

POS 6933
Section 14EC (Mondays 5-7. 11:45 am to 2:45
pm)
Spring 2014

Professor
Martinez
martinez@ufl.edu
273-2363

Office: Anderson 208
Office Hours: W 12:50 to 3:50
pm

Seminar in Political Participation

Who participates, and why? Does political participation ameliorate or exacerbate social inequalities? How do political institutions promote and inhibit political participation? Does political participation in China mean the same thing as political participation in the United States? Does political participation really matter?

The goals for the seminar are

(1) to review the literature on political participation generally, and to enable students to conduct some basic secondary analysis of data which addresses either the conditions that foster (or inhibit) political participation or the consequences of participation for democratic governments. While most of the readings use the United States as a case, about one-third of the readings will be informed by research in non-US settings. Most of those discuss participation in advanced industrial (or post-industrial) democracies, but we will also read about participation in developing democracies and authoritarian polities.

(2) provide students with the theoretical background and empirical tools to write a research paper that uses secondary analysis of existing data to answer a basic question about political participation.

The constituencies that I hope to reach with this seminar include doctoral students in political science in political behavior, American politics, or comparative politics, students in cognate fields (including sociology, psychology, or communications) with substantive interests in political participation, and M.A. students in Political Campaigning with practical or research interests in political mobilization.

The weekly seminars will be reviews and discussions of selected readings on various topics, and we will evaluate how well this group of readings answers basic scientific questions about political participation in the United States, in other national settings, across national settings, and among various minority populations. Our review of the readings will be supplemented by research papers by each member of the seminar.

Requirements: Attendance and Participation. The weekly meetings of the seminar should be viewed as opportunities for the exchange of ideas among scholars. You may, on occasion, be able to tell that I am the leader of the seminar, but its overall success depends on the informed participation of everyone. Each student is expected to have completed the readings for the week, and to have something to say about those readings when seminar begins.

Weekly Essays and participation: Each student will prepare a paper which addresses some theoretical or methodological concern in that week's reading.

In weeks in which we read several articles, these papers may be critiques of one or more of the readings, or may offer some theoretical insight which builds on the readings for the week. Ideally, these papers will integrate several of the readings to offer a theoretically meaningful commentary on

the state of knowledge on the topic of discussion. Students also may (but are not required) to incorporate a "rough data analysis" into the essay, provided that the data analysis is described in terms that show an understanding of the assigned readings. These essays should be approximately 400-500 words (or about one single spaced page), and should be uploaded to Sakai by 6 p.m. the day **before** seminar. (Please post as text, not as Word documents or other attachments.) The essays will become the basis for our discussions during seminar, and I will endeavor to return brief comments to you.

In weeks in which we read just one book (or the readings include a substantial portion of one book), these essays may take the form of a book review that might appear in *Perspectives on Politics* or another appropriate academic journal. A good book review will alert the reader to the major theme of the book, summarize the chapters' major points and findings, and evaluate its overall contribution to our understanding of the topic.

Occasionally, I may ask students to prepare written and oral summaries of recommended readings for the rest of the seminar. These summaries will be in lieu of the regular essays.

Comprehensive assignment: Each student will either write a research paper OR will take a final exam.

Research Paper (Option 1)

Papers typically will be 20 to 25 pages, will show an understanding of the development of knowledge in a chosen area, and demonstrate a basic secondary analysis of data which extends knowledge in that area. You may want to review relevant materials from the Conduct of Inquiry Seminar in conjunction with this assignment.

Students will present their basic research results in our final seminar meeting on December 6. The final paper will be due at noon, April 28. Further guidelines for the research presentation and paper will be forthcoming.

Final Exam (Option 2)

The final exam will be similar in format to a comprehensive graduate (MA Campaigning or PhD) exam. Two questions will be distributed at noon on April 28, and essays answering both questions will be due 24 hours later, at noon on April 29. (The exact 24 hour period may be changed with the unanimous consent of the instructors and all students who opt for the exam.)

Grades will be based on your participation, weekly essays, and research paper / final exam (roughly equally weighted). No collaboration on any assignment is allowed without my specific express permission.

You may wish to purchase one of more of them from your favorite brick and mortar or virtual bookseller.

- Blais, André. 2000. *To Vote or Not to Vote: The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Leighley, Jan E. and Jonathan Nagler. 2013. *Who Votes Now?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Wolfinger, Raymond E. and Steven J. Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press.

The following is a tentative calendar for the course.

