Political Science 252

Fall Quarter, 2023 Wednesday 9-11:50pm SSB 333

Professor Hajnal

RBC 1413

email: <u>zhajnal@ucsd.edu</u>

Office hours: Wednesday 1:30pm-3:00pm. Also, email anytime

American Politics: Behavior

This course provides an introduction to some of the major themes in political behavior including partisanship and elections, political attitudes and ideology, and the role of the mass media in shaping the public's political beliefs and orientations. This course is also designed to help prepare graduate students in political science to pass the political behavior component of comprehensive examination in the field of American Politics.

Course Requirements:

- (1) Prepare for every class by reading and digesting the assigned material. Recommended readings will not be discussed in-depth in class but you will want to read them at some point for exams.
- (2) Actively participate in class discussions. Students should prepare to address the following questions: What are the major questions motiving this research? What are the key theories? Are the methodological strategies and data appropriate? What might provide a better test? In addition, each student will be assigned the task of introducing and briefly critiquing one of the readings each class. In their overview, students should highlight the question, research design, evidence, results, and implications of their reading as well as note any major flaws.
- (3) For the writing part of the course you have two options.

Option A: Write three 5-page papers critically reviewing the literature in some specific topic of political behavior. Each paper should consist of:

- A. A description of the work that has been published on your topic of choice. This section should be organized to illuminate the differing perspectives in the literature, and (possibly) show how those perspectives have emerged over time.
- B. A critical evaluation of the strengths and weakness of the differing perspectives. This section should also address the extent to which the different perspectives are complementary to or in conflict with each other.
- C. An evaluation of what sort of future research would be most important to further our understanding of the specific topic you chose.

These three papers are due Oct 18, Nov 8, and Nov 29

Option B: Write a research paper on some aspect of American political behavior. The paper should be a quality product that could ultimately be publishable – although you do not have to complete all parts of the project for this class. The paper should be different from papers you have written for other classes or should show substantial progress from previous work. Please see me to discuss different projects and the exact requirements for the paper

All of the required reading will be on drop box or on JSTOR.

I. Values- What are the basic values of the American public? Are we exceptional?

Discussion Questions: 1) What is the American Ethos? 2) Why does America have that Ethos? 3) Is America really different?

Alexis de Toqueville. *Democracy in America*, Part I, Sections 1 (Originsof the Anglo Americans) 2 (Democratic Social Condition), and 3 (The Sovereignty of the People).

Alesina, A., E. Glaeser, et al. (2001). "Why Doesn't the United States Have a European-Style Welfare State?" <u>Brookings Papers on Economic Activity</u>.

Jennifer Hochschild, What's Fair? (1981), Chs. 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9.

William Jacoby. Is There a Culture War? Conflicting Value Structures in American Public Opinion APSR 108 (2014):754-771

Rogers M. Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions of America," *APSR* 87 (1993), pp. 549-566.

Recommended:

Declaration of Independence

 $\frac{\text{http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/print_friendly.html?page=declaration_transcript_content.html\&ti_tle=NARA\%20|\%20The\%20Declaration\%20of\%20Independence\%3A\%20A\%20Transcription}$

Louis Hartz. The Liberal Tradition in America (1955) pp 3-86

Piston, S. (2018). <u>Class Attitudes in America: Sympathy for the Poor,Resentment of the Rich, and Political Implications</u>. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

S. M. Lipset. "Why No Socialism in the United States?" in S. Bialer and S. Sluzar, *Sources of Contemporary Radicalism*, (1977), Ch. 2

Sullivan, John L., James Pierson, and George E. Marcus. *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*. (1982) Chs 2,3

Herbert McCloskey and Ada Brill, Dimensions of Tolerance (1983), chs. 3,6

Herbert McCloskey and John Zaller, The American Ethos (1985), Chs. 1-5.

Dennis Chong. "How People Think, Reason, and Feel About Rights and Liberties" AJPS 37 (1993):867-899

Stanley Feldman and Marco Steenbergen "The Humanitarian Foundation of Public Support for Social Welfare" AJPS 45 (2001):658-677

James Gibson "Intolerance and Political Repression in the United States: A Half Century after McCarthyism" AJPS 52(1):96-108

II. Ideology- How well organized or sophisticated is our thinking about politics?

Disscusion Question: How well organized or sophisticated is our thinking about politics?

Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. The American Voter (1960), Ch 10

Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David Apter (ed.), (1964) *Ideology* and *Discontent*, ch. 6.

David O. Sears, Richard R. Lau, Tom R. Tyler, and Harris M. Allen, Jr. "Self-Interest vs Symbolic Politics in Policy Attitudes and Voting" APSR 74 (1980): 670-684

Margalit, Yotam. 2013. Explaining Social Policy Preferences: Evidence from the Great Recession.

American Political Science Review

Pamela Conover and Stanley Feldman. "The Origins and Meaning of Liberal/Conservative Self-Identification," *AJPS* 25 (1981):617-645.

Marcus and MacKuen. "Anxiety, Enthusiasm, and the Vote: The Emotional Underpinnings of Learning and Involvement during Presidential Campaigns" *APSR* 87(1993): 672-685

Recommended:

Lauderdale, B. E., et al. (2018). "Decomposing Public Opinion Variation into Ideology, Idiosyncrasy, and Instability." <u>The Journal of Politics</u> **80**(2): 707-712.

Lerman, A. E. and K. T. McCabe (2017). "Personal Experience and Public Opinion: A Theory and Test of Conditional Policy Feedback." <u>The Journal of Politics</u> **79**(2): 624-641.

