

GOV 3080

Methodologies of Political Behavior

Fall 2022

Mondays and Wednesdays
2:50 to 4:15
Hubbard 22

Instructor: Michael Franz Email: mfranz@bowdoin.edu Phone: 207-798-4318 (office) Office: 200 Hubbard Hall	<u>Office Hours:</u> Tuesday, 1pm-2pm Thursday, 9:30am-11am Book an appointment in Canvas, or email about a different time as needed
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The course reviews the history of research on political behavior in American politics. We begin with the seminal studies on political behavior from the 1920s to the 1940s, which established the importance of survey research to understand why citizens do or not participate in politics. We then consider the evolution of research on political behavior, with a focus on changing methodological approaches, including the use of national surveys to study voting behavior in the 1960s. This was followed by the expanding use of surveys into the 1990s and the growing challenges of securing representative samples. Concerns over causal inference induced a pivot towards experiments in the early 2000s. We will also consider evolving theoretical approaches, from a focus on the role of partisanship to rational choice theories of behavior to a focus on the emotional and psychological motivations. The underlying goal of the class is to follow the evolution of political behavior research over the course of 100 years, to see how studies of voters and political attitudes became more precise, more scientific, and more theoretical. It is, to that point, to see how political science developed into a more scientific enterprise.

Learning Outcomes

The learning goals of the course are threefold:

1. To see the evolution of research on political behavior from the 1920s to today.
2. To consider the changing methodological approaches in the field, from observational data to experiments and now Big Data.
3. To review and evaluate the impact of political party identification and other key variables in understanding citizens' political behavior.
4. To work with data. No prior statistical training is needed for the course. We will review/discuss common statistical approaches in the class. But we will download and analyze some data used in older political science articles, which will help students look more closely at the findings of particular articles.

On #4, it is important to remember that data for replication is not always available. It is increasingly available as a standard for publication, but many scholars resist providing easy access to data. It is recommended but not required that you read the below two articles—published over 25 years ago—about the importance of providing one's data to other scholars for the purposes of replication and transparency.

The following articles are available on our course page in Canvas:

- Gary King. 1995. "Replication, Replication," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 28(3): 444–52.
- Paul Herrnson. 1995. "Replication, Verification, Secondary Analysis, and Data Collection in Political Science," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 28(3): 452–55.

Course Requirements

There are five major components to your grade:

1. **Five reading reactions** (10 points; each worth 2 points)—these are short reactions of about 2 pages (double-spaced). I will evaluate these on the basis of how well you react to the readings (namely, originality of thought and conciseness). There are no right or wrong answers, but I will challenge you to think logically. These papers are due **on Canvas** by Monday or Wednesday on the dates specified on the syllabus.
2. **Two class presentation** (20 total points; 10 points each)—More details on each presentation are provided at the end of the syllabus. The first set of presentations will be between 10/19 and 11/2. The second set of presentations will be between 11/28 and 12/7.
3. **Participation** (20 points)— this includes attendance and class participation. Attendance is required, and I will take regular note of who is and who is not in class. Mere attendance is not sufficient, however. I expect every student to come prepared to participate in every class.
4. **Paper 1** (20 points)— 5-7 pages, double-spaced. See the end of the syllabus for details.
5. **Paper 2** (30 points)— 10-12 pages, double-spaced. See the end of the syllabus for details.

Readings

There are two assigned books for this course, and several outside articles/book chapters. All the outside readings can be accessed through Canvas.

1. *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign* (1948), by Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. Columbia University Press.
2. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (1992), by John Zaller. Cambridge University Press

Other Issues

1. I expect all students to abide by the Bowdoin Academic Honor Code, which can be accessed online at: <https://www.bowdoin.edu/dean-of-students/student-handbook/the-academic-honor-code-and-social-code.html>. If you have any concerns or questions about how to cite work appropriately, please consult a reference librarian or me.
2. If you have chosen to take the class as Credit/D/F, I will only grant a Credit grade if the student has completed all of the work for the class.
3. Cite your sources. Talk with me about proper citation if you have any questions. I'm open to any approach you take, so long as it is consistent and generally well-regarded. Consider [the Chicago Style](#), as I'm partial to that one.
4. As a final matter, it is important to remember the publication dates for the readings for this course span about 100 years. This means that we will encounter words and phrases as they relate to certain groups that are not in use today (and would be considered offensive today). I encourage students to make note of such instances and to discuss them in class as you see fit. I only mention the issue at the outset of the course to prepare students for the range of language we will encounter this semester.

