UW-GREEN BAY RESEARCH COUNCIL
Research Scholar Program
Cover Page

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Campus Address: MAC B 303   Budgetary Unit: PEA

Project Title: Book on U.S. Mayoral Elections

Proposals must be submitted as a single PDF document containing:

☑ Cover Page

☑ Project Description (page limit: 6) (Refer to guidelines)

☑ Timeline (page limit: 1) (Refer to guidelines)

☑ Curriculum Vitae (page limit: 2) (Refer to guidelines)

☑ Approval from Unit Chair
   I acknowledge that I have been informed of this proposal.

   Name: **Lora Warner**

   Signature:

   Date: 1-3-18

If awarded funding, proposals are open to review upon request.

Aaron C. Weinschenk
Project Description, Timeline, and Curriculum Vita
2018 Summer Research Scholar Program Application

Introduction

I am pleased to submit my materials for the 2018 Summer Research Scholar Program. I joined the UWGB faculty

in 2013 and was recently (June 2017) promoted to the rank of associate professor with tenure in the Department of

Public and Environmental Affairs. To date, my research has focused on questions related to elections in the United

States, and the project that I am submitting focuses on an understudied aspect of the U.S. electoral system. I believe

that it is critically important for UWGB faculty members to continually generate high-quality research and was

very pleased to learn that UWGB developed a summer research scholar program to reward faculty members who

pursue scholarly projects that "substantially exceed the baseline expectations for faculty scholarship." I believe that

my project clearly exceeds typical scholarly expectations at UWGB. If I am selected as the Summer Research

Scholar, I intend to use my time to work on the development of a second book—I published my first book with

Routledge Press in 2016. Although I am only 4.5 years into my career as a faculty member, I have been quite

productive in my research, as I hope my curriculum vita illustrates. To date, I have published 1 peer-reviewed book,

22 peer-reviewed journal articles, many of which are in top general-interest political science journals like *Political*

Research Quarterly, and numerous book chapters/entries. I have also co-authored large-scale community reports

like the 2016 LIFE Study, which was funded via a $50,000 contact awarded to UWGB from the Greater Green Bay

Community Foundation. Just to be perfectly clear, this level of scholarly output is *not* something my unit demands.

My unit does not require a book for tenure and typically if one published 4-5 strong journal articles they would be

in a strong positon for tenure and promotion (assuming teaching and service were in order). After earning tenure, if

a person published one or two articles in reputable journals per year that would be considered a solid publication

record. Thus, writing a (second) book, certainly exceeds "the baseline expectations" of scholarship in my unit and,

as far as I can tell, most other units at UWGB. Being selected as the Summer Research Scholar would be critical in

helping me maintain my high level of research output. It would be exceptionally nice to earn a bit of extra income

via the Summer Research Scholar stipend as I spend the summer months developing my next book project, which is

a significant undertaking. Below, I outline the project that I intend to work on during the summer and provide an

overview of the timeline I have in mind.

Project Description and Products

The project that I am submitting for your consideration entails writing a proposal for a book on mayoral elections in the United States and drafting 1 of the empirical chapters for the book. Typically, book publishers want to see a book proposal (e.g., outline of the book, including chapter summaries; location of the book's contribution in the existing literature; overview of the possible market for the book) *and* a sample chapter from the book—so that they can get a sense of what the project will actually look like. This book with be co-authored with a frequent collaborator of mine—Thomas Holbrook, Distinguished Professor and Wilder Crane Professor of Government at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Over the past several months, we have met several times to discuss the book project. Thus, the foundation for this project is already being built.