Freeder, S., et al. (2018). "The Importance of Knowing "What Goes with What": Reinterpreting the Evidence on Policy Attitude Stability." <u>The Journal of Politics</u> **81**(1): 274-290.

Nathan Kalmoe., Donald R. Kinder 2017. *Neither Liberal nor Conservative: Ideological Innocence in the American Public.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

De Benedictis-Kessner, Justin, and Michael Hankinson. "Concentrated Burdens: How Self-Interest and Partisanship Shape Opinion on Opioid Treatment Policy." *American Political Science Review*: 1-7.

- Jessee, Stephen A. 2012. *Ideology and Spatial Voting in American Elections*. New York City: Cambridge University Press.
- Eric R.A.N. Smith. "Levels of Conceptualization: False Measures of Ideological Sophistication," *APSR* 74(1980):685-96.
- Kay Schlozman and Sidney Verba. "Unemployment, Class Consciousness, and Radical Politics: What Didn't Happen in the Thirties." *JoP* 39 (1977):291-323
- Stanley Feldman "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: The Role of Core Beliefs and Values" AJPS 32 (1988): 416-440
- Ted Brader Campaigning for hearts and minds: how emotional appeals in political ads work (2006)
- Thomas Nelson and Donald Kinder "Issue Frames and Group-Centrism in American Public Opinion" JoP 58 (1996):1055-1078

III. Information – Do we have enough information to make reasoned political decisions?

Discussion Question: Do the public have enough information to make reasoned political decisions? Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes. *The American Voter* (1960), Ch. 8

John Zaller and Stanley Feldman. "A Simple Theory of Survey Response," AJPS 36 (1992): 579-616.

Arthur Lupia Shortcuts vs Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections APSR 88 (1994):63-76

Richard Lau and David Redlawsk. "Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making" AJPS 45 (2001):951-971

Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in America's Policy Preferences.* (1992) Chs 1-3

Ansolabehere, Rodden, and Synder, "The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting" APSR 102 (2008)

Larry M. Bartels. "Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections" *AJPS* 40 (1996): 194-230.

Lau, Richard R. 2013. "Correct Voting in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Nominating Elections." *Political Behavior* 35: 331-55.

Recommended:

Freeder, Sean, Gabriel S. Lenz, and Shad Turney. 2018. "The Importance of Knowing "What Goes with What": Reinterpreting the Evidence on Policy Attitude Stability." *The Journal of Politics* 81: 274-90.

Dancey, Logan, and Geoffrey Sheagley. 2013. "Heuristics Behaving Badly: Party Cues and Voter Knowledge." *American Journal of Political Science* 57: 312-25.

James Kuklinski, et al. 2000. "Misinformation and the Currency of Democratic Citizenship." *Journal of Politics*, 62: 790-816.

Christopher H. Achen. "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response" *APSR* 69 (1975):1218-1231 Lau, Richard R. and David P. Redlawsk. "Voting Correctly." *APSR* 91(1997): 585-598.

Carpini, Michael X. Delli, and Scott Keeter. What Americans Know about Politics and Why it Matters. (1996) Ch 6

Alvarez, R. Michael, and John Brehm. Hard Choices, Easy Answers. (2002). Chs 1-7

Paul Abramson et al., "'Sophisticated' Voting in the 1988 Presidential Primaries." APSR 86 (1992), pp. 55-69.

Samuel Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns* (1991) Chs 1-3, 7.

Arthur Lupia and Mathew McCubbins. *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?* (1998). Chs 1-4, 6,7,9

Richard Lau, David Anderson, and David Redlawsk. "An Exploration of Correct Voting in Recent U.S. Presidential Elections" AJPS 52(2):395-411

James H. Kuklinski, Paul J. Quirk, Jennifer Jerit and Robert F. Rich 2001. "The Political Environment and Citizen Competence." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (2):410-24.

Hutchings, Vincent. 2003. *Public Opinion and Democratic Accountability: How Citizens Learn about Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Martin Gilens. 2005. Political Ignorance and Collective Policy Preferences. APSR

Markus Prior. 2005. "News vs. Entertainment: How Increasing Media Choice Widens Gaps in Political Knowledge and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 577–592.

- Markus Prior & Skip Lupia. 2008. Money, Time, and Political Knowledge: Distinguishing Quick Recall and Political Learning Skills. *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 52, No. 1, January 2008, Pp. 169–183.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Philip Edward Jones. 2010. Constituents' Responses to Congressional Roll-Call Voting. *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (3): 583-597.
- Huber, Gergory, Seth HIll, and Gabriel Lenz. 2012. Sources of Bias in Retrospective Decision Making: Experimental Evidence on Voters' Limitations in Controlling Incumbents. *American Political Science Review* 106 (1): 720-741.
- Jerit, Jennifer, Jason Barabas and Toby Bolsen. 2006. Citizens, Knowledge, and the Information Environment AJPS 50(2):266-282

IV. Influences – What are the factors that drives public opinion and how do they distort our views?

- Discussion Questions: What are the factors that drives public opinion? When is the public more susceptible? What constrains influence?
- Shanto Iyengar. "Television News and Citizens' Explanations of National Affairs" 81 APSR (1987):815-832
- James Druckman. "Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)relevance of Framing Effects" APSR (Nov 2004): 671-686
- B. Page, R. Shapiro, and G. Dempsey. "What Moves Public Opinion?" APSR 81 (1987):23-44.
- Paul Allen Beck, Russel Dalton, Steven Greene, and Robert Huckfeldt. "The Social Calculus of Voting: Interpersonal, Media, and Organizational Influences on Presidential Choices" APSR 96(2002):57-73
- Taber, Charles S., and Milton Lodge. 2006. "Motivated Skepticism in Political Information Processing." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 755-69.
- Broockman, David E. and Joshua L. Kalla. 2016. "Durably Reducing Transphobia: A Field Experiment on Door-to-Door Canvassing." *Science* 352: 220-24.
- Kalla, Joshua L., and David E. Broockman. 2018. "The Minimal Persuasive Effects of Campaign Contact in General Elections: Evidence from 49 Field Experiments." *American Political Science Review* 112: 148-66.