Class Schedule

Part 1—The Chicago School and the Development of a Political Science

August 31— Introduction and Expectations

September 5—The Start of a Social Science

- Charles Merriam, 1921. “The Present State of the Study of Politics,” *American Political Science Review*, 15(2): 173-185.
- Jean Converse. 1987. *Survey Research in the United States: Roots and Emergence, 1890-1960*. University of California Press, Chapters 1-2.

September 7— The Start of a Social Science, cont.

- Converse, cont., Chapter 3
- Charles Merriam and Harold Gosnell. 1924. *Non-Voting: Causes and Methods of Control*. University of Chicago Press, Chapters 1-2.
- **Reaction paper 1 due**

September 12—Voting and Non-Voting: Early Understandings

- Merriam and Gosnell, Chapters 5-6
- Harold Gosnell. 1927. *Getting Out the Vote: An Experiment in the Stimulation of Voting*. University of Chicago Press, Chapters 1-2.

September 14—no class

- Watch “The American National Election Studies: Measuring Public Opinion Since 1948” [link on Canvas]

September 19—The Current State of Survey Research

- Visit from Karlyn Bowman, American Enterprise Institute
- Bowman will also give a formal talk that evening, at 7:30pm, in Kresge. Attendance at the talk is mandatory unless you have a prior conflict. I rarely make such talks mandatory, but her topic is relevant to the course, and she is coming to Bowdoin at my invitation.

September 21—Measuring Attitudes and Behavior

- Gosnell, Chapters 3-7
- Paul G. Steinbicker. 1938. “Absentee Voting in the United States,” *American Political Science Review*, 32(5): 898-907.
- **Reaction paper 2 due**

September 26—Voter Behavior in 1940: the Scientific Study of One County

- Lazarsfeld et al, Preface to the 3rd Edition, Preface to the Second Edition, Chapters 1-3

September 28—Voter Behavior in 1940, cont.

- Lazarsfeld et al, Chapters 4-11

October 3—Voter Behavior in 1940, cont.

- Lazarsfeld et al, Chapters 12-16
- **Reaction paper 3 due**

Part 2—The Michigan Model and Political Science in the Post-War Period

October 5—The Advancement of Survey Research and Studies of Political Behavior: a National Study

- Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. 1960. *American Voter*. University of Chicago Press, Chapters 1-3

October 10—no-class (fall break)

October 12— The Advancement of Survey Research, cont.

- Campbell et al, Chapters 4-7
- **Reaction paper 4 due**

October 17— The Advancement of Survey Research, cont.

- Campbell et al, Chapters 8-10

October 19—Older Studies

- Warren Miller. 1956. "One-Party Politics and the Voter," *American Political Science Review*, 50(3): 707-725.
 - ANES 1952 Time Series Study (ICPSR 7213)
 - Broader concept: One-party dominance and Southern politics
- Raymond Wolfinger. 1963. "The Influence of Precinct Work on Voting Behavior," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 27(3): 387-398.
 - ANES 1956 Time Series Study (ICPSR 7214)
 - Broader concept: Campaign contacts and voter mobilization

October 24— Older Studies, cont.

- Donald Matthews and James Prothro. 1964. "Southern Images of Political Parties: An Analysis of White and Negro Attitudes," *The Journal of Politics*, 26(1):82-111.
 - Negro Political Participation Study, 1961-1962 (ICPSR 7255)
 - Broader concept: Views of parties and party realignment
- Kent Jennings and Kenneth Langton. 1969. "Mothers versus Fathers: The Formation of Political Orientations Among Young Americans," *Journal of Politics*, 31(2): 329-358.
 - Student-Parent Socialization Study, 1965 (ICPSR 7286)
 - Broader concept: political socialization and impact of family on political views

October 26— Older Studies, cont.

