

POS 6207
Political Behavior
Spring 2020

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Required texts:

Robert S. Erikson and Kent L. Tedin, *American Public Opinion: Its Origins, Content, and Impact*, 10th ed. (Routledge 2019). Note: This is not a required text *per se*. It is listed here as a reference that provides general background material on many of the topics covered in this course.

Other books that you might find useful:

Christopher Ellis and James A. Stimson, *Ideology in America* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).
Bethany Albertson and Shana Kushner Gadarian, *Anxious Politics: Democratic Citizenship in a Threatening World* (Cambridge University Press, 2015). [Smathers e-book]
James A. Stimson, *Tides of Consent: How Public Opinion Shapes American Politics*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press 2015). [Smathers e-book]
Matt Grossmann and David A. Hopkins, *Asymmetric Politics: Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats* (Oxford University Press, 2016).
Samara Klar and Yanna Krupnikov, *Independent Politics: How American Disdain for Parties Leads to Political Inaction* (Cambridge University Press, 2016). [Smathers e-book]
Efrén O. Pérez, *Unspoken Politics: Implicit Attitudes and Political Thinking* (Cambridge University Press, 2016). [Smathers e-book]
Christopher H. Achen and Larry M. Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government* (Princeton University Press, 2017 edition with afterward).
Morris P. Fiorina, *Unstable Majorities: Polarization, Party Sorting and Political Stalemate* (Hoover Institution Press, 2017). [Smathers e-book]
David A. Hopkins, *Red Fighting Blue: How Geography and Electoral Rules Polarize American Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2017). [Smathers e-book]
Lilliana Mason, *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity* (University of Chicago Press, 2018).
Alan I. Abramowitz, *The Great Alignment: Race, Party Transformation, and the Rise of Donald Trump* (Yale University Press, 2018). [Smathers e-book]
Marc Hetherington and Jonathan Weiler, *Prius or Pickup? How the Answers to Four Simple Questions Explain America's Great Divide* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt 2018).
John Sides et al., *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America* (Princeton University Press, 2018).
Ashley Jardina, *White Identity Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2019). [Smathers e-book]
Russell J. Dalton, *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Western Democracies*, 7th ed. (CQ Press, 2020; 6th edition on reserve at library).

Most book titles listed in this syllabus have been placed on 2-hour reserve at Smathers Library, though some are available only as e-books and one (Mason 2018) not at all. Most journal articles are available via the Smathers Library e-journal link (www.uflib.ufl.edu), or off-campus with your gatorlink account at www.uflib.ufl.edu/ufproxy.html. Selected book chapters and "small bites" (see below) can be accessed through UF e-Learning Support Services (Canvas) at <https://elearning.ufl.edu>.

This course is designed to provide students with an introduction to the (mostly) academic literature and major controversies regarding public opinion, voting behavior, and political participation – primarily, though not exclusively, in the United States. For example: How much do ordinary citizens know about politics and

government? How complete is their understanding of important issues, and to what extent do preferences on those issues guide their voting choices? Is the public as ideologically polarized along liberal-conservative lines as the popular media often make it out to be? Why don't more Americans participate in politics, either at the polls or in other ways? Do low participation rates mean that the United States is less "democratic" than its citizens would like to believe? Why have Americans become increasingly mistrustful of their governmental leaders and institutions? These are only a few of the questions that will be examined over the next few months.

Your grade will be determined according to the following criteria:

Part I. Attendance and participation (25 percent). Attendance matters, since you cannot participate if you're not in class. However, the largest portion of this grade will reflect whether students make an *informed* (showing familiarity with assigned readings) contribution to class discussions.

Part II. Weekly essays (25 percent). Each student will complete six essays (each roughly 3 double-spaced pages in length) based on the last twelve topics (#3 through #14) outlined below. These essays should do one of the following:

- provide a theoretical overview linking several (though not necessarily all) of the week's readings, and perhaps others that aren't listed on the syllabus;
- identify a question left unanswered by the week's readings, and briefly suggest what kind of research might be done to fill in the blanks;
- provide a methodological critique of one or more of the week's readings;
- discuss how findings from one or more of the readings (possibly augmented by a consideration of related studies not on the syllabus) might be applied in a real-life political setting, campaign or otherwise; or
- discuss findings from studies of U.S. political behavior in a comparative context and/or vice versa.

Don't lose track of where you stand (in terms of meeting the quota of six) because there will be no opportunities for extra credit at the end.