Recommended:

- Coppock, Alexander, Seth J. Hill, and Lynn Vavreck. 2020. "The Small Effects of Political Advertising Are Small Regardless of Context, Message, Sender, or Receiver: Evidence from 59 Real-Time Randomized Experiments." *Science Advances* 6: eabc4046.
- Martin, G. J. and A. Yurukoglu (2017). "Bias in Cable News: Persuasion and Polarization." <u>American Economic Review</u> **107**(9): 2565-2599.
- Michael D. Cobb and James H. Kuklinski. "Changing Minds: Political Arguments and Political Persuasion" *AJPS* 41 (1997): 88-121
- Butler, Daniel M., and Hans J. G. Hassell. 2018. "On the Limits of Officials' Ability to Change Citizens' Priorities: A Field Experiment in Local Politics." *American Political Science Review* 112: 860-73.
- Broockman, David E., and Daniel M. Butler. 2017. "The Causal Effects of Elite Position-Taking on Voter Attitudes: Field Experiments with Elite Communication." *American Journal of Political Science* 61: 208-21.
- Bullock, John G. 2011. "Elite Influence on Public Opinion in an Informed Electorate." *American Political Science Review* 105: 496-515.
- Gerber, Alan, James Gimpel, Donald Green, and Daron Shaw. 2011. How Large and Long-lasting Are the Persuasive Effects of Televised Campaign Ads? Results from a Randomized Field Experiment. *American Political Science Review* 105 (1): 135-150.
- Donald P. Green, Jonathan S. Krasno, Alexander Coppock, Benjamin D. Farrer, ... Joshua N. Zingher. 2016. "The Effects of Lawn Signs on Vote Outcomes: Results from Four Randomized Field Experiments." *Electoral Studies* 41: 143-50.
- Amsalem, Eran. 2019. "How Informative and Persuasive Is Simple Elite Communication?: Effects on Like-Minded and Polarized Audiences." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 83: 1-25.
- Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, David Doherty, Conor M. Dowling, and Costas Panagopoulos. 2013. "Big Five Personality Traits and Responses to Persuasive Appeals: Results from Voter Turnout Experiments." *Political Behavior* 35: 687-728.
- Huber, Gregory A., and Kevin Arceneaux. 2007. Identifying the Persuasive Effects of Presidential Advertising. *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (4).

Berelson, Bernard R., Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. 1954. *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Samuel Kernell. "Explaining Presidential Popularity," APSR 72 (1978):506-22.

David O. Sears and Nicholas Valentino. 1997. "Politics Matters: Political Events as Catalysts for Preadult Socialization." *American Political Science Review* 91 (1): 45-65

Jennings, M. Kent, Laura Stoker, and Jake Bowers. 2009. "Politics Across Generations: Family Transmission Reexamined." *Journal of Politics* 71(3): 782-799.

Hatemi, Peter K. et al. 2009. "Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Attitudes Over a Life Time." *Journal of Politics* 71(3): 1141-1156

Peter K. Hatemi et al. 2010. AJPS_Not by Twins Alone_Using the Extended Family Design to Investigate Genetic Influence on Political Beliefs, 798–814

Alan Gerber, et al. 2010. Personality and Political Attitudes: Relationships across Issue Domains and Political Contexts. *American Political Science Review* (2010), 104: 111-133.

Evan Charney and William English. 2012. Candidate Genes and Political Behavior. APSR

James A. Stimson, Public Opinion in America: Moods, Cycles, and Swings .(1991).

Andrew Gelman and Gary King "Why are American Presidential Campaign Polls so Variable When Votes are so Predictable?" *BJPS* 23 (1993): 409-451

Robert Huckfeldt; Eric Plutzer; John Sprague. "Alternative Contexts of Political Behavior: Churches, Neighborhoods, and Individuals" *JoP* 55 (1993): 365-381

Diana Mutz. "Cross-cutting Social Networks: Testing Democratic Theory in Practice" APSR 96 (2002):111-126

Diana Mutz. Impersonal Influence: How Perceptions of Mass Collectives Affect Political Attitudes (1998)

Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro. *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness* (2000)

James Druckman and Kjerten Nelson. "Framing and Deliberation: How Citizens' Conversations Limit Elite Influence" AJPS 47(2003): 729-745

G. Jacobson, "The Effects of the George W. Bush Presidency on Partisan Attitudes," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39 (June 2009):172-209V

G. Jacobson, "Perception, Memory, and Partisan Polarization on the Iraq War," *Political Science Quarterly* 125 (Spring 2010), pp. 1-26.

Dennis Chong and James Druckman, "Framing Public Opinion in Competitive Democracies" APSR (2007)101:37-655

Ted Brader. 2005. Striking a Responsive Chord: How Political Ads Motivate and Persuade Voters by Appealing to Emotions. AJPS 49(2):388-405

Lau, Sigelman, and Rovner, "The Effects of Negative Political Campaigns: A Meta-Analytic Reassessment" JoP (2007) 69:1176-1209

John Alford, Carolyn L. Funk and John R. Hibbing. "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" *APSR* 99 (May 2005): 153-167.

