

# **Voting Behavior and Political Communication**

Winter 2011

Last update: 10 December 2010

*Visit the e-learning site of the course to find the most recent version of the syllabus.*

Department of Political Science  
Central European University

Course credits: 4 (8 ECTS), MA level

Instructor: Gábor Tóka (room FT 804, email: tokag at ceu.hu)

Classes: Wednesday & Thursday, 11 am-12:40 pm. NB: I am aware of the overlap with a core course in Political Theory. If this were a problem for more students than as many would have to drop the course as a result, I will try to change the time slot for the class affected to Monday 5:20-7 pm. I cannot however guarantee that this will work for all weeks of the semester.

Office hours: Wednesday 1-3 pm or by appointment

## **Goals**

This course serves students with an interest in political communication and cognition; comparative politics; voting behavior and public opinion; empirical democratic theory and comparative political economy; and the methodology of quantitative research. It focuses on how citizens, with their limited resources and time available for engaging with politics, perform their role as ultimate decision-makers in democratic politics. Thus it serves as an intermediate-level introduction to the study of political behavior, choice and attitude formation, which particularly emphasizes the motivational and cognitive limits and implications of how citizens are involved in the political process by elections and referenda.

Specifically, the course examines various theories and the relevant evidence on how low-information rationality or blatant preference aggregation deficits are at work in citizens' voting behavior. In other words, we will ask how social cleavages, economic conditions, ideology, political issues, party identification, factual information, campaigns and various other factors impact on how voters decide, and what all this implies for the quality of democracy and citizen influence on public policy. We will also explore how institutional contexts have an influence on whether elections hold policy-makers accountable to citizens and responsive to popular preferences, and what evidence contemporary scholarship offers on these questions. We will consider the difficult communication and cognitive processing problems that all political actors

encounter in the political process, and highlight their relevance for democratic preference aggregation processes, while also giving some attention to the practical lessons that can be drawn for party strategists and political information campaigns. The course reviews a large variety of state-of-the-art empirical research and stresses the importance of first hand experience in reading and critically discussing cutting edge research output, rather than just learning from textbooks, sweepingly broad essays and other popular media. Thus it also pays attention to the philosophy, design and methods of contemporary quantitative analyses in social research and should improve your understanding of these. To further assist this a PhD-level course in Quantitative Data Analysis running parallel with this course will offer hands-on computer exercises that will help you conduct your own analyses of, for instance, the data sets used in the readings of this course.

## **Requirements**

Your best way of getting inspiration and new knowledge out of the course is to contribute to the seminar discussions every week, and do so in ways that reflect serious engagement with your readings. i.e., enable us to spot both their errors and their normative and practical implications (requirement A). To help you in this and prepare for the final exam, during weeks 2-11 you will be asked to submit your own reading notes (max. 600 words each week) of the mandatory readings through the e-learning site of the course (requirement B). There is no specific format requested for these notes except that they should just be helpful for your own purposes and contain an at least two-sentence statement on what you think is the strongest possible criticism of the central argument or proposition of each reading. You find some useful examples of good summaries (e.g., <http://wikisum.com/w/Converse: The nature of belief systems in mass publics>) on the net, but it is essential for your own learning experience that you always produce your own summary and criticism. Twice during the course you can substitute, if you wish, writing the summary with designing some kind of election propaganda material anew. This material can be e.g. the plan of a poster, a script for a television ad or a press conference, or a speech for a party leader in a specific election campaign, and must clearly and specifically build on what the week's readings suggest about citizens' political behavior. Independently of the nature of the assignment, plagiarism will be punished by an automatic F grade in the course and referral to higher-level disciplinary bodies at CEU that have more severe sanctions at their disposal. If the need arises, I will of course also give advice on how to make your notes or propaganda material even more effective tools of independent learning but otherwise no feedback is provided on the reading notes. Unless you receive a note from me within a week that specifically states the opposite, your notes were accepted. You will receive the maximum number of points available for all accepted notes if you had uploaded them to the e-learning site of the course at least five hours before the first class meeting of the week when the readings in question are on the agenda. Otherwise you can only receive up to two-thirds of the available points if you are less than a week late, and maximum one-third otherwise. Finally, an open-book test will assess your command of the methodological and theoretical issues covered by the readings and the classes (requirement C). "Open-book" here means an exam where you can consult any resources (including files or printouts of your weekly reading notes, course readings, etc.) except the internet and communication with someone else. You will just have to quote your sources and provide an appropriate bibliographic reference every time you quote or paraphrase someone else. Your grade will only depend on requirements (B) and (C), which will have 45 and 55 percent weight, respectively.