Note: It is expected that all essays will represent original work by students (or, when the work of others is referenced, be properly cited). To ensure that this is the case, essays must be submitted to an online plagiarism service called turnitin.com. Rather than going through Canvas, which you may be familiar with from other classes, you will submit your essays directly to Turnitin. Here is how it works:

The first step is that you need to create a student profile:

1. go to www.turnitin.com
2. click on create user profile
3. fill in your personal email address
4. fill in your personal password
5. type of user: choose student
6. enter class ID (23310015) and enrollment key/password (trumpworld)
7. follow instructions

To log in after creating profile:

1. enter your personal email and password in the box on the upper right hand corner of the home page www.turnitin.com
2. click on Political Behavior (Graduate)
3. from there you can submit your paper, just like adding an attachment to an email.
4. be sure to get an electronic receipt (or legible screen capture); this will ensure that you are not penalized in the event that your essay is not properly logged in (something that doesn't happen often – but it happens).

Each essay has its own assignment folder. The procedure that you should follow is to (1) give me a hard copy of your essay during class on the specified date; and (2) submit an electronic copy to turnitin.com before 8 p.m. that same day. Any assignment that is late (either hard copy or electronic) will be docked a minimum of one letter grade. Any assignment that does not constitute original work by the author will be subject to penalties consistent with the UF Code of Student Conduct.

Part III. Paper/Exam/Teach/Memo. Each student also is required to do any two of the following (25 percent each, for a combined total of 50 percent):

- Write a term paper, roughly 15 double-spaced pages in length excluding references, that reviews some topic of your own choosing (selected in consultation with me), develops interesting hypotheses relating to that topic, and provides the outline of a research project appropriate for testing those hypotheses. The paper is due at noon on Friday, April 24. (Note: For some of you, especially if there are any ph.d. types, this paper could serve as the first stage of a project that you will further develop – and perhaps execute – in another seminar or at the dissertation stage. With that possibility in mind, you should feel free to consult with other professors about your topic, as appropriate.)
- Complete a written take-home exam, based on material covered in class and/or in your readings. There will be two questions similar to what students might see on a ph.d. qualifying exam in political behavior. Questions will be sent to students via email at noon on Wednesday, April 22, and answers are due by noon on Friday, April 24.
- Teach a seminar (ph.d. students only), with performance evaluated on the basis of thoroughness, clarity, and insights provided on the topic of the day. Those who wish to pursue this option must (a) declare by Tuesday, January 21 which seminar they would like to lead; and (b) give me an outline of their presentation by noon on the day of the seminar.
- Prepare a campaign memo (m.a. students only), roughly 15 double-spaced pages in length, that describes in layman's terms how the political behavior literature might inform the development of campaign strategy, tactics, or message. The idea here is to explain, *for example*, how that literature can help you (as general consultant) to (a) anticipate how certain kinds of people are likely to vote, and suggest ways of tilting the distribution of that vote in your favor; (b) understand or predict voter turnout, and how that might affect your campaign; (c) make smart decisions about how to utilize scarce resources (including but not limited to money); (d) shape your message for maximum impact; (e) deal with events, expected or unexpected, that might occur during the campaign; or (f) understand how the candidate's strategic position (e.g., partisanship, incumbency, issues, primary challenge) affects his/her probability of success. This discussion should not be linked to any particular race or candidate – rather, the goal is to outline some general rules, guidelines, and ways of thinking about elections that would help your party and its candidates to make smarter decisions at every level in the next campaign. The memo is due at noon on Friday, April 24.

Note: All term papers, take-home exams, and campaign memos must be submitted in both hard (to me) and electronic copy (to turnitin.com) by the date and time specified above. Failure to comply will result in a penalty of at least one letter grade, depending on the severity of the offense.

Students are bound by the UF Student Code of Conduct. Anyone who commits an act of academic dishonesty, such as cheating on exams or committing plagiarism on written assignments, will suffer appropriate sanctions and be referred to university authorities for further action.

Any student with a handicap or special need should notify me (and coordinate with Student Services at 202 Peabody Hall) as soon as possible at the beginning of the semester. Every effort will be made to accommodate your situation within the guidelines set forth by the university.

A class listserv has been established so that I can send you occasional announcements and keep you informed about any changes that might occur in the schedule. You are automatically on the list by virtue of being enrolled in this course. You must, however, be sure either to check the email in your gatorlink account on a regular basis, or to forward all gatorlink messages to an account that you use more frequently.