Let me provide a bit of background on why this project is important and necessary. One of the most remarkable things about research on elections is that although there are roughly 520,000 elected officials in the United States, the majority of whom serve in local governments, there is a fairly limited body of research on local elections (and mayoral elections more specifically). Research on elections has tended to focus on national-level contests. The problem with a national-level focus is that the vast majority (about 97%) of elected officials are serving at the local level. Until we have a better understanding of how local elections work, we will necessarily have an incomplete understanding of how American democracy works. Marschall, Shah, and Ruhil (2011) summarize the state of the art on local elections research in this way: "...to say that a field of study on local elections exists would be a bit of an overstatement. Not only is the literature rather small and not particularly cohesive, but the data collection and methods of analysis are also somewhat primitive, particularly compared to research on state and federal elections." To date, there have only been a handful of empirically-oriented books on local elections and most of them do not focus explicitly on mayoral politics. In part, the dearth of research on local-level elections stems from data issues, as Marschall et al. note. Typically, if one wants to study local elections, they have to gather the data by hand (e.g., collecting election returns from city clerk websites; gathering campaign finance data from individual spending reports). Unlike national-level elections, there is not a centralized place to get local election data. So, how will I write a book on mayoral elections if the data are so difficult to gather? Have no fear! During my time in graduate school and when I first arrived at UWGB, I worked on a project that focused on gathering data on mayoral elections in the 125 largest U.S. cities. That dataset, which includes information on

the candidates who run in local elections, city conditions (e.g., racial/ethnic diversity, economics, population attributes, etc.), and election outcomes, has been the basis for a number of my publications.[1] My collaborator currently has a number of research assistants working under his supervision, and they have been adding information our dataset as new elections occur in our sample of cities. In short, the dataset is a goldmine for research on mayoral politics; it can be used to study new questions (which we will do in the book) and can be used to replicate and update previous studies (which we may do in the future).

Despite my existing work on mayoral elections, I would note that there are still many unanswered and, even more excitingly, unasked questions about mayoral elections. For example, who runs for mayor? What attributes make people most likely to win in mayoral elections? Are women underrepresented in mayoral offices across the country, as they are in national-level political offices? Is a city's level of racial/ethnic diversity typically reflected in its pool of mayoral candidates? These types of questions are essential to understanding the pulse of local elections in America but also democracy more broadly. As Marschall, Shah, and Ruhil (2011) note, "as the nation continues moving toward a multi-racial/ethnic reality, the lessons learned from local politics and elections today will pave the road for a better understanding of state and national politics...the study of local politics and elections represents *a looking glass into the future*."

I should note that my collaborator and I plan to use candidate-level and city-level data, which I described above, to understand the dynamics of mayoral elections, but we also plan to use individual-level survey data. Thus, the book will allow a look at mayoral elections from *multiple vantage points* (e.g., candidates, voters, etc.). My co-author has conducted representative surveys (via funding through an NSF grant totaling about $900,000) in 40 large U.S. cities, and we will be able to make use of those data to understand how individual voters think, feel, and act during mayoral elections.[2] There are numerous important questions that we will take up regarding voters in mayoral elections. For example, are issues important to voters in mayoral elections? If so, which ones matter most? How do voters make decisions in mayoral elections when partisan cues are not provided on the ballot, which is the case in

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[1] See, e.g., 1) Weinschenk, Aaron C. and Thomas M. Holbrook. 2014. "The Determinants of Campaign Spending in Mayoral Elections." *State and Local Government Review* 46(1): 13-27. 2) Holbrook, Thomas M. and Aaron C. Weinschenk. 2014. "Money, Candidates, and Mayoral Elections." *Electoral Studies* 35: 292-302. 3) Holbrook, Thomas M. and Aaron C. Weinschenk. 2014. "Campaigns, Mobilization, and Turnout in Mayoral Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 67(1): 42-55.

[2] I also have access to a number of representative surveys (conducted in 26 U.S. cities) from the Knight Foundation that we will be able to integrate into the book.

about 80% of American cities? What factors motivate voters to get involved in mayoral politics (e.g., voting, donating money, campaigning)? Does the race/ethnicity of mayoral candidates play a role in voter decision making?

