

University of Virginia
Political Behavior
Spring Semester 2018
Syllabus PLCP 3500 - 002
MoWe 3:00PM - 4:15PM/ McLeod Hall 2005
Instructor: Rodrigo Castro Cornejo, Department of Politics
Office hours: Mo We 2:00PM – 3:00PM
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1. Course Overview

Why do people vote the way they vote? This course will focus on voting behavior and the influence that attitudinal and social factors, candidates, and campaigns have on vote choice. It will have a special focus on the U.S and Latin America but also considers experiences in Western Europe. The first part of the course will introduce students to survey research and public opinion to understand instruments with which political scientists measure political attitudes and voting behavior. We will also examine factors that help explain voting patterns such as party identification, ideology, religious affiliation, race, levels of education, the urban-rural divide, among others. Throughout the second part of this course, we will see that electoral competition in other countries frequently varies from what we usually experience in the U.S. Hence, our intuition about democratic politics may not automatically apply to other contexts. We will also explore how vote-buying, corruption and crime influence voting behavior around the world. In the second part of the course, we will study the impact of political campaigns on voters' behavior. The course project will involve analyzing a political campaign with a special focus on electoral polls, parties, and candidates

2. Description

This course is an introduction to voting behavior designed for students who want to understand why people vote the way they vote. We will engage with different theories to compare and contrast factors that shape patterns of voting in a comparative perspective.

By taking this course you will be able to understand:

- Why do people vote as they do?
- What factors shape voters' decision-making at election time?
- How do different political contexts shape the way voters make decisions?
- How do political campaigns affect voters' attitudes and preferences?

Upon successful completion of this class you should be able to:

- Explain and differentiate competing theories about how voters make decisions at election time.
- Identify factors that explain vote choice and evaluate the extent to which these factors drive voters' decisions in different political systems.
- Sharpen analytical and research skills that will help you think critically about elections and voting behavior.

3. Requirements

This class will be conducted as a seminar. I expect that students will have done the assigned readings before coming to class and will be able to summarize their main arguments. Some of these **readings are very technical**; I want you to do your best with the presentation of the statistics but to read for the main ideas. In class, we will discuss the readings. I will also present additional evidence from other studies. The exams will draw on both the readings and class discussions. These readings will be heaviest for the middle third of the class; the load lightens as final exams approach.

Grading:

Your final grade in this course will be broken down as follows:

Participation: 40%

 In-class participation: 20%

 Discussion questions: 10%

 Homework: 5%

 Political Campaign Ad 5%

Mid-term Exam (take home): 20%

Final Exam (take home): 20%

Group Class Project: 20%

Grade Scale:

A	95% – 100%
A-	90% – 94%
B+	87% – 89%
B	83% – 86%
B-	80% – 82%
C+	77% – 79%
C	73% – 76%
C-	70% – 72%
C	63% – 69%
D-	60% – 62%
F	0% - 59%

A. Seminar Participation (40%).

A1. In-class participation (20%): Participation includes class attendance and contributing to the discussion. You must be an active participant in these discussions, which entails careful and thoughtful reading of each week's assignment.

A2. Discussion questions (10%): Students are required to e-mail me before class with a weekly discussion question.

Students are required to submit one discussion question every week (Monday or Wednesday). **Questions should be related / speak to the readings for that specific class.**

In order to get credit for sending a discussion question for a particular week, you must email me the discussion question **by 10:00 a.m. on the day of class.**

A good question for the sake of our purposes is a question to which there is more than one plausible answer:

Example 1. Could Schaffner's "expressive responding" theory support the argument made in Nyan's article "Taking Corrections Literally But Not Seriously. The Effect of Information of Factual Beliefs and Candidate Favorability." That is, is expressive responding the reason that people show minimal effects on a candidate evaluations or vote choice even though they've reduced their misperceptions with corrective information? And if so, should we be altering the way in which we distribute this "corrective information" to align more with candidates and vote choice overall so that they become more effective?