COURSE OUTLINE

Week 1 (Jan 7): Introduction

Assigned Readings:

Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapters 1-2.

Small Bites:

Nate Silver, "The State of the Polls, 2019," *fivethirtyeight.com* (11/5/19).

Philip Bump, "The Complex Considerations Undergirding 2020 Polling," *Washington Post* (11/4/19).

Ariel Edwards-Levy, "How Do Americans Feel about Their Finances? It Depends on Whether You Mention Trump," *huffpost.com* (8/1/17).

Nate Cohn, "No One Picks Up the Phone, but Which Online Polls Are the Answer?" *New York Times* (7/2/19).

Matt A. Barretto, "Would Booker and Castro Be in Tonight's Debate If Polls Counted People of Color Accurately?" *Monkey Cage* (12/19/19).

Nate Cohn, "How One 19-Year-Old Illinois Man Is Distorting National Poll Averages," *New York Times* (10/12/16).

Lucy Morgan, "From the Archives: Lawton Chiles' Camp Admits to 'Mystery' Calls against Jeb Bush Campaign," *Tampa Bay Times* (6/8/15).

Week 2 (Jan 14): The American Electorate: Early Impressions . . . and They Weren't Pretty

Assigned Readings:

Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 6.

Bernard Berelson et al., "Democratic Practice and Democratic Theory," in Susan Welch and John Comer, eds., *Public Opinion: Its Formation, Measurement, and Impact* (1975; reprinted from Berelson et al., *Voting*, 1954).

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

Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," *American Political Science Review* (June 1964).

Gerald M. Pomper, "From Confusion to Clarity: Issues and American Voters, 1956-1968," *American Political Science Review* (June 1972).

Small Bites:

German Feierherd, "A Significant Minority of Americans Say They Could Support a Military Takeover of the U.S. Government," *Monkey Cage* (2/16/18).

Paul A. Djupe, "White Evangelicals Fear Atheists and Democrats Would Strip Away Their Rights. Why?" *Monkey Cage* (12/23/19).

John R. Hibbing and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, "A Surprising Number of Americans Dislike How Messy Democracy Is. They Like Trump." *Monkey Cage* (5/2/16).

Christopher Weber et al., "How Authoritarianism Is Shaping American Politics (and It's Not Just about Trump)," *Monkey Cage* (5/10/17).

Recommended Readings:

- Bernard R. Berelson et al., *Voting* (1954).
 Angus Campbell et al., *The American Voter* (1960 unabridged).
 Angus Campbell et al., *Elections and the Political Order* (1966), Chapters 4, 5, 8.
 Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (1963).
 V. O. Key, Jr., *The Responsible Electorate* (1966).
 Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957).
 David Easton and Jack Dennis, *Children in the Political System* (1969).
 M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence* (1974).
 Robert E. Lane, *Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes What He Does* (1962).
 Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (1955).
 James W. Prothro and Charles M. Grigg, "Fundamental Principles of Democracy: Bases of Agreement and Disagreement," *Journal of Politics* (May 1960).
 Philip E. Converse, "Of Time and Partisan Stability," *Comparative Political Studies* (July 1969).
 Richard A. Brody and Benjamin I. Page, "Comment: The Assessment of Policy Voting," *American Political Science Review* (June 1972).
 John L. Sullivan et al., "An Alternative Conceptualization of Political Tolerance: Illusory Increases 1950s-1970s," *American Political Science Review* (September 1979).

Week 3 (Jan 21): Voter Competence: How Stupid Are We?

Assigned Readings:

- Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 3 (pp. 53-68).
 Brian F. Schaffner and Samantha Luks, "Misinformation or Expressive Responding? What an Inauguration Crowd Can Tell Us about the Source of Political Misinformation in Surveys," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (March 2018).
 Anthony Fowler and Michele Margolis, "The Political Consequences of Uninformed Voters," *Electoral Studies* (June 2014).
 Vanessa Williamson, "Public Ignorance or Elitist Jargon? Reconsidering Americans' Overestimates of Government Waste and Foreign Aid," *American Politics Research* (January 2019).
 Richard R. Lau et al., "Correct Voting Across Thirty-Three Democracies: A Preliminary Analysis," *British Journal of Political Science* (April 2014).