January 6: Introduction to the Seminar

During this class period, we will set the agenda for the semester. I expect to discuss seminar requirements, as well as a general overview of the research traditions in political participation. It would be helpful for me and the other participants to understand your research goals or career interests.

I expect that the seminar will include doctoral students whose primary or secondary field is Political Behavior, doctoral students in other disciplines with an interest in political participation, and second-year M.A. students in the Political Campaigning program. My experience has been that diverse groups can lead to productive exchanges of ideas that encourage all participants to question their assumptions about the causes and consequences of mass political behavior. In and of itself, that would be a significant accomplishment for this seminar.

For an overview of the literature on political participation, read:

Leighley, Jan E. 1995. "Attitudes, Opportunities and Incentives - A Field Essay on Political Participation." *Political Research Quarterly* 48: 181-209.

Martinez, Michael D. 2010. "Why Is American Turnout So Low, and Why Should We Care?" In Jan E. Leighley (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 7.

(No written essay due.)

January 13: How do you think you know what you think you know about political participation?

* Verba, Sidney and Norman H. Nie. 1972. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. New York: Harper and Row. Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8

Pierce, Roy and Philip E. Converse. 1990. "Attitudinal Sources of Protest Behavior in France: Differences between Before and After Measurement." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 54 (3, Autumn): 295-317.

Nice, David C. 1988. "Abortion Clinic Bombings as Political Violence." *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (1, February): 178-195.

Gerber, Alan S., Donald P. Green, and Ron Shachar. 2003. "Voting May Be Habit-Forming: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (3, July): 540-550.

January 27: The Haves Have It! The SES "Model"

* Verba, Sidney, Norman H. Nie, and Jae-On Kim. 1978. *Participation and Political Equality: A*

Seven-Nation Comparison. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-5.

* Dietz, Henry A. 1998. Urban poverty, political participation, and the state : Lima, 1970-1990. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. Chapters ?

Leighley, Jan E. and Jonathan Nagler. 2013. *Who Votes Now?* Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1, 2, and 3.

Tam Cho, Wendy K. 1999. "Naturalization, Socialization, Participation: Immigrants and (Non-) Voting." *Journal of Politics* 61 (4, November): 1140-1155.

February 3: Are the rich really just like the rest of us, except for the money?

* Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapters 1-3, 6-7, 9-11, 17

February 10: How hard can it be? Registration and "Convenience" Laws

* Wolfinger, Raymond E. and Steven J. Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 4.

Leighley, Jan E. and Jonathan Nagler. 2013. *Who Votes Now?* Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 4.

Brown, Robert D. 2010. Voter Registration: Turnout, Representation, and Reform. In *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*, edited by J. E. Leighley. New York: Oxford University Press.

Highton, Benjamin. 2004. "Voter Registration and Turnout in the United States." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (3, September): 507-516.

Burden, Barry C., David T. Canon, Kenneth R. Mayer, and Donald P. Moynihan. 2014. Election Laws, Mobilization, and Turnout: The Unanticipated Consequences of Election Reform. *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (1):95-109.

Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, David Doherty, Conor M. Dowling, and Seth J. Hill. 2013. Do Perceptions of Ballot Secrecy Influence Turnout? Results from a Field Experiment. *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (3):537-551.

optional

Squire, Peverill, Raymond E. Wolfinger, and David P. Glass. 1987. "Residential Mobility and Voter Turnout." *American Political Science Review* 81 (1, March): 45-66.

February 17: Does separation of powers separate voters from non-voters?: Political Institutions

Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. 1986. "American Turnout in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 80 (1, March): 17-44.

Jackman, Robert W. 1987. "Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 81 (2, June): 405-423.

Franklin, Mark N. and Wolfgang P. Hirczy de Mino. 1998. "Separated Powers, Divided Government, and Turnout in US Presidential Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (1, January): 316-326.

* Franklin, Mark N. 1996. "Electoral Participation." Pp. 216-235 in *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*, edited by L. LeDuc, R. G. Niemi, and P. Norris. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

* Blais, André. 2000. *To Vote or Not to Vote: The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. Chapters 1-2.

February 24: Does participation even make sense? The puzzle of rational choice

* Blais, André. 2000. *To Vote or Not to Vote: The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. Chapters 4, 6, conclusion.

Riker, William and Peter Ordeshook. 1968. "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting." *American Political Science Review* 62 (1): 25-42.

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

Jackman, Robert W. 1993. "Rationality and Political-Participation." *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (1, February): 279-290.