Example 2. I was intrigued with Plasser and Farrel's articles for the readings this week on the "Americanization" of campaigns and the role of political consultancy as an emerging sector. While I think these two articles did a good job outlining the landscape, there was no discussion on the possible effects that this could have on elections world-wide. This leads me to wonder what are the complications in having foreign political consultants help shape a country's electoral campaign? Is this idea of the "adoption model" of U.S. strategies even plausible in countries that have institutions that differ greatly from the United States? Furthermore, with the rise of "big data" being used for elections here in the United States, could this lead to ethical dilemmas in this sector with the possible sharing and buying of data to countries overseas to help their electoral campaigns?

Example 3. Gelman and King discuss the relevance and potency of general presidential campaigns with respect to the predictability of presidential elections and the paradoxical variability of presidential campaign polls. They also discuss the role of mass media in presidential campaigns despite the election's predictability. They claim that the media merely provide information—mostly regarding candidates' positions on issues—to voters in a timely fashion. We had also seen in Berenson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee's study that campaigns often prime potential voters in that they call attention to some matters and ignore others, shaping the standards by which the candidates are evaluated. Could these two studies complement each other? In other words, do both the media and presidential campaigns prime potential voters? If so, do they do so in the same way?

Note: You are also welcome to send me **clarifying questions** if the readings were not clear enough or if you have any doubt about any given topic discussed during class. These questions will not be credited as discussion questions.

A3. Homework (5%):

- **Homework 1:**
 - **Class 1 (Jan 22):** You will field a survey on campus to at least 5 respondents. I will distribute the survey and a handout with instructions during the introduction class.

- **Homework 2:**
 - **Class 8 (Feb 14):** <http://www.politicalcompass.org/> Take the survey and email me your results (.jpg file or similar file of your ideological location).

A4. Campaign Ad (5%): At the beginning of each class, we will watch a political campaign ad and briefly discuss it. A pre-selected student is required to choose a campaign ad that considers interesting/relevant for the class. This student will briefly present the context of the campaign ad.

To organize it, we will follow a schedule in which students will choose their preferred day to present the campaign ad. I will distribute a schedule during the first class. The ad can be from a campaign of any given election/country. (In the U.S.: <http://wiscadproject.wisc.edu/> and www.livingroomcandidate.org/ are good sources). For the first two classes of the semester, I will be in charge of the presentation. The campaign ad **should be related / speak to the readings of that specific class.**

- B. Mid-term exam (20%):** The midterm will consist of short-answer questions and a short essay. This exam will be take-home. I will circulate the mid-term exam on **February 21** during class. **The exam is due on March 1st by 7:00pm.** You must send the exam to me **by e-mail.**
- C. Final exam (20%):** The final exam will consist of short-answer questions covering the latter half of the course and a short essay. This exam will be take-home. I will circulate the final exam on **April 25** during class. **The exam is due on May 4 by 7:00pm.** You must send the exam to me **by e-mail.**
- D. Group Class Project (20%):** The project consists of analyzing a political campaign, producing a PowerPoint presentation and delivering the presentation to the class.

Students will work in pairs. Think of yourselves as pollsters that will provide a general analysis of a political campaign to a client. I expect no more than 20 slides in a PowerPoint presentation. You can choose any (recent) presidential campaign (or parliamentary election in Europe/Canada, etc.) from any part of the world. Your analysis should include a discussion about the following topics. These topics will be covered throughout the semester:

- a. **Electoral system:** What are the rules of the game? Describe the electoral system (majority rule/PR?) and the structure of the ballot. What was the length of the campaign?
- b. **Party System:** What do political parties represent? Are parties rooted in society?
- c. **Candidates:** Who were the main candidates? What do they represent?
- d. **Public Opinion:** Which were the major issues discussed during the campaign? What does the electorate look like (party identification, ideology, presidential approval, evaluations of the economy, candidate evaluations, etc.).
- e. **Campaign:** Which campaign events were the most important? Analyze the most important campaign ads. What do they tell us about the campaign?
- f. **Polls:** How did vote intention fluctuate during the campaign?