Small Bites:

- Catherine Rampell, "Americans – Especially But Not Exclusively Trump Voters – Believe Crazy, Wrong Things," *Washington Post* (12/28/16).
 Eric Dolan, "Study: People with Less Political Knowledge Think They Know a Lot about Politics," *PsyPost* (4/16/18).
 Aaron Blake, "A New Study Suggests Fake News Might Have Won Donald Trump the 2016 Election," *Washington Post* (4/3/18).
 Andrew Gelman, "Do Shark Attacks Swing Elections?" *Monkey Cage* (10/28/16).

Recommended Readings:

- Ian G. Anson, "Partisanship, Political Knowledge, and the Dunning-Kruger Effect," *Political Psychology* (October 2018).
 Brian F. Schaffner and Cameron Roche, "Misinformation and Motivated Reasoning: Responses to Economic News in a Politicized Environment," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Spring 2017).
 Jason Barabas et al., "The Question(s) of Political Knowledge," *American Political Science Review* (November 2014).
 Jennifer Hochschild and Katherine Levine Einstein, "It Isn't What We Don't Know that Gives Us Trouble, It's What We Know that Ain't So': Misinformation and Democratic Politics," *British Journal of Political Science* (July 2015).

Week 4 (Jan 28): Ideology: Beyond Red vs. Blue

Assigned Readings:

- Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 3 (pp. 68-79).
- Stanley Feldman and John Zaller, "The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State," *American Journal of Political Science* (February 1992).
- Pamela Conover and Stanley Feldman, "The Origins and Meaning of Liberal/Conservative Self-Identifications," *American Journal of Political Science* (November 1981).
- Lilliana Mason, "Ideologues without Issues: The Polarizing Consequences of Ideological Identities," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (special issue 2018).
- Andrew B. Hall and Daniel M. Thompson, "Who Punishes Extremist Nominees? Candidate Ideology and Turning Out the Base in US Elections," *American Political Science Review* (August 2018).

small bites:

- Lee Drutman, "The Moderate Middle Is a Myth," *fivethirtyeight.com* (9/24/19).
- Robb Willer and Jan Voelkel, "Why Progressive Candidates Should Invoke Conservative Values," *New York Times* (11/30/19).
- Eric Levitz, "America's Political Mood Is Now the 'Most Liberal Ever Recorded,'" *New York Magazine/Intelligencer* (6/8/19).
- Robert N. Lupton et al., "Republicans Are the Party of Ideological Inconsistency," *Monkey Cage* (10/2/17).
- Sasha Issenberg, "Born This Way: The New Weird Science of Hardwired Political Identity," *New York Magazine* (4/8/12).

Recommended Readings:

- James A. Stimson, *Tides of Consent: How Public Opinion Shapes American Politics*, 2nd ed. (2015). [Smathers e-book]
- Christopher Ellis and James A. Stimson, *Ideology in America* (2012).
- Efrén O. Pérez, *Unspoken Politics: Implicit Attitudes and Political Thinking* (2016). [Smathers e-book]
- Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, "Political Typology Reveals Deep Fissures on the Right and Left" (10/24/17); especially see overview.
- William G. Jacoby, "Is There a Culture War? Conflicting Value Structures in American Public Opinion," *American Political Science Review* (November 2014).
- Stephen C. Craig et al., "Sometimes You Feel Like a Nut, Sometimes You Don't: Citizens' Ambivalence about Abortion," *Political Psychology* (June 2002).

Week 5 (Feb 4). Partisanship: It's My Party and I'll Cry If I Want To

Assigned Readings:

- Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 3 (pp. 79-88).
- Patrick R. Miller and Pamela Johnston Conover, "Red and Blue States of Mind: Partisan Hostility and Voting in the United States," *Political Research Quarterly* (June 2015).
- Samara Klar et al., "Affective Polarization or Partisan Disdain? Untangling a Dislike for the Opposing Party from a Dislike of Partisanship," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Summer 2018).
- Eric Groenendyk, "Competing Motives in a Polarized Electorate: Political Responsiveness, Identity Defensiveness, and the Rise of Partisan Antipathy," *Political Psychology* (special issue 2018).
- Matt Grossmann and David A. Hopkins, "Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats: The Asymmetry of American Party Politics," *Perspectives on Politics* (March 2015).
- Annemarie S. Walter and David P. Redlawsk, "Voters' Partisan Responses to Politicians' Immoral Behavior," *Political Psychology* (October 2019).

