

Political Science 688
Voter Behavior in the Context of Electoral Institutions
Tuesday, 4-6, 3440 Mason Hall

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Course description:

The course will discuss voter behavior in the context of electoral institutions. In particular, it will examine the incentives for voters set by electoral systems, regime types, and institutional factors in general, and analyze voter behavior in light of the institutional environments in which voters operate. The readings will include behavioral, rational, and psychological approaches. The majority of the studies we will read develop theoretical statements and test them using observational data, yet some of the studies rely on experiments, and others are purely theoretical. Most topics will be discussed in the empirical context of OECD countries.

Books and reading materials:

The following books are on reserve and available for purchase at Ulrich, Michigan Union Bookstore, and Michigan Book and Supply:

Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Cox, W. Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alesina, Alberto, and Howard Rosenthal. 1995. *Partisan Politics, Divided Government and the Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The rest of the materials will be available on e-reserves, reserves, and the course web site unless mentioned otherwise.

Assignments:

Attendance and participation: attendance, participation, and contribution to the discussions are an important part of the course requirements. You are expected to attend the session having done the reading and reflected upon them and to contribute to the discussion. Please let me know ahead of time if you have to miss a session.

Discussion leading: each student will be responsible for one topic. This includes distributing a few questions that will serve as a guide for reading the material, giving a short presentation in class (5-10 minutes) as an introduction to the discussion, and

participating in leading the discussion on that week. Questions should be distributed by Friday at 5.

Research presentation: in the last few weeks of the semester, students will present their research to the class and receive feedback on their projects.

Research paper: an original research paper. By November 7 at 5PM you will have to hand in one page of preliminary research about your topic and the form the paper will take. Papers are due on December 19 at 5PM.

Reading list:

*=recommended

September 6 Introduction

September 13 Economic Voting

Powell, G. Bingham, and Guy Whitten. 1993. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context." *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 73 (2), pp. 391-414.

Duch, Ray, and Randy Stevenson. "Context and the Economic Vote: A Multilevel Analysis." Forthcoming, *Political Analysis*, Fall 2005. (I will hand out a copy if it is not yet available in print)

Lewis-Beck, Michael, and Richard Nadeau. 2000. "French Electoral Institutions and the Economic Vote." *Electoral Studies* Vol. 19 (2-3): 171-182.

Duch, Ray. 2001. "A Developmental Model of Heterogeneous Economic Voting in New Democracies." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 95 (4): 895-910.

*Dorussen, Han, and Michael Taylor. 2001. "The Political Context of Issue-Priority Voting: Coalitions and Economic Voting in the Netherlands, 1970-1999." *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 20, pp 399-426.

*Whitten, Guy, and Harvey Palmer. 1999. "Cross National Analyses of Economic Voting." *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 18, pp. 49-67.

September 20 Issue Voting

Iversen, Torben. 1994. "Political Leadership and Representation in West European Democracies: A Test of Three Models of Voting." *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 38(1): pp. 45-74.

Westholm, Anders. 1997. "Distance vs. Direction: the Illusory Defeat of the Proximity Theory of Electoral Choice." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 91 (4): 865-885.

Macdonald, S. Elaine, George Rabinowitz, and Ola Listhaug. 1995. "Political Sophistication And Models of Issue Voting." *British Journal Of Political Science* Vol. 25 (4): 453-483.

Kedar, Orit. 2005. "When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 99 (2): 185-199.

*Rabinowitz, George, and Elaine Macdonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 83 (1): 93-121.

*Lewis, Jeffrey B. and Gary King. 2000. "No Evidence on Directional Vs. Proximity Voting." *Political Analysis* Vol. 8(1): 21-33.

September 27 Strategic Voting

Cox, W. Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-7.

Grofman, Bernard. 1985. "The Neglected role of the Status Quo in Models of Issue Voting." *Journal of Politics* 47 (1): 230-237.

*Cox, Gary W., and Matthew S. Shugart. 1996. "Strategic voting under proportional representation." *Journal of Law Economics & Organization* Vol. 12 (2): 299-324.

*Blais et al. 2001. "Measuring Strategic Voting in Multiparty Plurality Elections." *Electoral Studies* Vol. 20 (3): 343-352.

*Alvarez, R. Michael, and Jonathan Nagler. 2000. "A New Approach for Modelling Strategic Voting in Multiparty Elections." *British Journal of Political Science* Vol. 30 (1): 57-75.

October 4 Electoral Cycles

Alesina, Alberto, and Howard Rosenthal. 1995. *Partisan Politics, Divided Government, and the Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-4.

Shugart, Matthew S. 1995. "The Electoral Cycle and Institutional Sources of Divided Presidential Government." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 89 (2): 327-343.

Lohman, Suzanne, David W. Brady, and Doug Rivers. 1997. "Party Identification, Retrospective Voting, and Moderating Elections in A Federal System: West Germany, 1961-1989." *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 30 (4): 420-449.

*Mebane, Walter R. Jr., and Jasgeet S. Sekhon. 2002. "Coordination and Policy Moderation at Midterm." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 96(1), pp. 141-157.