I will touch base during the semester to monitor your progress on your course project following this schedule:

Date:	Expected to have achieved:
Feb 7th	Chosen country / presidential campaign
March 19th	Progress on a) and b)
March 26 th	Progress on d) and e)
April 2th	Progress on e) and f)
April 11 th /16 th	Final presentation to the class

The project will be evaluated in terms of (1) quality of the analysis of the campaign, and (2) the extent to which the presentation covers the required subject areas as listed above.

4. Policies

Academic Integrity: Students are expected to complete their own assignments. Plagiarism is the act of using someone else's words or ideas as your own without giving proper credit to the source. It is assumed that all students in this class will abide by the University of Virginia Honor System. For more information see: <http://www.virginia.edu/honor/what-is-academic-fraud-2>.

Absences: Students should make every possible effort to attend all classes. Your participation is important to the class and to your own learning process. More than three unexcused absences will result in your grade being lowered by a grade point (e.g. B to C). More than five unexcused absences may result in a failing grade. Please email me in advance if you know you will be missing class. I will excuse only absences that the university explicitly requires in accordance with the Undergraduate Handbook.

Exams: You should **submit your exams on time**. The grade on late exams will drop 1/3 of a letter grade for every hour late (e.g. B+ to B).

Disability Services: Any student requiring special accommodations should work with me and the Student Disability Access Center to make the necessary arrangements.

Office Hours: I will be available to meet with students during all scheduled office hours. No appointment is necessary to meet during these times. If possible, students should attempt to notify me in advance before attending office hours. This makes it possible for me to schedule students' visits in advance so that they do not overlap, which will help avoid long wait times. Similarly, students should try to notify me in advance of what they would like to discuss. This allows me to prepare and make the most efficient use of time.

5. Topics and Readings*

* Note: We may discover that we want to spend more time on certain topics and less on others. I may consider making changes to the class schedule if such a change would benefit most students' learning in this course.

Spring 2018 Schedule: Why Do People Vote the Way They Vote?		
Date	Topic	Reading(s) and Homework
INTRO CLASS: Jan 17	Introduction: What Political Science Tells Us About the 2016 Presidential Election (U.S.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Niemi, Richard G., and Herbert F. Weisberg. "The Study of Voting and Elections" In <i>Controversies in Voting Behavior</i> <p><u>Short articles:</u></p> <p>Sides, John. "Five Key Lessons from Donald Trump's Surprising Victory," <i>Monkey Cage (Washington Post)</i>.</p> <p>Grant, Tobin. "5 Ways Political Scientists Got the Election Right," <i>RNS Religious News Services</i>.</p>
CLASS 1: Jan 22	Survey design, public opinion, and the study of electoral behavior.	<p>Homework 1 You will field a survey on campus to at least 5 respondents. I will distribute the survey during the intro class.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Smith. "That Which We Call Welfare by Any Other Name Would Smell Sweeter: An Analysis of the Impact of Question Wording on Response Patterns," <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i>. • R. C. Lewontin. "Measuring American Society: Sex, Lies, and Social Science," <i>The Public Perspective</i>.
First Section: Voting Behavior in the U.S.		
CLASS 2: Jan 24	Partisanship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green et al. <i>Partisan Hearts and Minds</i>. Intro and Chapter 1. • Abrahamovitz and Webster "Negative Partisanship: Why Americans Dislike Parties but Behave like Rabid Partisans," Symposium on Partisanship, <i>Advances in Political Psychology</i>. <p>Optional: Lewis-Beck et al. <i>The American Voter</i>. Chapters 1 and 2.</p>