Relationship to Existing Scholarship

As I mentioned above, there is a fairly small body of research on local elections. Perhaps the most well-known book to date is Eric Oliver's *Local Elections and the Politics of Small-Scale Democracy* (2012). Hajnal's (2010) book *America's Uneven Democracy: Turnout, Race, and Representation in City Politics* is also an important contribution. In addition, Anzia (2014) recently published *Timing and Turnout: How Off-Cycle Elections Favor Organized Groups*. It is important to note that *none of these books focus exclusively on mayoral elections*. Until we understand how local mayoral elections work, we will have an incomplete understanding of "how democracy works." I should point out that the approach in our book will differ from previous work in that we will 1) make use of *both* individual and aggregate level data to study mayoral elections, and 2) provide the most comprehensive account of mayoral elections to date.

Contribution to Professional Development, Research Program, and Teaching

The research project sketched out above is one that I am very excited about. I have always enjoyed doing research and I am constantly on the lookout for interesting research questions and ways to enhance our understanding of the American electoral system. Although I have already done some work on mayoral elections, I have not yet had the opportunity to work on a book project about mayoral elections. A book-length project will enable me to study mayoral elections in *a more comprehensive manner than I have been able to in the past*. Thus, this is clearly a project that builds upon and advances my research agenda. I also believe that this book project has the potential to enhance my reputation and the reputation of my department and UWGB more generally. It is crucial that the community view our university as a place where they can go to get expert opinions, and I believe that articles and books are an important way of showcasing the expertise of our faculty members.

Although my last book was published with a reputable commercial press, I would like to aim for a university press for this book. Typically, university presses are viewed as more prestigious than commercial presses. Thus, this project will contribute to my professional development—I have not yet published with a university press, though it is one of my professional goals. There are a number of presses that have book series

where this project could fit. For example, the University of Minnesota Press has a series that publishes urban politics and policy texts.[3] The University of Michigan Press also publishes urban politics books.[4] Princeton University Press, which published Oliver's book on local elections, is also a possibility as is the University of Chicago's Series in American Politics.[5]

I should also note that I teach a course on urban politics and policy (Pol Sci 305) during Fall semesters and online during the summer, and I believe that the results of this project could be integrated into my class. During that class, I spend some time taking about urban elections. This project could undoubtedly inform some of my lectures for that class and I could even use some of the graphs/tables I produce while writing the book to show students how urban mayoral elections "work."

Timeline

I plan to begin work on this project shortly after Spring semester comes to an end. Thus, the timeline will run from approximately June 1, 2018 to August 31, 2018. This will give me 3 months to work on the project. During that time, I will work with my collaborator to draft the book proposal and 1 of the empirical chapters. Below, I have provided a general overview of how the project will unfold over the 3-month timeline.

- 1) Spring semester preparation work: Several times during the Spring semester, I will meet with my collaborator to further discuss the project. This will allow me to "hit the ground running" once I begin the process of actually writing the proposal.
    - o Output: General outline of how the book will look. Outline will be used to guide the writing of the proposal.
- 2) Write the book proposal (June 1-mid-July): During this time, I will work to draft the book proposal. Given that I have already written a book proposal and had it accepted by a press, I have a good sense of how to construct a successful proposal. I also have a sense of what will be covered in this book. Thus, it is simply a matter of getting the ideas "down on paper." During this time, I may travel to Milwaukee to meet with my co-author to discuss, revise, and edit the proposal.
    - o Output: Completed book proposal (roughly 10 single-spaced pages).

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[3] https://www.upress.umn.edu/book-division/series/globalization-and-community
[4] https://www.press.umich.edu/browse/subjects/political_science/urban_politics
[5] http://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/series/CSAP.html