Requirement C can also be satisfied by writing an original research paper on a topic of your choice. You will need to get my approval for a paper topic before 15 February. The essay must be written in an academic journal format and present your own quantitative analysis of a question related to voting behavior or public opinion, rather than just summarize the relevant literature and your own findings (which you must do, nevertheless, and do so fairly and accurately). You are expected to assess the merits and drawbacks of alternative methods, theories, definitions, and interpretations. There must be a clear and circumspect reasoning about why one (if any) of the arguments, methods, etc. is better than some others encountered in the literature. Concepts must be clearly defined, empirical assertions carefully documented. A reference must be formally cited any time the ideas, research findings, or data of someone else is mentioned or otherwise utilized. A list of references has to be provided at the end of the paper, and this, of course, must list no more and no less than every work actually referred to in the paper. The whole paper has to be no more than 6,000 words (not counting tables and your list of references but including any notes adjoining the text). You will need to upload the final version of the paper to the e-learning site at least one week before the grades for the Winter semester are due. You will lose two percent of the points (i.e. the score you would get for the paper if you were on time with it) for every day of delay in submitting.

### **Readings**

The readings are listed below by topics. Eleven topics are listed which will each be covered in two classes (the first class will be an introduction to the course and the last one the exam). All mandatory readings are marked with a # mark below. In the CEU library you find most books related to our topics at shelf reference numbers 324, 303, and 302. The articles appearing among the recommended readings are nearly all available from the CEU library in hard copy and/or electronic form through JSTOR, Ebsco, or the e-learning site of the course.

One week of the semester will be devoted to each topic in the sequence shown below. Note that the course will not cover all existing perspectives on electoral research but focuses on the international mainstream. For a critical opinion on this you can check out for Helena Catt's *Voting Behaviour: A Radical Critique* (London, Leicester University Press, 1996), or, for a summary and extension of the same argument, Patrick Dunleavy's "Political Behavior: Institutional and Experimental Approaches", in *A New Handbook in Political Science*, ed. by Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 276-93). For an introduction to the basic technical terms and statistical concepts used in survey research see pp. 202-12 of David Broughton's *Public Opinion Polling and Politics in Britain* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995) and pp. 1-26 of David Denver's *Elections and Voting Behaviour in Britain* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 2nd ed. 1994).

If you look for concise overviews of electoral research and related issues at the graduate scholar level, then the following works will probably serve you well:

Bartels, Larry M. 2008. "The Study of Electoral Behavior." Extended version of a chapter forthcoming in Jan E. Leighley, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*. Department of Politics, Princeton University. [Available from the working papers section of the author's webpage.]

Borgida, Eugene, Christopher M. Federico, and John L. Sullivan, eds. 2009. *The Political Psychology of Democratic Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eijk, Cees van der, and Mark Franklin. 2009. *Elections and Voters*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Evans, Jocelyn A.J. 2004. *Voters and Voting: An Introduction*. London: Sage.

Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, ed. 2009. *The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thomassen, Jacques, ed. 2005. *The European Voter: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Topic 1: The rationality assumption in political research and its alternatives. The utility of formal modeling in handling empirically intractable questions. Expressive vs. instrumental models and electoral participation as the classic example. The political impact of the expression motivation of citizen engagement, choices and turnout**

Readings:

# Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper, pp. 4-13, 296-300.