Small Bites:

- Perry Bacon, Jr., "What Unites Republicans May Be Changing. Same with Democrats," *Monkey Cage* (12/17/19).
- Yascha Mounk, "Republicans Don't Understand Democrats – and Democrats Don't Understand Republicans," *The Atlantic* (6/23/19).
- Benjamin Toff and Elizabeth Suhay, "How Worried Are You about an Impending Trade War? That Might Depend on What Your Fellow Party Members Think," *Monkey Cage* (7/12/18).
- Meredith Dost et al., "Is President Trump's Rhetoric Racist? It Depends on Whom You Ask." *Monkey Cage* (8/12/19).

Recommended Readings:

- Morris P. Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (1981), Chapter 5.
- Donald Green et al., *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters* (2002). [Smathers e-book]
- Matt Grossmann and David A. Hopkins, *Asymmetric Politics: Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats* (2016).
- Samara Klar and Yanna Krupnikov, *Independent Politics: How American Disdain for Parties Leads to Political Inaction* (2016). [Smathers e-book]
- Daniel Stevens et al., "Fair's Fair? Principles, Partisanship, and Perceptions of the Fairness of Campaign Rhetoric," *British Journal of Political Science* (January 2015).
- Christopher McConnell et al., "The Economic Consequences of Partisanship in a Polarized Era," *American Journal of Political Science* (January 2018).
- Alexander G. Theodoridis, "Me, Myself, and (I), (D), or (R)? Partisanship and Political Cognition through the Lens of Implicit Identity," *Journal of Politics* (October 2017).
- D.J. Flynn et al., "The Nature and Origins of Misperceptions: Understanding False and Unsupported Beliefs about Politics," *Political Psychology* (special issue 1, 2017).
- Erik Peterson, "The Scope of Partisan Influence on Policy Opinion," *Political Psychology* (April 2019).

Week 6 (Feb 11). Political Learning: Where Do Our Opinions Come From?

Assigned Readings:

- Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapters 5, 8.
- M. Kent Jennings et al., "Politics across Generations: Family Transition Reexamined," *Journal of Politics* (July 2009).
- James N. Druckman et al., "No Need to Watch: How the Effects of Partisan Media Can Spread via Interpersonal Discussions," *American Journal of Political Science* (January 2018).
- Elizabeth A. Sharrow et al., "The First-Daughter Effect: The Impact of Fathering Daughters on Men's Preferences for Gender-Equality Policies," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Fall 2018).
- Joshua D. Kertzer and Thomas Zeitzoff, "A Bottom-Up Theory of Public Opinion about Foreign Policy," *American Journal of Political Science* (July 2017).

Small Bites:

- Shana Gadarian, "How Sensationalist TV Stories on Terrorism Make Americans More Hawkish," *Monkey Cage* (10/9/14).
- John R. Hibbing, "How People's Sensitivity to Threats Illuminates the Rise of Donald Trump," *Monkey Cage* (12/23/16).
- Natalie Jacewicz, "What Shapes Your Political Beliefs at 18, 35, and 50," *New York Magazine* (4/28/17).
- Joshua P. Darr et al., "No, Trump Isn't Teflon. Scandals Lower His Approval among Republicans – If They See the News," *Monkey Cage* (9/10/19).
- Philip Pärnamets and Jay Van Bavel, "How Political Opinions Change," *Scientific American* (11/20/18).

Recommended Readings:

- John R. Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (1992).

- Kevin Arceneaux and Martin Johnson, *Changing Minds or Changing Channels? Partisan News in an Age of Choice* (2013).
- Bethany Albertson and Shana Kushner Gadarian, *Anxious Politics: Democratic Citizenship in a Threatening World* (2015). [Smathers e-book]
- Tali Mendelberg et al., "College Socialization and the Economic Views of Affluent Americans," *American Journal of Political Science* (July 2017).
- Elias Dinas, "Opening 'Openness to Change': Political Events and the Increased Sensitivity of Young Adults," *Political Research Quarterly* (December 2013).

Week 7 (Feb 18). Social Groups/Conflict and Identity: Demography Is Destiny . . . Or Not

Assigned Readings:

Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 7.

Pamela Johnston Conover, "The Influence of Group Identifications on Political Perception and Evaluation," *Journal of Politics* (August 1984).

NOTE: Issue topics for week #11 must be designated by this date.

Small Bites:

Thomas Ogorzalek et al., "White Trump Voters Are Richer Than They Appear," *Monkey Cage* (11/12/19).