- Joel D. Aberbach and Jack L. Walker, 1970. "Political Trust and Racial Ideology," *American Political Science Review*, 64(4): 1199-1219.
 - Detroit Longitudinal Study, 1967 (ICPSR 7312)
 - Broader concept: Trust in government
- Michael Coveyou and David Pfeiffer. 1973. "Education and Voting Turnout of Blacks in the 1968 Presidential Election," *Journal of Politics*, 35(4): 995-1001.
 - ANES 1968 Time Series Study (ICPSR 7281)
 - Broader concept: Education and Turnout

October 31— Older Studies, cont.

- Robert McClure and Thomas Patterson. 1974. "Television News and Political Advertising: The Impact of Exposure on Voter Beliefs," *Communication Research*, 1(1): 3-32.

- 1972 Panel, Syracuse, New York (ICPSR 7989)
- Broader concept: Advertising effects
- James A. Stimson. 1975. "Belief Systems: Constraint, Complexity, and the 1972 Election," *American Journal of Political Science*, 19(3): 393-417.
 - ANES 1972 Time Series Study (ICPSR 7010)
 - Broader concept: Issue constraint

November 2— Older Studies, cont.

- Arthur H. Miller, Patricia Gurin, Gerald Gurin and Oksana Malanchuk. 1981. "Group Consciousness and Political Participation," *American Journal of Political Science*, 25(3): 494-511.
 - ANES 1972 Time Series Study (ICPSR 7010)
 - ANES 1976 Time Series Study (ICPSR 7381)
 - Broader concept: Group consciousness
- Kristi Andersen and Elizabeth Cook. 1985. "Women, Work, and Political Attitudes," *American Journal of Political Science*, 29(3): 606-625.
 - American National Election Series: 1972, 1974, 1976 (ICPSR 7607)
 - Broader concept: Gender and political participation

November 7 and 9—no class

Paper 1 due by November 13

Part 3—The Behavioral Revolution and Modern Advancements in Data, Theory, and Methods

November 14—The Receive-Accept-Sample Model: Better Theory

- Zaller, Chapters 1-4

November 16—The Receive-Accept-Sample Model, cont.

- Zaller, Chapters 5-8
- ***Reaction paper 5 due***

November 21— The Receive-Accept-Sample Model, cont.

- Zaller, *Skim* Chapters 9-10, *Read* Chapters 11-12

November 23—no class (Thanksgiving)

November 28—Recent Studies

- Larry M. Bartels. 2000. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996," *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(1): 35-50.
- Paul Goren and Christopher Chapp. 2017. "Moral Power: How Public Opinion on Culture War Issues Shapes Partisan Predispositions and Religious Orientations," *American Political Science Review*, 111(1): 110-128.

November 30— Recent Studies, cont.

- John Sides, Lynn Vavreck, and Chris Warshaw. 2022. "The Effect of Television Advertising in United States Elections," *American Political Science Review*, 116(2): 702-718.

- Jacob R. Brown, Ryan D. Enos, James Feigenbaum and Soumyajit Mazumder. 2021. "Childhood Cross-ethnic Exposure Predicts Political Behavior Seven Decades Later: Evidence from Linked Administrative Data," *Science Advances*, 7(24).

December 5—Recent Studies, cont.

- Ismail White, Chryl Laird, and Troy Allen. 2014. "Selling Out?: The Politics of Navigating Conflicts Between Racial Group Interest and Self-Interest," *American Political Science Review*, 108(4): 783-800.
- James N. Druckman, Samara Klar, Yanna Krupnikov, Matthew Levendusky, and John Barry Ryan. 2022. "(Mis)estimating Affective Polarization," *The Journal of Politics*, 84(2): 1106–1117.

December 7—Recent Studies, cont.

- Laura García-Montoya, Ana Arjona, and Matthew Lacombe. 2022. "Violence and Voting in the United States: How School Shootings Affect Elections," *American Political Science Review*, 116(3): 807-826.
- Steven W. Webster, Elizabeth C. Connors, and Betsy Sinclair. 2022. "The Social Consequences of Political Anger," *The Journal of Politics*, 84(3): 1292–1305.