Bendor, Jonathan, Daniel Diermeier, and Michael Ting. 2003. "A behavioral model of turnout." *American Political Science Review* 97 (2, May): 261-280.

* Green, Donald P. and Ian Shapiro. 1994. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chs. 1-4.

(optional) Muller, Edward N. and Karl-Dieter Opp. 1986. "Rational Choice and Rebellious Collective Action." *American Political Science Review* 80 (2, June): 471-487.

March 10: Reach out and Touch Someone: Mobilization

Uhlener, Carole Y. 1989. "Rational Turnout: The Neglected Role of Groups." *American Journal of Political Science* 33: 390-422.

* Rosenstone, Steven J. and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in*

America. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company. Chapters 4 and 7.

Gerber, Alan S. and Donald P. Green. 2000. "The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: a Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 94 (3, September): 653-663.

* Legee, David C., Kenneth D. Wald, Brian S. Krueger, and Paul D. Mueller. 2002. *The politics of cultural differences : social change and voter mobilization strategies in the post-New Deal period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 2.

Gray, Mark and Miki Caul. 2000. "Declining voter turnout in advanced industrial democracies, 1950 to 1997 - The effects of declining group mobilization." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (9, November): 1091-1122.

Supplemental:

Shaw, Daron, Rudolfo O. de la Garza, and Jong-ho Lee. 2000. "Examining Latino Turnout in 1996: A Three-State, Validated Survey Approach." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (2, April): 338-346.

Green, Donald P. and Alan S. Gerber. 2004. *Get Out The Vote! How to Increase Voter Turnout*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.

Huckfeldt, Robert and John Sprague. 1992. "Political Parties and Electoral Mobilization: Political Structure, Social Structure, and the Party Canvas." *American Political Science Review* 86 (1, March): 70-86.

March 17: Data sources for research papers

This seminar period will be devoted to talking about data sources for final papers. We'll talk about using data from the American National Election Studies, the Comparative Studies of Electoral Systems, and replication datasets available from the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research.

March 24: Empowerment

Bobo, Lawrence and Franklin D. Gilliam. 1990. "Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment." *American Political Science Review* 84 (2, June): 377-393.

Gay, Claudine. 2001. "The Effect of Black Congressional Representation on Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 95 (3, September): 589-602.

Tate, Katherine. 1991. "Black Political-Participation in the 1984 and 1988 Presidential Elections." *American Political Science Review* 85 (4, Dec): 1159-1176.

Banducci, S. A., T. Donovan, and J. A. Karp. 2004. "Minority representation, empowerment, and participation." *Journal of Politics* 66 (2, May): 534-556.

Barreto, M. A., M. Villarreal, and N. D. Woods. 2005. "Metropolitan latino political behavior: Voter turnout and candidate preference in Los Angeles." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 27 (1): 71-91.

March 31: My Neighbor Made Me Do It: Social Connectedness and Networks

* Putnam, Robert D. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000, chapters 3 and 4.

Lake, R. L. and R. Huckfeldt. 1998. "Social Capital, Social Networks, and Political Participation." *Political Psychology* 19 (3, September): 567-584.

Leighley, Jan E. and Arnold Vedlitz. 1999. "Race, Ethnicity, and Political Participation: Competing Models and Contrasting Explanations," *Journal of Politics* 61 (4, November):1092-1114.

Brehm, John and Wendy Rahn. 1997. "Individual-level evidence for the causes and consequences of social capital." *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (3, July): 999-1023.

Hobbs, William R., Nicholas A. Christakis, and James H. Fowler. 2014. Widowhood Effects in Voter Participation. *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (1):1-16.

Bhavnani, Ravi, Karsten Donnay, Dan Miodownik, Maayan Mor, and Dirk Helbing. 2014. Group Segregation and Urban Violence. *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (1):226-245.

Supplemental:

Theiss-Morse, Elizabeth and John R. Hibbing. 2005. "Citizenship and Civic Engagement." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8: 227-249.

Jackson, Robert A. 2003. "Differential influences on Latino electoral participation." *Political Behavior* 25 (4, December): 339-366.

Leighley, Jan E. 1996. "Group membership and the mobilization of political participation." *Journal of Politics* 58 (2, May): 447-463.

April 7: Reach Out and Squelch Someone: Participation in Authoritarian Societies

Karklins, Rasma. 1986. "Soviet Elections Revisited: Abstention in Noncompetitive Voting." *American Political Science Review* 80 (2, June): 449-469.

Reisinger, William M., Arthur H. Miller, and Vicki L. Hesli. 1995. "Political Behavior and Political Change in Post-Soviet States." *Journal of Politics* 57: 941-970.