- 3) Draft 1 empirical chapter (mid-July-August 31st): By this time, the book proposal will be complete. As I mentioned above, typically book presses want to see an example chapter from the book. Thus, I will use the remaining time to analyze data and write 1 of the empirical chapters (approximately 25-30 double-spaced pages) that will eventually go in the book. I am already very familiar with the datasets since I have used them before, so I will not need to spend a significant amount of time learning the codebooks, recoding variables, etc. By the end of summer, then, I will have a completed book proposal and a completed chapter. After these products are complete, it is simply a matter of submitting them to book presses. The nice thing about book publishing (relative to journal publishing) is that one can typically submit a book proposal to multiple presses for consideration simultaneously. This is likely something my co-author and I will take advantage of once we are ready to seek publishers. I anticipate sending the book proposal out during the Fall 2018 semester. Book presses vary in how long it takes them to get reviews and discuss the book with their editorial board, but it usually ranges from 4-8 months for most presses. While the proposal is under review, my co-author and I will work on writing additional chapters for the book.
  - o Output: Draft of 1 chapter of the book.
- 4) Final products at the end of the summer: 1 book proposal and 1 book chapter, which will be submitted to university presses, such as the University of Minnesota, Michigan, Temple, Princeton, or Chicago.

AARON C. WEINSCHENK
Curriculum Vita (shortened)
December 21, 2017

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Associate Professor of Political Science (with tenure), University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, 2017-*present*
Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, 2013-2017

EDUCATION

Ph.D., Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2013)
Exam Fields: American Politics and Public Administration & Policy

Stanford University Summer Institute in Political Psychology, 2011
ICPSR Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research, University of Michigan, 2010 & 2012

M.A., Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2009)

B.A. & B.S., Political Science & Public Administration, University of Wisconsin-Green Bay (2007), Summa Cum Laude (*with distinction in the major*)

EDITORIAL POSITIONS

Editorial Board, *Journal of Social and Political Psychology,* 2017-*present*

PEER REVIEWED BOOK

Panagopoulos, Costas and Aaron C. Weinschenk. 2016. *A Citizen's Guide to U.S. Elections: Empowering Democracy in America.* New York, NY: Routledge.

PEER REVIEWED ARTICLES

22. Panagopoulos, Costas and Aaron Weinschenk. Forthcoming. The Dynamics of Voter Preferences in the 2016 Presidential Election. *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics.*
21. Panagopoulos, Costas, Kyle Endres, and Aaron Weinschenk. Forthcoming. "Preelection Poll Accuracy and Bias in the 2016 U.S. General Elections." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties.*
20. Weinschenk, Aaron C. Forthcoming. "That's Why the Lady Lost to the Trump: Demographics and the 2016 Presidential Election." *Journal of Political Marketing.*
19. Weinschenk, Aaron C. and Christopher T. Dawes. 2018. "Genes, Personality Traits, and the Sense of Civic Duty." *American Politics Research* 46(1): 47-76.
18. Weinschenk, Aaron C. and Christopher T. Dawes. 2017. "The Relationship between Genes, Personality Traits, and Political Interest." *Political Research Quarterly* 70(3): 467-479.
17. Weinschenk, Aaron C. Forthcoming. "Big Five Personality Traits, Political Participation, and Civic Engagement: Evidence from 24 Countries." *Social Science Quarterly.*
16. Weinschenk, Aaron C. 2017. "Conventional Wisdom: Political Learning During Presidential Nominating Conventions." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 47(1): 186-203.
15. Weinschenk, Aaron C. and Costas Panagopoulos. 2016. "Convention Effects: Examining the Impact of National Presidential Nominating Conventions on Information, Preferences, and Behavioral Intentions." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* 26(4): 511-531.
14. Weinschenk, Aaron C. and David J. Helpap. 2015. "Political Trust in the American States." *State and Local Government Review* 47(1): 26-34.

13. Weinschenk, Aaron C. 2015. "Campaign Field Offices and Voter Mobilization in 2012." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 45(3): 573-580.

12. Weinschenk, Aaron C. and Costas Panagopoulos. 2014. "Personality, Negativity, and Political Participation." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 2(1): 164-182.

11. Holbrook, Thomas M. and Aaron C. Weinschenk. 2014. "Money, Candidates, and Mayoral Elections." *Electoral Studies* 35: 292-302.

10. Weinschenk, Aaron C. and Thomas M. Holbrook. 2014. "The Determinants of Campaign Spending in Mayoral Elections." *State and Local Government Review* 46(1): 13-27.