Paper 2 due by December 19, 12pm

Info on Assignments

Presentation 1

There will be one or two presentations on each class date between 10/19 and 11/2. Each presentation will have two students, who will work together to prepare the presentation for the class. Presentation pairs will be determined after the end of the add/drop period. Each presentation pair will be assigned one of the two articles for that class day. Each presentation will last about 20 minutes (and no longer!) and will do the following:

- Provide the class an overview of the impact of the article since its publication. For example: what motivated the study, according to the authors? What question are they addressing, and does it relate to any work we have read up to now in the class? (On this question, it is ok if the answer is "No.")
- Since the publication of the article, how often has it been cited and has there been notable other research on the same topic in the years since the article's publication? Has the research on the topic continued or stalled? A good approach is to go the journal's website, look up the article, and see if the journal lists the number of times the article has been cited since publication. (Google Scholar also does this, but I recommend checking the journal first.) I have also listed on the syllabus the broader concept under investigation in the article, and you can use that search for other articles about that broader concept. These are broad concepts, so I do not intend for you to become deeply familiar with the gamut of subsequent, related research. The general question at hand is whether research in this area has continued or not.
- You will be evaluated on the clarity of your presentation and how inclusive you are in the discussion of the research and subsequent studies on the topic. You will also answer questions from the professor and your classmates.
- One grade will be assigned to both presenters unless it appears that one student did significantly more work or was more prepared for the discussion.

I recommend meeting with me prior to the presentation to discuss any concerns or questions.

Presentation 2

Like Presentation 1, there will be one or two presentations on each class date between 11/28 and 12/7. Each presentation will have two students, who will work together to prepare the presentation for the class. Presentation pairs will be different from the first presentation. Each pair will be assigned one of the two articles for that class day, and each presentation will last about 20 minutes. The assigned articles are more current. As such, the presentation will:

- Consider the data used for the analysis. Is the data more advanced than some of what we have seen previously?
- Consider the analysis of the data. Did the author(s) proclaim to apply new methods to the analyzing the data?
- What are some of the limitations of the data/analysis, in your opinion?
- What types of future research is likely to follow from this analysis?
- You will be evaluated on the clarity of your presentation and how thoughtfully you consider the questions above. You will also answer questions from the professor and your classmates.
- One grade will be assigned to both presenters unless it appears that one student did significantly more work or was more prepared for the discussion.

I recommend meeting with me prior to the presentation to discuss any concerns or questions.

Paper 1

This assignment will be completed as a joint assignment, with the person you worked with for the first presentation. You will be assigned a different article from the one you presented, however. Your task is to access the data used for the paper and replicate one or two findings from the paper, if possible.

Each of these data sources are stored with the ICPSR data warehouse, and I have identified the relevant study number in the syllabus. Look at the data page for the study and read the documentation. Download the data.

Questions to consider in the paper:

1. How many subsequent studies used the data?
2. What questions do you have about the data and its collection that are not covered in the documentation?
3. Were you able to replicate any of the data tables or figures? If not, why not do you think?
4. Would you today collect any different sources of data to answer the broader question?

You might not be a data expert, but this is not an issue. I highly recommend coming to see me about the data source, and I will work with each group to load the data. I do expect you to have the expertise to do this on your own.

The paper should be about 5-7 pages.

Start early!

Paper 2:

This is a solo assignment. You will be assigned a political science journal and a 5-7 year period. Your first task is to collect the list of all published papers and store them in an excel file. This file will be submitted along with the paper. Identify the articles in that file that are about American political behavior. In the paper you will discuss the following questions:

- How many articles were about American political behavior versus other topics? This is perhaps not as easy as it sounds. Make a judgement call, but also add some notes in the file for how/why you made the decision.
- What were the data sources in the articles about American political behavior?
- What questions were asked in these articles?
- What prior work from the semester do these papers address?
- Are the data provided or made available upon request? Does the article mention pre-registration?

You will not have to read all the relevant articles, but I highly recommend skimming them closely and giving each article a very close look. The goal of the exercise is to examine the data, methods, and research questions used in the subset of articles about American political behavior and to connect that research to the material we have read and discussed this semester.

The paper should be about 10-12 pages.

I also recommend reviewing/reading one additional article: Joshua Robison et al, "An Audit of Political Behavior Research," SAGE Open. This is posted in Canvas along with the presentation/paper assignments. The authors do a comprehensive review of political behavior articles in key journals for the period between 1980 and 2020. One question to consider: Do the same trends from 1980 to 2010 hold in your sample of articles?

Start early!