Jennings, M. Kent. 1997. "Political Participation in the Chinese Countryside." *American Political Science Review* 91 (2, June): 361-372.

Shi, Tianjian. 1999. "Voting and Nonvoting in China: Voting Behavior in Plebiscitary and Limited-Choice Elections." *Journal of Politics* 61 (4, November): 1115-1139.

Chen, Jie. 2000. "Subjective Motivations for Mass Political Participation in Urban China," *Social Science Quarterly* 81 (2, June): 645-662.

Supplemental:

Shi, Tianjian. 1997. *Political Participation in Beijing*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

April 14: The Peasants Are Revolting! (How revolting are they?)

Gurr, Ted. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton. Chapters 2-3.

* Barnes, Samuel and Max Kaase, et al., *Political Action: Mass Participation In Five Western Democracies*, Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979, Chapter 12 by Inglehart.

* Jennings, M. Kent and Jan W. van Deth, et. al., *Continuities in Political Action*, de Gruyter Studies on North America, vol. 5, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990, Chapter 6 by Jennings.

Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. 1982. *Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability, and Violence*. Cambridge: Harvard. Chapters 1, 2, and 6.

* Dekker, Paul, Ruud Koopmans, and Andries van den Broek. 1997. "Voluntary Associations, Social Movements and Individual Political Behaviour in Western Europe." Pp. 220-239 in *Private Groups and Public Life: Social Participation, Voluntary Associations, and Political Involvement in Representative Democracies*, edited by J. W. van Deth. London: Routledge.

optional

Finkel, Steven E. and Karl-Dieter Opp. 1991. "Party Identification and Participation in Collective Political Action." *Journal of Politics* 53 (2): 339-371.

April 21: Who cares?

* Patterson, Thomas E. 2002. *The Vanishing Voter: Public Involvement in an Age of Uncertainty*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Chapters 1 and 5.

Leighley, Jan E. and Jonathan Nagler. 2013. *Who Votes Now?* Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 7.

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

Martinez, Michael D. and Jeff Gill. 2005. "The Effects of Turnout on Partisan Outcomes in U.S. Presidential Elections 1960-2000." *Journal of Politics* 67 (4, November): 1248-1274.

Bolsen, Toby, Paul J. Ferraro, and Juan Jose Miranda. 2014. Are Voters More Likely to Contribute to Other Public Goods? Evidence from a Large-Scale Randomized Policy Experiment. *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (1):17-30.

April 28: Optional Final Papers Due at noon (Hard, absolute, drop-dead, no exception deadline) submitted via Sakai

April 28-29: Final Exam to be distributed at noon, April 28 and to be submitted via Sakai noon, April 29

Supplemental:

Location, location, location

Haspel, M. and H. G. Knotts. 2005. "Location, location, location: Precinct placement and the costs of voting." *Journal of Politics* 67 (2, May): 560-573.

Gimpel, J. G., J. J. Dyck, and D. R. Shaw. 2004. "Registrants, voters, and turnout variability across neighborhoods." *Political Behavior* 26 (4, December): 343-375.

Lehoucq, F. and D. L. Wall. 2004. "Explaining voter turnout rates in new democracies: Guatemala." *Electoral Studies* 23 (3, Sep): 485-500.

Uhlaner, Bruce Cain, and Rod Kiewiet, "Political Participation of Ethnic Minorities," *Political Behavior* 11 (Sept. 1989):195-231 (25)

Hritzuk, Natasha and David K. Park, "The Questions of Latino Participation: From an SES to a Social Structural Explanation," *Social Science Quarterly* 81 (March 2000):151-166.

The Decline (and Rise) in Voter Turnout

Brody, Richard. 1978. The Puzzle of Political Participation in America. In *The New American Political System*, edited by A. King. Washington: AEI.

Abramson, Paul R., and John H. Aldrich. 1982. The Decline of Electoral Participation in America. *American Political Science Review* 76:502-521.

Cassel, Carol A., and Robert C. Luskin. 1988. Simple Explanations of Turnout Decline. *American Political Science Review* 82 (4):1321-1330.

Teixeira, Ruy A. 1992. *The Disappearing American Voter*. Washington: Brookings.

* Rosenstone, Steven J. and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company. Chapters 4 and 7.

Martinez, Michael D. 2014. "The Resurgent American Voter, 1996-2012." Presented at the 2014 Meetings of the Southern Political Science Association (New Orleans).