<p>CLASS 3: Jan 27</p>	<p>Party Polarization and Partisan Media</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Series on Party Polarization (Short articles – Washington Post’s Monkey Cage): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Carsey, Thomas and Geoff Layman, “Our Politics is Polarized on More Issue than Before.” ○ Carsey, Thomas and Geoffrey Layman, “How Our Partisan Loyalties are Driving Polarization” ○ Abrahamovitz, Alan. “How Race and Religion Have Polarized American Voters” ○ Noel Hans, “How Ideological Activists Constructed Our Polarized Parties” ○ Noel, Hans, “Polarization is About More Than Just Sorting, but Sorting is Polarization Anyway” ○ Fiorina, Morris. “Americans Have Not Become More Politically Polarized” ○ Fiorina, Morris and Samuel Abrams. “Americans Aren’t Polarized, Just Better Sorted”
<p>CLASS 4: Jan 31</p>	<p>Partisanship and Motivated Reasoning</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flynn, DJ, Brendan Nyhan and Jason Reifler, “The Nature and Origins of Misperceptions: Understanding False and Unsupported Beliefs about Politics,” <i>Political Psychology</i>. • Conspiracy Endorsement as Motivated Reasoning: The Moderating Roles of Political Knowledge and Trust,” <i>American Journal of Political Science</i>. <p><u>Short online article</u> (Huffington Post): Nyan, Brendan, “New Surveys Show the Persistence of Misperceptions.”</p> <p>Optional: Schaffner, Brian and Samantha Luks. “Misinformation or Expressive Responding? What an inauguration crowd can tell us about the source of political disinformation in surveys.” <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i>.</p> <p>Nyan, Brendan. “Why the “Death Panel” Myth Wouldn’t Die: Misinformation in the Health Care Reform Debate,” <i>The Forum</i></p>
<p>CLASS 5: Feb 4</p>	<p>Populism, Culture Wars, and Voting I</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cramer, Katherine. <i>The Politics of Resentment</i>, Chapter 1 and 3. <p><u>Short newspaper article</u> (Washington Post) Guo Jeff. “A New Theory for Why Trump Voters are So Angry—than Actually Makes Sense” Washington Post.</p> <p>Optional: Book Review: “Politics of Resentment,” <i>Political Psychology</i>.</p>

<p>CLASS 6: Feb 7</p>	<p>Populism, Culture Wars, and Voting II.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hunter, <i>Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America</i>. Intro, chapter 1 and 2. <p><u>Short online article</u> (FiveThirtyEight) Silver, Nate. “Change Doesn’t Usually Come this Fast”</p> <p>Optional: Gelman, Andrew. “How Do You Reduce Prejudice Toward Transgender People? This New Study Explains,” Monkey Cage.</p>
<p>CLASS 7: Feb 12</p>	<p>Identity Politics and Voting</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Valentino, Nicholas and David Sears. “Old Times Are Not Forgotten,” <i>American Journal of Political Science</i>. • Jardina, Ashley, “Demise of Dominance: Group Threat and the New Relevance of White Identity for American Politics,” Chapter 3 and 4 (optional). <p><u>Short newspaper article</u> (Monkey Cage) Tesler, and Michael and John Sides. “How Political Science helps Explain the Rise of Trump: The Role of White Identity and Grievances.” Guisinger, Alexandra. “Americans’ Views of Trade Aren’t Just About Economics. They Are Also About Race.”</p>
<p>CLASS 8: Feb 14</p>	<p>Class Voting</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bartels, Larry M. 2006. “What’s the Matter with What’s the Matter with Kansas?” <i>Quarterly Journal of Political Science</i> 1:201-226. • Masket, Seth. “What’s the Matter with Kansas? aptly describes the 2016 election — but was written in 2004,” Mischiefs of Faction. <p><u>Short newspaper article</u> (New York Times) Cohn, Nate. “Donald Trump’s Victory Was Built on a Unique Coalition of White Voters.” Cohn, Nate. “The Obama-Trump Voters Are Real. Here’s What They Think.”</p>