# Brennan, Geoffrey, and James Buchanan. 1984. "Voter Choice and the Evaluation of Political Alternatives." *American Behavioral Scientist* 28 (2): 185-201.

# Lijphart, Arend. 1997. "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma." *American Political Science Review* 91 (1): 1-14.

Bernhagen, Patrick, and Michael Marsh. 2007. "The Partisan Effects of Low Turnout: Analyzing Vote Abstention as a Missing Data Problem." *Electoral Studies* 26 (3): 548-560.

Birch, Sarah 2008. *Full Participation. A Comparative Study of Compulsory Voting*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Blais, André. 2000. *To Vote or Not To Vote? The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Brady, Henry E., Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 89: 271-94.

Brennan, Geoffrey, and Alan Hamlin. 1998. "Expressive Voting and Electoral Equilibrium." *Public Choice* 95: 149-75.

Brennan, Geoffrey, and Loren E. Lomasky. 2000. "Is There A Duty to Vote?" *Social Philosophy and Policy* 17 (Winter): 62-86.

Brennan, Geoffrey, and Loren Lomasky. 1994. *Democracy and Decision: The Pure Theory of Electoral Preferences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Campbell, David E. 2006. *Why We Vote: How Schools and Communities Shape Our Civic Life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Citrin, Jack, Eric Schickler, and John Sides. 2003. "What if Everyone Voted? Simulating the Impact of Increased Turnout in Senate Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 47: 75-90.

Cox, Gary W. 1999. "Electoral Rules and the Calculus of Mobilization." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24: 387-420.

Fowler, James H., Laura A. Baker, and Christopher T. Dawes. 2008. "Genetic Variation in Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 102 (02): 233-248.

Franklin, Mark N. 2003. *The Dynamics of Voter Turnout in Established Democracies Since 1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hirczy, Wolfgang. 1995. "Explaining Near-Universal Turnout: The Case of Malta." *European Journal of Political Research* 27: 255-72.

- Jackman, Robert W., and Ross A. Miller. 1995. "Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies in the 1980s." *Comparative Political Studies* 27: 467-92.
- Lutz, Georg, and Michael Marsh. 2007. "Introduction: Consequences of Low Turnout." *Electoral Studies* 26 (3): 539-547.
- Mueller, Dennis C. 2003. *Public Choice III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 303-32.
- Pacek, Alexander C., Grigore Pop-Eleches, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2009. "Disenchanted or Discerning: Voter Turnout in Post-Communist Countries." *The Journal of Politics* 71 (02): 473-491.
- Powell, Bingham Jr. 1982. *Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability and Violence*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 12-5, 111-22.
- Schuessler, Alexander A. 2000. *The Logic of Expressive Choice*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tóka, Gábor. 2009. "Expressive Versus Instrumental Motivation of Turnout, Partisanship, and Political Learning." In *The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems*, edited by Hans-Dieter Klingemann. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 269-288.
- Wall, Alan, et al. 2007. *Electoral Management Design: The International IDEA Handbook*. Stockholm: International IDEA.

**Topic 2: The instrumental rationality assumption in survey research and the emergence of the “sociological” and “psychological” models as empirically-motivated alternatives. Social/family determinism as a challenge to, and as an alternative specification of, the simple response-stimulus model**

Readings:

- # Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet (1944). 1948. *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*, 2nd ed. New York-London: Columbia University Press, pp. VII-XXV, 74-5, 80-1, 87-99, 150-8.
- # Berelson, Bernard R., Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. 1954. *Voting: A Study of Public Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 14-7, 72-5, 88-9, 108-15, 305-23.
- # Stokes, Donald E. 1966. "Some Dynamic Elements of Contests for the Presidency." *American Political Science Review* 60 (1): 19-28.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald Stokes. 1966. *Elections and the Political Order*. New York: John Wiley.
- Miller, Warren E., and Merrill Shanks. 1996. *The New American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Dalton, Russell J. 1996. *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, 2nd ed. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, pp. 165-95.
- Denver, David. 1994. *Elections and Voting Behaviour in Britain*, 2nd ed. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, pp. 60-78.
- Franklin, Mark N. 2009. "Epilogue (November 2008): Cleavage Politics in the 21st Century." In *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*, edited by Mark N. Franklin, Thomas T. Mackie, Henry Valen and et al. London: ECPR Press.

- Gunther, Richard, Hans-Jürgen Puhle, and José Ramón Montero, eds. 2007. *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, and John Sprague. 1995. *Citizens, Politics, and Social Communication: Information and Influence in an Election Campaign*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lipset, Seymour M., and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments. Introduction." in *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, ed. by Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan. New York: The Free Press, pp. 1-64.

**Topic 3: Reinterpreting the impact of partisanship, ideology and social group membership as cue-taking. Low information rationality, the Drunkard's Search, schemata, shortcuts, and heuristics in citizen politics. Why are cues always double-edged swords?**

Readings:

- # Tversky, Amos, and Daniel Kahneman. 1974. "Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases." *Science* 185: 1124-31.
- # Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections." *American Political Science Review* 88 (1): 63-76.
- # Lau, Richard R., and David P. Redlawsk. 2001. "Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making." *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 951-71.
- Baum, Matthew A., and Angela S. Jamison. 2006. "The Oprah Effect: How Soft News Helps Inattentive Citizens Vote Consistently." *The Journal of Politics* 68 (4): 946-959.
- Boudreau, Cheryl, and Mathew D. McCubbins. 2007. "The Blind Leading the Blind: Who Gets Polling Information and Does it Lead to Improved Decision Making?" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 12-15 April 2007.
- Boudreau, Cheryl. 2009. "Closing the Gap: When Do Cues Eliminate Differences between Sophisticated and Unsophisticated Citizens?" *The Journal of Politics* 71 (03): 964-976.
- Ferejohn, John A., and James H. Kuklinski eds. 1990. *Information and Democratic Processes*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Hutchings, Vincent L. 2003. *Public Opinion and Democratic Accountability: How Citizens Learn about Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, and Dieter Fuchs. 1989. "The Left-Right Schema." in *Continuities in Political Action*, ed. M. Kent Jennings and Jan W. van Deth. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 203-34.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2005. *Direct Democratic Choice: The Swiss Experience*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, Books.
- Kroh, Martin. 2009. "The Ease of Ideological Voting." In *The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems*, edited by Hans-Dieter Klingemann. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 220-236
- Laponce, J. A. 1981. *Left and Right: The Topography of Political Perceptions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 3-28.

- Lupia, Arthur, and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1998. *The Democratic Dilemma. Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCubbins, Mathew D., and Daniel B. Rodriguez. 2006. "When Does Deliberating Improve Decision Making?" *Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues* 15 (1): 9-50.
- Popkin, Samuel L. 2006. "The Factual Basis of "Belief Systems": A Reassessment." *Critical Review: A Journal of Politics and Society* 18 (1): 233-254.
- Sniderman, Paul M., Richard A. Brody, and Phillip E. Tetlock. 1993. *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 18-27, 117-35.
- Sokhey, Anand Edward, and Scott D. McClurg. 2008. "Social Networks and Correct Voting: Linking Discussion to Good Decisions." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 3-6 April 2008.