9. Holbrook, Thomas M. and Aaron C. Weinschenk. 2014. "Campaigns, Mobilization, and Turnout in Mayoral Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 67(1): 42-55.

8. Weinschenk, Aaron C. 2014. "Polarization, Ideology, and Vote Choice in U.S. Congressional Elections." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* 24(1): 73-89.

7. Weinschenk, Aaron C. 2014. "Personality Traits and the Sense of Civic Duty." *American Politics Research* 42(1): 90-113.

6. Weinschenk, Aaron C. 2013. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior: An Update." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 43(3): 607-17.

5. Weinschenk, Aaron C. 2012. "Partisan Pocketbooks: The Politics of Personal Financial Evaluations." *Social Science Quarterly* 93(4): 968-987.

4. Cera, Joseph and Aaron C. Weinschenk. 2012. "The Conditional Effects of Competing Messages During Presidential Nominating Conventions." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42(1): 161-175.

3. Cera, Joseph and Aaron C. Weinschenk. 2012. "The Individual-Level Effects of Presidential Conventions on Candidate Evaluations." *American Politics Research* 40(1): 3-28.

2. Holbrook, Thomas M., Clayton Clouse, and Aaron C. Weinschenk. 2012. "Bringing the President Back in: The Collapse of Lehman Brothers and the Evolution of Retrospective Voting in the 2008 Presidential Election." *Political Research Quarterly* 65: 263-274.

1. Weinschenk, Aaron C. 2010. "Revisiting the Political Theory of Party Identification." *Political Behavior* 32(4): 473-494.

BOOK CHAPTERS & ENTRIES

5. Neil Kraus and Aaron C. Weinschenk. Forthcoming 2018. "A Blue State Turns Red: The Future of Wisconsin Politics in the Aftermath of the Surprising 2016 Election." In *Presidential Swing States: Why Only Ten Matter*, 2nd Edition, Eds. David Schultz and Rafael Jacob. Lexington Books.

4. Weinschenk, Aaron C. 2017. "Wisconsin's 8th Congressional district." *The Roads to Congress 2016,* Eds. Sean Foreman and Marcia Godwin. Palgrave Macmillan.

3. Weinschenk, Aaron C. 2017. "Personality Traits" and "Talking Heads and Political Campaigns" In *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Political Behavior*, Ed. Fathali M. Moghaddam. SAGE.

2. Neil Kraus and Aaron C. Weinschenk. 2015. "The Badger State as a Battleground: Wisconsin Politics Past, Present, and Future." In *Presidential Swing States: Why Only Ten Matter,* Eds. David Schultz and Stacey Hunter Hecht. Lexington Books.

1. Holbrook, Thomas M., Terri Johnson, Clayton Clouse, and Aaron C. Weinschenk. 2013. "Elections and Political Parties in Wisconsin." In *Wisconsin Government and Politics*, 10th edition, Ed. Thomas M. Holbrook. McGraw Hill.

WORKING PAPERS & PAPERS UNDER REVIEW

R&R/Under Review/In Preparation

1. Weinschenk, Aaron C., Costas Panagopoulos, Karly Drabot, and Sander van der Linden. "Gender and Social Conformity: Do Men and Women Respond Differently to Social Pressure to Vote?" R&R at *Social Influence* (revision submitted November 2, 2017).

2. Weinschenk, Aaron C., Christopher T. Dawes, Christian Kandler, Edward Bell, and Rainer Riemann. "New Evidence on the Link Between Genes, Psychological Traits, and Political Participation." Under review at *Journal of Politics* as of October 28, 2017.

3. The Genetic and Psychological Underpinnings of Generalized Social Trust (with Christopher T. Dawes, *New York University*). Under review at *Political Studies* as of December 21, 2017.

4. Impulsivity and Voter Turnout (with Christopher T. Dawes, *New York University*).

5. The Effect of Education on Political Knowledge: Evidence from Monozygotic Twins (with Christopher T. Dawes, *New York University*). To be submitted to *American Politics Research* soon.