<p>CLASS 9: Feb 19</p>	<p>Religion and Voting</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lewis, Andrew. <i>The Rights Turn in Conservative Christian Politics</i>. Chapter 1 and 2. <p><u>Short Article</u> (The Atlantic): Jones, Robert P. “How ‘Value Voters’ Became “Nostalgia Voters’?”</p> <p>Optional: Skocpol, Theda. <i>The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism</i>. Chapter 2 and 3.</p> <p>Hout, Michael, and Claude S. Fischer. “Why More Americans Have No Religious Preference: Politics and Generations,” <i>American Sociological Review</i></p> <p>Barker, David and David Bearce. “End Times Theology, the Shadow of the Future, and American Attitudes about Global Climate Change,” <i>Political Research Quarterly</i>.</p>
<p>CLASS 10: Feb 21</p>	<p>Political Campaigns: GET-OUT-THE-VOTE (GOTV)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Michelson and Nickerson. “Voter Mobilization.” in <i>Handbook of Experimental Political Science</i> Gerber and Green, “Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment,” <i>American Journal of Political Science</i>. <p>Optional: Nickerson and Rogers, "Political Campaigns and Big Data," <i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i>.</p> <p>I WILL DISTRIBUTE THE MID-TERM EXAM DURING CLASS</p>
<p>CLASS 11: Feb 26</p>	<p>Political Campaigns: Campaign Effects</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck. <i>Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America</i>, Chapters to be announced. Erikson, Robert and Christopher Wlezien, “The Timeline of Presidential Elections,” Chapter 1. <p>Optional: Gelman and King. “Why Are American Presidential Election Campaign Polls So Variable When Votes Are So Predictable?” <i>American Journal of Political Science</i>.</p>
<p>Feb 28</p>	<p>NO CLASS</p>	<p>MID-TERM EXAM DUE: MARCH 1ST 7PM</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">SPRING RECESS No classes: March 5 / March 7.</p>		

Second Section: Voting Behavior Around the World

<p>CLASS 12: March 12</p>	<p>Europe, Populism, And, Voting I</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. “Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse,” <i>Perspective on Politics</i>. • Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris, “Trump, Brexit, and the rise of Populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash” <p><u>Short article</u> (The Atlantic):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emont Jon. “The Growing Urban-Rural Divide Around the World” <p>Optional: Morris, Pippa, “Is Western Democracy Backsliding? Diagnosing the Risks,” <i>Journal of Democracy</i></p>
<p>CLASS 13: March 14</p>	<p>Europe, Populism, And, Voting II</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ivæaflaten, Elizabeth, “What Unites Right-Wing Populists in Western Europe?” <i>Comparative Political Studies</i>. • Sides, Johan and Jack Citrin, “European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information,” <i>British Journal of Political Science</i>.
<p>CLASS 14: March 19</p>	<p>Latin American Party Systems</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mainwaring and Torcal, "Party System Institutionalization & Party System Theory after the Third Wave of Democratization," <i>World Politics</i>. • Roberts Kenneth, “Historical Timing, Political Cleavages, and Party-Building in Latin America,” in <i>Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America</i>. <p>Optional: Lupu, Noam, “Partisanship in Latin America” in <i>The Latin American Voter</i>.</p> <p>Carreras, Miguel, “The Rise of Outsiders in Latin America, 1980-2010. An Institutional Perspective,” <i>Comparative Political Studies</i>.</p>