**Topic 4: Motivational and cognitive accounts of party identification. On-line vs. memory based information processing. Partisan projection effects as heuristics.**

Readings:

- # Lodge, Milton, Marco R. Steenbergen, and Shawn Brau. 1995. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation." *American Political Science Review* 89: 309-26.
- # Duch, Raymond M., and Randolph T. Stevenson. forthcoming in 2011. "Context and Economic Expectations: When Do Voters get it Right?" *British Journal of Political Science*.
- # Kroh, Martin, and Peter Selb. 2009. "Inheritance and the Dynamics of Party Identification." *Political Behavior* 31 (4): 559-574.
- Bafumi, Joseph, and Robert Y. Shapiro. 2009. "A New Partisan Voter." *The Journal of Politics* 71 (01): 1-24.
- Converse, Philip E. 1969. "Of Time and Partisan Stability." *Comparative Political Studies* 2: 139-71.
- Granberg, Donald, and Sören Holmberg. 1988. *The Political System Matters: Social Psychology and Voting Behavior in Sweden and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 38-59.
- Hatemi, Peter K., Carolyn L. Funk, Sarah E. Medland, Hermine M. Maes, Judy L. Silberg, Nicholas G. Martin, and Lindon J. Eaves. 2009. "Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Attitudes Over a Life Time." *The Journal of Politics* 71 (03): 1141-1156.
- Klobucar, Thomas, Arthur H. Miller, and G. Erb. 2002. "The 1999 Ukrainian Presidential Election: Personalities, Ideology, Partisanship, and the Economy." *Slavic Review* 61: 315-63.
- Knobloch-Westerwick, Silvia, and Jingbo Meng. 2009. "Looking the Other Way: Selective Exposure to Attitude-Consistent and Counterattitudinal Political Information." *Communication Research* 36 (3): 426-448.
- Miller, Warren E., and Merrill Shanks. 1996. *The New American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 117-49.
- Niemi, Richard G., and M. Kent Jennings. 1991. "Issues and Inheritance in the Formation of Party Identification." *American Journal of Political Science* 35: 970-88.

- Redlawsk, David P. 2001. "You Must Remember This: A Test of the On-line Model of Voting." *Journal of Politics* 63: 29-58.
- Schmitt, Hermann, and Sören Holmberg. 1995. "Political Parties in Decline?" in *Citizens and the State*, ed. by Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 95-133.
- Taber, Charles, Damon Cann, and Simona Kucsova. 2009. "The Motivated Processing of Political Arguments." *Political Behavior* 31 (2): 137-155.
- Weisberg, Herbert F., and Steven H. Greene. 2003. "The Political Psychology of Party Identification." in *Electoral Democracy*, ed. by Michael B. MacKuen and George Rabinowitz. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, pp. 83-124.

**Topic 5: Quasi-rational response-stimulus models of the electoral process: economic voting as a response to valence issues and political business cycles theories. How do political institutions enhance or constrain electoral accountability?**

Readings:

- # Saunders, Peter. 1995. "Privatization, Share Ownership and Voting." *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 131-43.
- # Roberts, Andrew. 2008. "Hyperaccountability: Economic voting in Central and Eastern Europe." *Electoral Studies* 27 (3): 533-546.
- # Remmer, Karen L. 1993. "The Political Economy of Elections in Latin America." *American Political Science Review* 87: 393-407.
- Alesina, Alberto, Nouriel Roubini, and Gerald D. Cohen. 1997. *Political Cycles and the Macroeconomy*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Bartels, Larry M., and John Zaller. 2001. "Presidential Vote Models: A Recount." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34 (1): 9-20. URL: <http://www.apsanet.org/ps/march01/election2000.cfm>
- Brug, Wouter van der, Cees van der Eijk, and Mark Franklin. 2007. *The Economy and the Vote. Economic Conditions and Elections in Fifteen Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duch, Raymond M., and Randolph T. Stevenson. 2008. *The Economic Vote: How Political Institutions and Economic Institutions Condition Election Results*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (only pp. 1-27 is mandatory but it is useful if you look through the entire book).
- Evans, Geoffrey, and Stephen Whitefield. 1995. "The Politics and Economics of Democratic Commitment: Support for Democracy in Transition Societies." *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 485-514.
- Evans, Geoffrey, and Robert Andersen. 2006. "The Political Conditioning of Economic Perceptions." *The Journal of Politics* 68 (1): 194-207.
- Filippov, Mikhail G. 2002. "Russian Voting and the Initial Economic Shock of Hyperinflation." *Public Choice* 111 (1-2): 73-104.
- Harper, Marcus A. G. 2000. "Economic Voting in Postcommunist Eastern Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 33: 1191-227.

