "Party Competition, Primaries and Representation in the U.S. Congress," unpublished paper, MIT, 1999.
3. Jacobson, "The Electoral Basis of Partisan Polarization in Congress," APSA paper, 2000.
4. Gerber & Morton, "Primary Election Systems and Representation," *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*, 1998, 304-24.

5. Powell, "Primary Elections and Party Polarization," unpublished paper.
6. Poole & Rosenthal, "D-Nominate After 10 years," *LSQ*, 2001.

VII. Partisanship

1. *Controversies*, ch. 17.
2. Green, Palmquist, & Schickler, *Partisan Hearts and Minds*, chs. 3-4 (remaining chapters to be divided up for individual reports).
3. Erikson, MacKuen, & Stimson, *The Macro Polity*, ch. 4.
4. Miller & Shanks, *The New American Voter*, pp. 120-28, ch. 7.
5. Dalton, McAllister, & Wattenberg, "The Consequences of Partisan Dealignment," in Dalton & Wattenberg, *Parties without Partisans*.
6. Bartels, "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996," *AJPS*, Jan., 2000.
7. Fiorina, "Parties and Partisanship: A 40-Year Retrospective," *Political Behavior*, June, 2002.
8. Bartels, "Beyond the Running Tally," *Political Behavior*, June, 2002.
9. Hetherington, "Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization," *APSR*, Sept., 2001.
10. Meffert, Norpoth, & Ruhil, "Realignment and Macropartisanship," *APSR*, Dec., 2001.
11. Powell, "Constituency Partisanship in House and Senate Elections 1972-2000," unpublished paper, 2004.

VIII. Strategic Politicians and Candidate Emergence

1. Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 6th ed., pp. 151-70.
2. Lynch, "Midterm Elections and Economic Fluctuations: The Response of Voters Over Time," *LSQ*, 2002.
3. Newman & Ostrom, "Explaining Seat Changes in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1950-98," *LSQ*, 2002.
4. Jacobson, "Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of U.S. House Elections 1946-1986," *APSR*, 1989.
5. Kazee, *Who Runs for Congress? Ambition, Context, and Candidate Emergence*, chs. 1, 5, & App.
6. Banks & Kiewiet, "Explaining Patterns of Candidate Competition in Congressional Elections," *AJPS*, Nov., 1989.

IX. Economic Factors and Voting

1. Markus, "The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on the Presidential Vote," *Controversies*, 3rd ed., ch. 10; update, *AJPS*, Aug., 1992.
2. Erikson, MacKuen, & Stimson, "Bankers and Peasants Revisited," *Electoral Studies*, June/Sept., 2000.
3. Select among articles in *Electoral Studies*, June/Sept., 2000.
4. Nadeau, Niemi, & Yoshinaka, "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context Across Time and Nations," *Electoral Studies*, Sept., 2002.
5. Nadeau & Lewis-Beck, "National Economic Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections,"

Controversies, ch. 11.

X. Incumbency Effect

1. Jacobson "The Marginals Never Vanished," *AJPS*, 1987.
2. Bauer & Hibbing, "Which Incumbents Lose in House Elections," *AJPS*, 1989.
3. Gelman & King, "Estimating Incumbency Advantage Without Bias," *AJPS*, 1990.
4. Carey, Niemi & Powell, "Incumbency and the Probability of Reelection in State Legislative Districts," *JOP*, 2000.
5. Cox & Katz, "Why Did the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections Grow?" *AJPS*, 1996.
6. Ansolabehere & Snyder, "The Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Elections: An Analysis of State and Federal Offices, 1942-2000," *Election Law Journal*, 2002.
7. Ansolabehere, Snyder, & Stewart, "Old Voters, New Voters, and the Personal Vote: Using Redistricting to Measure the Incumbency Advantage," *AJPS*, Jan., 2000.
8. Ansolabehere & Snyder, "Using Term Limits to Estimate Incumbency Advantages When Officeholders Retire Strategically," *LSQ*, forthcoming.

XI. Congressional and State Legislative Voting

1. *Controversies*, ch. 14.
2. Fiorina, "Balancing Explanations of Divided Government," *Controversies*, ch. 15; "Divided Government in the American States: A Byproduct of Legislative Professionalism?" *APSR*, June, 1994.
3. Burden & Kimball, "A New Approach to the Study of Ticket Splitting," *Controversies*, ch. 16.
4. Roscoe, "The Choosers or the Choices? Voter Characteristics and the Structure of Electoral Competition as Explanations for Ticket-Splitting," *JOP*, Nov., 2003.
5. Lewis-Beck & Nadeau, "Split-Ticket Voting: The Effects of Cognitive Madisonianism," *JOP*, Feb., 2004.
6. Campbell, *The Presidential Pulse of Congressional Elections*, chs. 6-7.
7. Atkeson & Partin, "Economic and Referendum Voting: A Comparison of Gubernatorial and Senate Elections," *APSR*, Mar., 1995.
8. Carey, Niemi, & Powell, *Term Limits in the State Legislatures*, ch. 5.
9. Adams, "Legislative Effects of Single-Member vs. Multi-Member Districts," *AJPS*, Feb., 1996.

XII. Money In Elections

1. Jacobson, "The Effects of Campaign Spending in Congressional Elections," *APSR* June, 1978.
2. Green & Krasno, "Salvation for the Spendthrift Incumbent: Reestimating the Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections," *AJPS*, 1988.
3. Jacobson, "The Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections: New Evidence for Old Arguments," *AJPS* 1990; Green & Krasno, "Rebuttal," *AJPS*, 1990.
4. Gerber, "Estimating the Effect of Campaign Spending on Senate Election Outcomes Using Instrumental Variables," *APSR*, 1998.

5. Erikson & Palfrey, "Campaign Spending and Incumbency: An Alternative Simultaneous Equations Approach," *JOP*, May, 1998.
6. Brown, Powell, & Wilcox, *Serious Money*, chs. 1, 3-4.

Some topics not covered

Turnout (and participation more broadly)

- Decline in turnout
- Reporting errors (e.g., overreporting turnout)
- Changes in types of participation over time
- Effects of contacting
- Effect of full turnout

Voting equipment

- Variations in availability
- Effects of different kinds (e.g., on roll-off)
- Effects of ballot position

Electoral laws

- Party development (esp. in new democracies)

Historical Studies

- Turnout
- Voting processes
- Partisan intensity

Possible paper topics

Many topics involving content analyses of newspapers

Social studies course work (HSTS)

Effects of parents on offspring (School study)

College student voting

State and congressional elections: variations across states and constituencies; trends in and reasons for uncontested seats, including, for example, term limits in elections

Comparative work: Eurobarometer data; World values survey; National election studies

Updating various analyses