<p>CLASS 15: March 21</p>	<p>The Latin America Right and Voting</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lupu, Noam. "Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America". • Loxton, James, "Authoritarian Successor Parties and the New Right in Latin America" in <i>Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America</i> <p>Optional: "The Right in Contemporary Latin America" by Luna, Juan Pablo and Cristobal Rovira in <i>The Resilience of the Latin American Right</i></p> <p>Zechmeister, Elizabeth, "Left-Right Identifications and The Latin American Voter" in <i>The Latin American Voter</i>.</p>
<p>CLASS 16: March 26</p>	<p>The Latin America Left and Voting</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flores Macías, Gustavo, "<i>Statist vs. Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America</i>," <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> • Mainwaring, Scott, Mariano Torcal, and Nicolás Somma, "The Left and the Mobilization of Class Voting in Latin America" in <i>The Latin American Voter</i>. <p>Optional: Madrid, Raúl. "The Origins of the Two Lefts in Latin America," <i>Political Science Quartely</i>.</p> <p>Wiesehomeier, Nina and Kenneth Benoit, "Presidents, Parties and Policy Competition," <i>Journal of Politics</i>.</p>
<p>CLASS 17: March 28</p>	<p>Political Campaigns in Latin America</p>	<p>"Our Brand Is Crisis" (2005) is a documentary film by Rachel Boynton on American political campaign marketing tactics by Greenberg Carville Shrum in the 2002 Bolivian presidential election.</p>
<p>CLASS 18: April 2</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fritz Plasser, "American Campaign Techniques Worldwide," <i>Harvard International Journal of Press</i>. • Farrell, "Political Consultancy Overseas: The Internationalization of Campaign Consultancy." <i>PS: Political Science & Politics</i>.
<p>CLASS 19: April 4</p>	<p>Mexican Party System: Strategic Voting</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Do Electoral Polls Affect Voters' Behavior?" To be circulated. • Ley, Sandra "To Vote or Not to Vote: Elections in the Midst of Violence," <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i>. <p>Optional: Greene, Ken. "Campaign Persuasion and <i>Nascent</i> Partisanship in Mexico's New Democracy," <i>American Journal of Political Science</i>.</p>

<p>CLASS 20: April 9</p>	<p>South American Party Systems: Argentina, Chile, and Brazil</p> <p>Two-Round System</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pérez Liñán, Aníbal, “Evaluating Presidential Runoff Elections,” <i>Electoral Studies</i>. • Stokes, Valeria Brusco and Marcelo Nazareno. “Vote Buying in Argentina,” <i>Latin American Research Review</i>. <p>Optional:</p> <p>Bleck, Giannini and Pavao, “Campaign Images and Citizen-Politician Linkages: Exploring Presidential Campaigns in Chile, Colombia, Kenya, and Mali”</p> <p>Mainwaring, Scott. “Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination,” <i>Comparative Political Studies</i>.</p>
<p>Class 21. April 11</p>	<p>Class Projects Presentations</p>	<p>I will circulate a schedule (Google Doc) beforehand to organize the presentations.</p>
<p>Class 22. April 16</p>		
<p>Class 23. April 18</p>	<p>Campaigns in Competitive Authoritarianisms</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bunce, Valerie and Sharon Wolchik, “International Diffusion and Postcommunist Electoral Revolutions”, <i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</i>. • Mainwaring, Scott, “From Representative Democracy to Participatory Competitive Authoritarianism: Hugo Chávez and Venezuelan Politics.” <i>Perspectives on Politics</i>.
<p>CLASS 24: April 23</p>	<p>Movie</p>	<p>NO” (2012): In 1988, Chilean military dictator Augusto Pinochet, due to international pressure, is forced to call a plebiscite on his presidency. The country will vote YES or NO to Pinochet extending his rule for another eight years. Opposition leaders for the NO persuade a brash young advertising executive to spearhead their campaign.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cronovich, “The ‘No’ Campaign in Chile: Paving a Peaceful Transition to Democracy” <p>I WILL DISTRIBUTE THE FINAL EXAM DURING CLASS</p>
<p>CLASS 25: April 25</p>		
<p>April 30</p>	<p>No class</p>	<p>FINAL EXAM DUE: MAY 4 by 7PM</p>