Vavreck, Lynn. 2009. *The Message Matters: The Economy and Presidential Campaigns*: Princeton University Press.

Bullock, John. 2011. "Elite Influence on Public Opinion in an Informed Electorate." *American Political Science Review* 105 (3):496-515.

Besty Sinclair. 2012. The Social Citizen: Peer Networks and Political Behavior. University of Chicago Press

Dennis Chong and James N. Druckman 2013. Counterframing Effects. The Journal of Politics.

V. Party Identification – What is it?

Discussion Questions: 1) What is the source of party ID? 2) What is the nature of party ID? Downs. *Economic Theory of Democracy*, (1957) chs. 3, 7

Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes. *The American Voter* (1960) Ch 7

M. MacKuen, R. Erikson, and J. Stimson, "Macropartisanship," APSR 83 (1989):1125-1142.

R. Neimi and M. K. Jennings. "Issues and Inheritance in the Formation of Party Identification," *AJPS*• 35 (1991):970-988.

Green, Donald P., Bradley Palmquist, Eric Schickler, and Giordano Bruno. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identity of Voters*. (2002) Chs 1-4

Carsey, Thomas M., and Geoffrey C. Layman. 2006. Changing Sides or Changing Minds? Party Identification and Policy Preferences in the American Electorate. *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (2 (April)).

Recommended:

- Barber, Michael, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2019. "Does Party Trump Ideology? Disentangling Party and Ideology in America." *American Political Science Review* 113: 38-54.
- Ahler, D. J. and G. Sood (2018). "The Parties in Our Heads: Misperceptions about Party Composition and Their Consequences." <u>The Journal of Politics</u> **80**(3): 964-981.
- Goren, P. and C. Chapp (2017). "Moral Power: How Public Opinion on Culture War Issues Shapes Partisan Predispositions and Religious Orientations." <u>American Political Science Review</u> **111**(1): 110-128.
- McConnell, C., et al. (2018). "The Economic Consequences of Partisanship in a Polarized Era." <u>American</u> Journal of Political Science **62**(1): 5-18.
- Theodoridis, A. G. (2017). "Me, Myself, and (I), (D), or (R)? Partisanship and Political Cognition through the Lens of Implicit Identity." <u>The Journal of Politics</u> **79**(4): 1253-1267Highton, Benjamin, and Cindy D. Kam. 2011. "The Long-Term Dynamics of Partisanship and Issue Orientations." *The Journal of Politics* **73**: 202-15.
- Morris Fiorina, Retrospective Voting in American National Elections (1981), chs. 1, 2, 7, 8, 9
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Sean J. Westwood. 2014. "Fear and Loathing Across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization." *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Keith, Bruce E., David B. Magleby, Candice J. Nelson, Elizabeth Orr, Mark C. Westlye, and Raymond E. Wolfinger. *The Myth of the Independent Voter*. (1992) Chs 1,3,4
- Hajnal, Zoltan, and Taeku Lee. *Race, Immigration, and (Non)Partisanship*. 2011. Selected Chapters GERBER, ALAN S., GREGORY A. HUBER, and EBONYA WASHINGTON. 2010. Party Affiliation, Partisanship, and Political Beliefs: A Field Experiment. *American Political Science Review* 104 (4): 720-744.

VI. Vote Choice- What factors govern vote choice?

IN ADDITION TO THE READINGS THIS WEEK, YOU WILL HAVE TO EMPIRICALLY ASSESS THE ROLE OF RACE IN THE VOTE USING CCES DATA THAT I WILL PROVIDE FOR YOU – MORE DETAILS TO FOLLOW

Discussion Questions: 1) What factors govern vote choice? 2) How do we empirically model vote choice? Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. "The Two Faces of Issue Voting." *APSR*, 74 (1980):78-91.

Philip Jones. 2011. Which Buck Stops Here? Accountability for Policy Positions and Policy Outcomes in Congress. Journal of Politics 73(3)

Carl McCurley and Geoffrey Mondak. "Inspected by ... The Influence of Incumbents' Competence and Integrity in U.S. House Elections" *AJPS* 39 (1995): 864-885

Miller, Warren E., and J. Merrill Shanks. The New American Voter (1996), Chs 8-17 (SKIM)

Recommended:

Highton, B. (2019). "Issue Accountability in U.S. House Elections." Political Behavior 41(2): 349-367.

Rogers, S. (2017). "Electoral Accountability for State Legislative Roll Calls and Ideological Representation." <u>American Political Science Review</u> 111(3): 555-571.

Tausanovitch, C. and C. Warshaw (2018). "Does the Ideological Proximity Between Candidates and Voters Affect Voting in U.S. House Elections?" Political Behavior **40**(1): 223-245.

Lau, Richard R., Mona S. Kleinberg, and Tessa M. Ditonto. 2018. "Measuring Voter Decision Strategies in Political Behavior and Public Opinion Research." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 82: 911-36.

V.O. Key, Jr., The Responsible Electorate (1966), chs. 1-3.

Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and McPhee, Voting (1954), chs. 1, 4-7, 11,13

Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes. The American Voter (1960), Ch 6.

Kramer, Gerald H. "Short-term Fluctuations in Voting Behavior, 1896-1964." APSR 65 (1971):131-143.

George Quattrone and Amos Tversky, "Contrasting Rational and Psychological Analyses of Political Choice," *APSR* 82 (1988):719-736.