October 11 Ticket Splitting

Fiorina, Morris. *Divided Government*. 1996. Allyn & Bacon. Chapter 5, pp. 59-84.

Lacy, Dean and Phillip Paolino. 1998. "Downsian Voting and the Separation of Powers." *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 42 (4): 1180-1199.

Mebane, Walter R. Jr. 2000. "Coordination, Moderation, and Institutional Balancing in American Presidential and house Elections." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 94 (1) 37-58.

*Gschwend, Thomas. 2003. "Split-Ticket Patterns in Mixed-Member Proportional Election Systems: Estimates and Analyses of Their Spatial Variation at the German Federal Election, 1998." *British Journal of Political Science* Vol. 33: 109-127.

October 18 Fall study break, no class.

October 25 Second-Order Elections and Others

Reif, Karlheinz, and Hermann Schmitt. 1980. "Nine 2nd-Order National Elections – A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results." *European Journal of Political Research* Vol. 8 (1): 3-44.

Anderson, Christopher J. 1996. "Barometer Elections in Comparative Perspective." *Electoral Studies* Vol. 15 (4): 447-460.

Marsh, Michael. 1998. "Testing the second-Order Election Model after Four European Elections." *British Journal of Political Science* Vol. 28: 591-607.

Marsh, Michael, and Mark N. Franklin. 1996. "The Foundations: Unanswered Questions from the Study of European Elections, 1979-1994." In *Choosing Europe?* van der Eijk and Franklin, Eds. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pp. 11-32.

November 1 Leadership Effect

Lodge, Milton, Kathleen McGraw, and Patrick Stroh. 1989. "An Impression-Driven Model of Candidate Evaluation." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 83 (2): 400-419.

Bean, Clive, and Tony Mughan. 1989. "Leadership Effects in Parliamentary Elections in Australia and Britain." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 83 (4): 1166-1179.

Clarke et al. 1998. "New Model for New Labour: The Political Economy of Labour Party Support, January 1992-April 1997." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 92 (3): 559-575.

November 8 Information

Morton, Rebecca B., and Kenneth C. Williams. 1999. "Information Asymmetries and Simultaneous versus Sequential Voting." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 93 (1): 51-67.

Druckman, James N. 2001. "Using Credible Advice to Overcome Framing Effects." *Journal of Law, Economics and Organizations* Vol. 17 (1): 62-82.

Bartels, Larry. 1996. "Uninformed votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 40 (1): 194-230.

*Lupia, Arthur. 1992. "Busy Voters, Agenda Control, and the Power of Information." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 86 (2): 390-403.

November 15 Party Attachment

John D. Huber, Georgia Kernell and Eduardo I Leoni. 2005. "Institutional Context, Cognitive Resources and Partisan Attachments across Democracies." *Political Analysis*, Fall 2005.

Richardson, Bradley, M. 1991. "European Party Loyalty Revisited." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 85 (3): 751-775.

Rivers, Doug. 1988. "Heterogeneity in Models of Electoral Choice." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 32 (3): 737-757.

Cain, Bruce, and John Ferejohn. 1981. "Party Identification in the U.S. and Britain." *Comparative Political Studies* 14 (1): 31-47.

*Norpoth Helmut. 1978. "Party Identification in West-Germany: Tracing an Elusive Concept." *Comparative Political Studies* 11 (1):

36-61.

*Blais et al. 2001. "Measuring Party Identification: Britain, Canada, and the United States." *Political Behavior* Vol. 23 (1): 5-22.

November 22 Turnout

Powell, G. Bingham Jr. 1986. "American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 80 (1): 17-43.

Franklin, Mark, Cees van der Eijk, and Erik Oppenhuis. 1996. "The Institutional Context: Turnout." In van der Eijk and Franklin, Eds. *Choosing Europe?* Chapter 19, pp. 306-331.

Aldrich, John. 1993. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 37 (1): 246-278.

*Feddersen, Timothy J., and Wolfgang Pesendorfer. 1999. "Abstention in Elections with Asymmetric Information and Diverse Preferences." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 93(2): 381-398.

*Bendor, Jonathan, Daniel Diermeier, and Michael Ting. 2003. "A Behavioral Model of Turnout." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 97 (2): 261-280.

November 29 From Parties to Voters

Powell, G. Bingham Jr. "Extremist Parties and Political Turmoil: Two Puzzles." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 30 (2): 357-378.

Adams, James, and Samuel Merrill, III. 1999. "Modeling Party Strategy and Policy Representation in Multiparty Elections: Why Are Strategies so Extreme?" *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 43 (3): 765-791.

Cox, Gary. 1990. "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 34 (4): pp. 903-935.

*Iversen, Torben. 1994. "The Logics of Electoral Politics: Spatial, Directional, and Mobilizational Effects." *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 27 (3): 155-189.

December 6 Elections and Democracy

Powell, G. Bingham Jr. 2000. *Elections As Instruments of Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Shugart, Matthew S., and Martin P. Wattenberg. *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 25.

December 13 Poster Session