- Hellwig, Timothy, and David Samuels. 2008. "Electoral Accountability and the Variety of Democratic Regimes." *British Journal of Political Science* 38 (1): 65-90.
- Kiewiet, D. Roderick. 2000. "Economic Retrospective Voting and Incentives for Policy-Making." *Electoral Studies* 19: 427-44.
- Klobucar, Thomas, Arthur H. Miller, and G. Erb. 2002. "The 1999 Ukrainian Presidential Election: Personalities, Ideology, Partisanship, and the Economy." *Slavic Review* 61: 315-63.
- Nadeau, Richard, Richard G. Niemi and Antoine Yoshinaka. 2002. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context across Time and Nations." *Electoral Studies* 21: 403-23; and note [by the same authors] "Erratum: A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context across Time and Nations." *Electoral Studies* 21 (4): 540-2.
- Nannestad, Peter, and Martin Paldam. 1994. "The VP-Function: A Survey of the Literature on Vote and Popularity Functions after 25 Years." *Public Choice* 79: 213-45.
- Paldam, Martin. 1991. "How Robust Is the Vote Function? A Study of Seventeen Nations over Four Decades." in *Economics and Politics: the Calculus of Support*, ed. by Helmut Norpoth, Michael S. Lewis-Beck, and Jean Dominique Lafay. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 9-32.
- Powell, G. Bingham, Jr., and Guy D. Whitten. 1993. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context." *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 391-414.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1996. "Public Support for Economic Reforms in Poland." *Comparative Political Studies* 29: 520-43.
- Richter, Kaspar. 2006. "Wage Arrears and Economic Voting in Russia." *American Political Science Review* 100 (1): 133-145.
- Royed, Terry J, Kevin M. Leyden and Stephen A. Borrelli. 2000. "Is 'Clarity of Responsibility' Important for Economic Voting? Revisiting Powell and Whitten's Hypothesis." *British Journal of Political Science* 28: 669-98.
- Rudolph, Thomas J. 2003. "Who's Responsible for the Economy? The Formation and Consequences of Responsibility Attributions." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (4): 698-713.
- Sánchez-Cuenca, Ignacio. 2008. "How Can Governments Be Accountable If Voters Vote Ideologically?" In *Controlling Governments: Voters, Institutions, and Accountability* edited by José María Maravall and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 45-81.
- Tucker, Joshua A. 2006. *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Whitten, Guy D., and Harvey D. Palmer. 1999. "Cross-National Analyses of Economic Voting." *Electoral Studies* 18: 49-67.

**Topic 6: Cognitive and motivational limits to self-interested behavior in mass politics. Symbolic politics theory and foundations for pro-social behavior in the electoral arena.**

Readings:

- # Sears, David O., and Carl P. Hensler, and Leslie K. Speer. 1979. "Whites' Opposition to 'Busing': Self-Interest or Symbolic Politics?" *American Political Science Review* 73: 369-84.
- # Funk, Carolyn L. 2000. "The Dual Influence of Self-interest and Societal Interest in Public Opinion." *Political Research Quarterly* 53: 37-62.
- Brennan, Geoffrey, and Loren Lomasky. 1994. *Democracy and Decision: The Pure Theory of Electoral Preferences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Campbell, A.L. 2002. "Self-interest, Social Security, and the Distinctive Participation Patterns of Senior Citizens." *American Political Science Review* 96: 565-74.
- Chong, Dennis. 2000. *Rational Lives: Norms and Values in Politics and Society*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Edelman, Murray J. (1964). 1985. *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, pp. 22-43.
- Kinder, Donald R., and D. Roderick Kiewiet. 1981. "Sociotropic Politics: The American Case." *British Journal of Political Science* 11: 129-61.
- Kramer, Gerald H. 1983. "The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate versus Individual-Level Findings on Economics and Elections, and Sociotropic Voting." *American Political Science Review* 77: 92-111.
- Lewin, Leif. 1992. *Self-Interest and Public Interest in Western Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lowery, David, and Lee Sigelman. 1981. "Understanding the Tax Revolt: Eight Explanations." *American Political Science Review* 75: 963-74.
- Mansbridge, Jane J. ed. 1990. *Beyond Self-Interest*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Mueller, Dennis C. 2003. *Public Choice III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 303-32.
- Sears, David O. 1993. "Symbolic Politics: A Socio-Psychological Theory." in *Explorations in Political Psychology*, ed. by Shanto Iyengar and William J. McGuire. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993, pp. 113-49.
- Sears, David O., and Carolyn L. Funk. 1991. "The Role of Self-Interest in Social and Political Attitudes." in *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* Vol. 24, ed. by Mark P. Zanna. San Diego, CA: Academic Press, pp. 1-91.

**Topic 7: Do voters have positional policy preferences after all? How are they structured? Non-attitudes, response sets, attenuation effects, and belief systems. Issue publics and their relevance for preference aggregation in democracies**

Readings:

- # Converse, Philip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." in *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. by David Apter. New York: Free Press, pp. 206-61. Reprinted in *Critical Review: A Journal of Politics and Society* 18 (1): 1-74. (Only two sections are mandatory readings, which are pp. 44-52 of the 2006 reprint in *Critical Review*)
- # Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in American's Policy Preferences*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-37.
- # Kim, Young Mie. 2009. "Issue Publics in the New Information Environment: Selectivity, Domain Specificity, and Extremity." *Communication Research* 36 (2): 254-284.

- Alwin, Duane F., Ronald L. Cohen, and Theodore M. Newcomb. 1991. *Political Attitudes over the Life Span: The Bennington Women After Fifty Years*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Converse, Philip E. 2006. "Democratic Theory and Electoral Reality." *Critical Review: A Journal of Politics and Society* 18 (1): 297-329.
- Feldman, Stanley. 1990. "Measuring Issue Preferences: The Problem of Response Stability." in *Political Analysis Vol. 1*, ed. by James A. Stimson. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, pp. 25-60.
- Fleishman, John A. 1988. "Attitude Organization in the General Public: Evidence for a Bidimensional Structure." *Social Forces* 67: 159-83.
- Hutchings, Vincent L. 2003. *Public Opinion and Democratic Accountability: How Citizens Learn about Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Michael B. MacKuen and George Rabinowitz. eds. 2003. *Electoral Democracy*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Marcus, George E., W. Russell Neuman, and Michael MacKuen. 2000. *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Oskamp, Stuart. 1991. *Attitudes and Opinions*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Edgeworth Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, pp. 134-53.
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**Topic 8: Do elections give mandates to enact specific policies? Interpreting election outcomes, open-ended vs. closed-ended questions, and introspective responses. Controversies about issue voting and its measurement. Path models, non-recursive specifications and omitted variable bias. Directional, salience and proximity models of relating personal preferences to the vote.**

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**Topic 9: How do voters relate information and policy preferences to vote choice? The impact of political sophistication, information costs, and uncertain party positions**

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**Topic 10: The long road from minimal to massive media effect theories in communication research: learning, activation, reinforcement, persuasion, agenda setting, priming and framing effects**

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**Topic 11: Taking stock. The impact of public opinion and elections on governments and policy choices in democracies. Responsiveness, accountability and the quality of democracy in Eastern Europe and the US**

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