Morris Fiorina, Retrospective Voting in American National Elections (1981), chs. 1, 2, 7, 8, 9

Milton Lodge, Kathleen McGraw, and Patrick Stroh. "An Impression-Driven Model of Candidate Evaluation" APSR 83 (1989): 399-419

Greg Adams "Abortion: Evidence of Issue Evolution" AJPS 41 (1997): 718-737

- Geoffrey Layman and Edward Carmines "Cultural Conflict in American Politics: Religious Traditionalism, Postmaterialism, and U.S. Political Behavior" *JoP* 59 (1997): 751-777
- Lenz, Gabriel S. 2012. Follow the Leader?: How Voters Respond to Politicians' Policies and Performance. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

VII. Dealignment/Realignment/Polarization – Explaining major partisan changes

- Discussion Questions: 1) Theories of party change? 2) Is America realigning? 3) Is America polarizing? James Sundquist. *The Dynamics of the Party System,* revised ed. (1983). Chs 1-3
- Carmines, Edward G., and James A. Stimson. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. (1989) Chs 1, 2, 6,7
- Alan Abramowitz. "Issue Evolution Reconsidered: Racial Attitudes and Partisanship in the US Electorate" AJPS 38 (1994):1-24
- Iyengar, S. and S. J. Westwood (2015). "Fear and Loathing across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3): 690-707.
- Broockman, D. E., et al. (2023). "Does Affective Polarization Undermine Democratic Norms or Accountability? Maybe Not." *American Journal of Political Science* 67(3): 808-828.
- Graham, Matthew H, and Milan W Svolik. 2020. "Democracy in America? Partisanship, Polarization, and the Robustness of Support for Democracy in the United States." American Political Science Review 114(2): 392–409.

Recommended:

- Walter, Barbara. 2022. How Civil Wars Start: And How to Stop Them. Crown.
- Simas, Elizabeth N, Scott Clifford, and Justin H Kirkland. 2020. "How Empathic Concern Fuels Political Polarization." *American Political Science Review* 114(1): 258–69.
- Finkel, Eli J et al. 2020. "Political Sectarianism in America." Science 370(6516): 533-536.
- Mosleh, M., et al. (2021). "Shared partisanship dramatically increases social tie formation in a Twitter field experiment." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118(7): e2022761118.
- Rossiter, Erin. "The Consequences of Interparty Conversation on Outparty Affect and Stereotypes."
- Bakshy, Eytan, Solomon Messing and Lada Adamic. 2015. Exposure to ideologically diverse news and opinion on Facebook Eytan Bakshy *SCIENCE 348 (6239): 1130-1132*
- Mason, L. (2015). ""I Disrespectfully Agree": The Differential Effects of Partisan Sorting on Social and Issue Polarization." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(1): 128-145.
- Flaxman, S., et al. (2016). "Filter Bubbles, Echo Chambers, and Online News Consumption." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(S1): 298-320.
- Hajnal Zoltan L. and Michael Rivera "Immigration, Latinos, and White Partisan Politics: The New Democratic Defection" 2014 American Journal of Political Science
- A.I. Abramowitz and K. L. Saunders, "Is Polarization a Myth?" JOP 70 (April 2008):542-555
- M. P. Fiorina, S. A. Adams, and J.C. Pope, "Polarization in the American Public: Misconceptions and Misreadings," *JOP* 70 (April 2008);556-560.
- Michael Barber and Nolan McCarty. 2015. "The Causes and Consequences of Polarization" in Solutions to Polarization in America ed. Nathaniel Persily. Cambridge University Press.
- Lelkes, Yphtach, Gaurav Sood, and Shanto Iyengar. 2017. "The Hostile Audience: The Effect of Access to Broadband Internet on Partisan Affect." *American Journal of Political Science* 61: 5-20.
- Goren, Paul, and Christopher Chapp. 2017. "Moral Power: How Public Opinion on Culture War Issues Shapes Partisan Predispositions and Religious Orientations." *American Political Science Review* 111: 110-28.
- McConnell, Christopher, Yotam Margalit, Neil Malhotra, and Matthew Levendusky. 2018. "The Economic Consequences of Partisanship in a Polarized Era." *American Journal of Political Science* 62: 5-18.
- Hill, Seth J., and Chris Tausanovitch. 2015. "A Disconnect in Representation? Comparison of Trends in Congressional and Public Polarization." *The Journal of Politics* 77: 1058-75.
- V.O. Key, Jr., "A Theory of Critical Elections," JoP 17 (1955):3-18.
- David Mayhew. (2000). Electoral Realignments Annual Review of Political Science 3:449-74
- Bufumi, Joseph, and Robert Y. Shapiro. 2009. "A New Partisan Voter." *Journal of Politics* 71 (January 2009): 1-24.
- Nie, Verba, and Petrocik. The Changing American Voter (1976) Chs. 4, 6, 10
- A. Abramowitz and K. Saunders, "Ideological Realignment in the American Electorate," *JOP* 60(1998):634-652.

- L. Bartels. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996," AJPS (2000):35-50
- Morris Fiorina and Samuel Abrams. "Political Polarization in the American Public" Annual Review of Political Science 2008:563-588
- Burnham, Walter Dean. 1970. *Critical Elections and the Mainspring of American Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- Layman, Geoffrey C., and Ted Carmines. 1997. Cultural Conflict in American Politics: Religious Traditionalism, Postmaterialism, and U.S. Political Behavior. *Journal of Politics*.
- Matthew Levendusky. 2013. Why Do Partisan Media Polarize Viewers? AJPS 57(3):611-623
- Kevin Arceneaux and Martin Johnson. 2013. Changing Minds or Changing Channels? Partisan News in an Age of Choice. University of Chicago Press
- James Druckman, Erik Peterson, Rune Slothuus. 2013. How Elite Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation. APSR. 107

VIII. Participation- Why do we vote in the first place? Who votes? When do we vote?

Discussion Questions: 1) Why do we vote in the first place? 2) Who votes? 3) When do we vote?

Riker and Ordeshook, "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting," APSR (1970):25-41
Sidney Verba and Norman Nie. Participation in America: Political Damperacy and Soci

- Sidney Verba and Norman Nie. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality* (1972) Chs. 2-6, 8-10
- H Brady, S. Verba, and K.L. Schlozman. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation, (1994) *APSR* 829-838.
- Gerber, Alan S., and Donald P. Green. "The Effects of Canvassing, Direct Mail, and Telephone Contact on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment." *APSR* 94 (2000):653-63.
- Bond, Robert, Christopher Farris, Jason Jones, Adam Kramer, Cameron Marlow, Jamie Settle, and James Fowler. 2012. A 61 Million Person Experiment in Social Influence and Political Mobilization. Nature **Recommended**:
- Fraga, Bernard L. 2018. *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*: Cambridge University Press.
- Cantoni, Enrico. 2020. "A Precinct Too Far: Turnout and Voting Costs." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 12: 61-85.
- Enos, Ryan D., Anthony Fowler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2014. "Increasing Inequality: The Effect of Gotv Mobilization on the Composition of the Electorate." *The Journal of Politics* 76: 273-88.
- Cesarini, David, Magnus Johannesson, and Sven Oskarsson. 2014. "Pre-Birth Factors, Post-Birth Factors, and Voting: Evidence from Swedish Adoption Data." *American Political Science Review* 108: 71-87.
- Gibson, Rachel, and Marta Cantijoch. 2013. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Participation in the Age of the Internet: Is Online Political Engagement Really Different to Offline?". *The Journal of Politics* 75: 701-16.
- Robert Jackman 2014. Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in Industrial Democracies. APSR
- S. Rosenstone and M. Hansen. *Mobilization, Participation, and American Democracy* (1993). Chapters 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7
- R. Wolfinger and S. Rosenstone. Who Votes? (1980). Chapters 1-4
- McDonald, Michael P. and Samuel L. Popkin. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." APSR, 95 (2001):963-974
- G. Bingham Powell. "American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective" APSR 80 (1986): 17-43 John H. Aldrich "Rational Choice and Turnout" AJPS 37(1993):247-278
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Shanto Iyengar. "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" *APSR* 88 (1994): 829-38.
- Richard Lau, Lee Sigelman, and Ivy Rovner JoP (2007) 69:1176-1209
- Robert D. Putnam. "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 28 (1995): 664-683
- J. Fowler, L.A. Baker, and C.T. Dawes, "Genetic Variation in Political Participation," *APSR* (2008):233:248
- Zoltan Hajnal. America's Uneven Democracy: Turnout, Race, and Representation in City Politics (2009)
- Kevin Arceneaux and David Nickerson "Who is Mobilized to Vote? A Re-Analysis of 11 Field Experiments" AJPS (2009)
- Fowler, James H. 2006. "Altruism and Turnout." Journal of Politics 68 (3): 674-83.

- Jeff Mondak et al. 2010. Personality and Civic Engagement: An Integrative Framework for the Study of Trait Effects on Political Behavior. *American Political Science Review* (2010), 104: 85-110.
- Gerber, Alan S., Donald P. Green, and Christopher W. Larimer. 2008. Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large scale Field Experiment. *American Political Science Review* 102 (1).
- Nicholas A. Valentino, Ted Brader, Eric W. Groenendyk, Krysha Gregorowicz and Vincent L. Hutchings. 2011. Election Night's Alright for Fighting: The Role of Emotions in Political Participation *Journal of Politics* 73:156-170
- David Nickerson. 2015. "Do Voter Registration Drives Increase Participation? For Whom and When?" *Journal of Politics* 77(1):88-101.
- Kevin Arceneaux and David Nickerson. 2009. Who is Mobilized to Vote? A Re-Analysis of 11 Field Experiments. AJPS 53(1)"1-16

IX. Race- What role does race play in American politics?

- Disscussion Questions: 1) What role does race play in choosing candidates? 2) What role does race play in choosing policies? 3) What is America's racial hierarchy? 4) Is there institutional discrimination? 5) Understanding minority views
- Nayda Terkildsen "When White Voters Evaluate Black Candidates: The Processing Implications of Candidate Skin Color, Prejudice and Self-Monitoring" AJPS 37 (1993): 1032-1053
- Highton, Benjamin. White Voters and African American Candidates for Congress. *Political Behavior* 26 (2004):1-25.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn Sanders. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. (1996) Chapters 2,5
- Sniderman, Paul M. & Edward G. Carmines. (1997). Reaching Beyond Race. Chs 1,3,4
- Kim, Claire Jean. "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans". Politics and Society 27 (1999):10-138.
- Butler, Daniel M., and David E. Broockman. 2011. "Do Politicians Racially Discriminate against Constituents? A Field Experiment on State Legislators." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (3): 463-477
- Dawson, Michael C. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. (1994). Chapters 1, 5 **Recommended**:
- Jardina, A. (2018). White Identity Politics. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Fraga, Bernard L. 2018. *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*: Cambridge University Press.
- Ramirez, Mark D., and David A. M. Peterson. 2020. *Ignored Racism: White Animus toward Latinos*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schaffner, Brian F., Jesse H. Rhodes, and Raymond J. La Raja. 2020. *Hometown Inequality: Race, Class, and Representation in American Local Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lajevardi, Nazita. 2020. *Outsiders at Home: The Politics of American Islamaphobia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Grumbach, Jacob M., and Alexander Sahn. 2020. "Race and Representation in Campaign Finance." *American Political Science Review* 114: 206-21.
- Hainmueller, J. and D. Hangartner (2013). "Who Gets a Swiss Passport? A Natural Experiment in Immigrant Discrimination." *American Political Science Review* **107**(1): 159-187.
- Lowande, Kenneth, Melinda Ritchie, & Erinn Lauterbach. 2019. "Descriptive and Substantive Representation in Congress: Evidence from 80,000 Congressional Inquiries." *American Journal of Political Science*. 63(3): 644-659.
- Wamble, J. J., et al. (2021). "We Are One: The Social Maintenance of Black Democratic Party Loyalty." *The Journal of Politics* 84(2): 682-697
- Chudy, J. (2020). "Racial Sympathy and Its Political Consequences." *The Journal of Politics* **83**(1): 122-136
- Sirin, C. V., et al. (2016). "Group Empathy Theory: The Effect of Group Empathy on US Intergroup Attitudes and Behavior in the Context of Immigration Threats." *The Journal of Politics* **78**(3): 893-908.
- Banks, Antoine J, Ismail K White, and Brian D McKenzie. 2019. "Black Politics: How Anger Influences the Political Actions Blacks Pursue to Reduce Racial Inequality." *Political behavior* 41(4): 917–43.
- Davenport, L. D., et al. (2022). "Racial Identity, Group Consciousness, and Attitudes: A Framework for Assessing Multiracial Self-Classification." *American Journal of Political Science* **66**(3): 570-586.

- Carmines, E. G., et al. (2011). "On the meaning, measurement, and implications of racial resentment."

 Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 634(1): 98-116.
- Kuo, Alexander, Neil Malhotra, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. 2016. "Social Exclusion and Political Identity: The Case of Asian American Partisanship." *The Journal of Politics* 79: 17-32.
- Levy, Morris E. 2020. "Once Racialized, Now "Immigrationized?" Explaining the Immigration-Welfare Link in American Public Opinion." *The Journal of Politics*: 000-00.
- Magni, Gabriele, and Andrew Reynolds. 2020. "Voter Preferences and the Political Underrepresentation of Minority Groups: Lesbian, Gay, and Transgender Candidates in Advanced Democracies." *The Journal of Politics*: 000-00.
- Peyton, Kyle, and Gregory A. Huber. 2020. "Racial Resentment, Prejudice, and Discrimination." *The Journal of Politics*: 000-00.
- Wasow, Omar. 2020. "Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting." *American Political Science Review* 114: 638-59.
- Fang, Albert H., Andrew M. Guess, and Macartan Humphreys. 2018. "Can the Government Deter Discrimination? Evidence from a Randomized Intervention in New York City." *The Journal of Politics* 81: 127-41.
- Fraga, Bernard L. 2018. *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*: Cambridge University Press.
- Zou, Linda X. Cheryan, Sapna 2017. "Two Axes of Subordination: A New Model of Racial Position.". Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 112: 696-7171.
- Jones, Philip Edward, Paul R. Brewer, Dannagal G. Young, Jennifer L. Lambe, and Lindsay H. Hoffman. 2018. "Explaining Public Opinion toward Transgender People, Rights, and Candidates." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 82: 252-78.
- Sanders, Lynn M. "What is Whiteness?" (1994) Unpublished Manuscript
- Verba, Sidney, and Norman H. Nie. 1972. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. Ch 10
- Bobo, Lawrence, and Jr. Franklin D. Gilliam."Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment." *APSR* 84 (1990):377-393.
- V.O. Key. Southern Politics in State and Nation (1949)

Rodney Hero. Faces of Inequality (1998)

- Hurwitz, Jon, and Mark Peffley. "Public Perceptions of Race and Crime: The Role of Racial Stereotypes." *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (1997): 375-401.
- Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2006. Beyond Welfare: Framing and the Racialization of White Opinion on Social Security. *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (2): 400-420.
- Marisa Abrajano and Michael Alvarez New Faces, New Voices: The Hispanic Electorate in America (2010).
- Pei-te, Lien et al. The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity and Community. (2004)
- Sides, John, and Kimberly Gross. 2013. Stereotypes of Muslims and Support for the War on Terror. *Journal of Politics* 75 (3): 583-598
- King, Desmond S., and Rogers M. Smith. 2005. Racial Orders in American Political Development. *American Political Science Review* 99 (1 (Feb)): 75-92.
- Ismail White. 2007. When Race Matters and When it Doesn't: Racial Group Differences in Response to Racial Cues. APSR. 101(2):
- Kinder, Donald, and Wendy Kam. 2012. *Us Against Them Ethnocentric Foundations of American Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Peter Hatemi, Rose McDermott, Lindon Eaves, Kenneth Kendler, and Michael Neale. 2013: Fear as a disposition and an emotional state: A genetic and environmental approach to out-group political preferences. *American Journal of Political Science* 57: 279-293
- Marisa Abrajano and Zoltan Hajnal. 2015 White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics. Princeton University Press. With Marisa Abrajano.

X. Public Opinion, Participation, and Democratic Outcomes- What are the consequences of our political views and our actions?

Discussion Question: Who or what controls democratic outcomes?

R. Wolfinger and S. Rosenstone, Who Votes? (1980). Chapter 6

- R. Stimson et al, "Dynamic Representation" APSR (1995): 543-565
- Devin Caughey and Christopher Warshaw. 2017. "Policy Preferences and Policy Change: Dynamic Responsiveness in the American States" APSR
- L. Bartels Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age. (2008) Ch 9
- Kay Lehman Schlozman "What Accent the Heavenly Chorus? Political Equality and the American Pressure System" *The Journal of Politics*. 46 (1984):1006-1032.
- Gilens, Martin, and Benjamin I. Page. 2015. Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens. *Perspectives on Politics*
- Hertel-Fernandez, Alexander, Matto Mildenberger, and Leah C. Stokes. 2019. "Legislative Staff and Representation in Congress." *American Political Science Review* 113: 1-18.

Recommended:

- Fraga, Bernard L. 2018. *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*: Cambridge University Press.
- Kalla, Joshua, and David Broockman. 2016. "Campaign Contributions Facilitate Access to Congressional Offices: A Randomized Field Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 60: 545-58.
- Wasow, Omar. 2020. "Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting." *American Political Science Review* 114: 638-59.
- Simonovits, Gabor, Andrew M. Guess, and Jonathan Nagler. 2019. "Responsiveness without Representation: Evidence from Minimum Wage Laws in U.S. States." *American Journal of Political Science* 63: 401-10.
- Broockman, D. E. and C. Skovron (2018). "Bias in Perceptions of Public Opinion among Political Elites." American Political Science Review 112(3): 542-563
- Barber, Michael J. 2017. "Representing the Preferences of Donors, Partisans, and Voters in the Us Senate." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80: 225-49.
- McKay, A. M. (2018). "Fundraising for Favors? Linking Lobbyist-Hosted Fundraisers to Legislative Benefits." *Political Research Quarterly* **71**(4): 869-880.
- S. Verba et al., "Citizen Activity: Who Participates? What Do They Say?" APSR (1993):303-318.
- Bachrach, Peter, and Morton S. Baratz. The Two Faces of Power. APSR 56 (1962):947-952.
- B. Page and R. Shapiro, "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy," "APSR• 77 (1983):175-190
- L. Bartels, "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Buildup," APSR 85 (1991):457-74
- Z. Hajnal "Who Loses in American Democracy? A Count of Votes Demonstrates the Limited Representation of African Americans" APSR (2009)
- Jack Citrin, Eric Schickler, John Sides "What if Everyone Voted? Simulating the Impact of Increased Turnout in Senate Elections" AJPS (2003)
- Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Benjamin I. Page. 2005. Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy? *American Political Science Review* 99 (1 (Feb)): 107-123.
- John D. Griffin and Brian Newman. Minority Report: Evaluating Political Equality in America (2008)
- Hall, Richard, and Frank Wayman. 1990. Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Political Participation. *American Political Science Review* 89 (2): 271-294.
- Zoltan Hajnal and Jessica Trounstine.. "Where Turnout Matters: The Consequences of Uneven Turnout in City Politics". *JoP* 67 (2005): 515-535.
- Gilens, Martin. 2012. Affluence & Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gillion, D. (2012). Protest and Congressional Behavior: Assessing Racial and Ethnic Minority Protests in the District. *Journal of Politics*, 74(4), 950-962.
- Carnes, Nicholas. 2013. White-Collar Government: The Hidden Role of Class in Economic Policy Making. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hajnal, Zoltan L. and Jeremy Horowitz "Racial Winners and Losers in American Party Politics" 2014. *Perspectives on Politics* 12(1):10-18.

STUFF YOU SHOULD KNOW BUT WON'T LEARN HERE

Voting Behavior in Congressional Elections

G. Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 5th ed. (2001).

Samuel Kernell, "Presidential Popularity and Negative Voting: An Alternative Explanation of the Midterm Congressional Decline of the President's Party," *APSR* 71 (1977):44-66.

G. Jacobson, "Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of House Elections, 1946-1986," *APSR*•83 (1989):773-793.

A. Alesina and H. Rosenthal, "Partisan Cycles in Congressional Elections and the Macroeconomy," *APSR* 83 (1989):373-398

Mark C. Westlye, Senate Elections and Campaign Intensity (1991).

G. Jacobson, "The 2008 Presidential and Congressional Elections," *Political Science Quarterly* 124 (Spring 2009):1-30.

Interest Groups

David B. Truman, The Governmental Process, 2nd ed. (1971), Introduction and chs. 2 and 16.

Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action (1965), chs 1, 2, 5, 6

Grant McConnell, Private Power and American Democracy (1966), chs. 5, 8, 9, 10.

Theodore Lowi, The End of Liberalism, 2nd ed (1979), chs. 3, 5, 8, 10

A. Denzer and Munger, "Legislators and Interest Groups: How Unorganized Interests Get Represented," *APSR* (1986):86-106.

Russell Hardin, Collective Action (1982)

James Q. Wilson, Political Organizations (1973), chs. 1-6, 9.

Jack L. Walker, "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups in America," APSR 77 (1983):390-406.

Kay L. Schlozman and John Tierney, Organized Interests and American Democracy (1986)

Bauer, Pool and Dexter, American Business and Public Policy (1963)

J. M. Hansen, "The Political Economy of Group Membership," APSR 79 (1985):79-86

Robert Salisbury, Interests and Institutions (1992), Chs. 1-4

Ken Kollman, "Inviting Friends to Lobby: Interest Groups, Ideological Bias, and Congressional Committees," *AJPS* 41 (1997): 519-544

Stephen Ansolabehere, John M. de Figueiredo, John M. Snyder, "Why is There so Little Money in U.S. Politics?", *Journal of Economic Perspec*tives 17 (2003): 105-130

Dara Z. Strolovitch, Affirmative Advocacy (2007), Chapters 1, 2, 4

Baumgartner, Frank R., Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech. 2009. *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.