Nathaniel Rakich and Julia Wolfe, "White Voters Without a Degree Remained Staunchly Republican in 2018," fivethirtyeight.com (12/11/18).

Thomas Wood, "Racism Motivated Trump Voters More than Authoritarianism," *Monkey Cage* (4/17/17).

Caitlin Dewey, "White America's Racial Resentment Is the Real Impetus for Welfare Cuts, Study Says," *Washington Post* (5/30/18).

Andrew L. Whitehead et al., "Despite Porn Stars and Playboy Models, White Evangelicals Aren't Rejecting Trump. Here's Why," *Monkey Cage* (3/26/18).

Amelia Thomson-DeVeaux and Cox, "The Christian Right Is Helping Drive Liberals Away from Religion," fivethirtyeight.com (9/18/19).

Erin C. Cassese et al., "How 'Hostile Sexism' Came to Shape Our Politics," *Monkey Cage* (10/2/18).

Deborah J. Schildkraut, "Does the Republican Party Really Have a Young Person Problem?" *Monkey Cage* (10/6/17).

David Byler, "Millennials Could Push American Politics to the Left – or Totally Upend Them," *Washington Post* (5/22/19).

Pew Research Center, "The Generation Gap in American Politics," <http://www.people-press.org/2018/03/01/the-generation-gap-in-american-politics/> (3/1/18).

Jeremiah J. Castle et al., "Why Young White Evangelicals Aren't Likely to Leave the Republican Party," *Monkey Cage* (9/3/19).

Ronald Brownstein, "There Are Absolutely Two Americas. Sometimes in the Same State," cnn.com (7/20/18).

Amanda Ripley et al., "The Geography of Partisan Prejudice," *The Atlantic* (3/4/19).

Recommended Readings:

Michael Tesler, *Post-Racial or Most-Racial? Race and Politics in the Obama Era* (2016).

Michael Tesler, "The Return of Old-Fashioned Racism to White Americans' Partisan Preferences in the Early Obama Era," *Journal of Politics* (January 2013).

Diana C. Mutz, "Status Threat, Not Economic Hardship, Explains the 2016 Presidential Vote," *Proceedings of National Academy of Sciences* (2018; <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1718155115>).

Stephen P. Nicholson and Gary M. Segura, "Who's the Party of the People? Economic Populism and the U.S. Public's Beliefs about Political Parties," *Political Behavior* (June 2012).

Tiffany D. Barnes and Erin C. Cassese, "American Party Women: A Look at the Gender Gap within Parties," *Political Research Quarterly* (March 2017).

Barry C. Burden et al., "The Unexceptional Gender Gap of 2016," *The Forum* (issue 4, 2016).

Week 8 (Feb 25). Voting Behavior: Just Another Pretty Face?

Assigned Readings:

Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 9.

Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, "Democracy for Realists: Holding Up a Mirror to the Electorate," *Juncture* (Spring 2016).

Jon C. Rogowski, "Voter Decision-Making with Polarized Choices," *British Journal of Political Science* (January 2018).

Andrew B. Hall and Daniel M. Thompson, "Who Punishes Extremist Nominees? Candidate Ideology and Turning Out the Base in US Elections," *American Political Science Review* (August 2018).

Tyler T. Reny et al., "Vote Switching in the 2016 Election: How Racial and Immigration Attitudes, Not Economics, Explain Shifts in White Voting," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Spring 2019).

Small Bites:

Nate Silver, "Socially Liberal, Fiscally Conservative Voters Preferred Trump in 2016," *fivethirtyeight.com* (2/5/19).

Dan Hopkins, "Voters Really Did Switch to Trump at the Last Minute," *fivethirtyeight.com* (12/20/16).

Maggie Koerth, "Does Knowing Whom Others Might Vote for Change Whom You'll Vote For?" *fivethirtyeight.com* (12/5/19).

John Sides, "Presidential Candidates Are Ideologically Extreme. And They Pretty Much Get Away with It," *Monkey Cage* (9/6/16).

Amelia Thomson-DeVeaux, "Are Some Democratic Voters Reluctant to Support a Gay Candidate?" *fivethirtyeight.com* (12/7/19).

Recommended Readings:

Samuel L. Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns*, 2nd ed. (1994).

Richard R. Lau and David P. Redlawsk, *How Voters Decide: Information Processing during Election Campaigns* (2006).

Christopher H. Achen and Larry M. Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government* (2017 edition with afterward).

Martin P. Wattenberg, "The Declining Relevance of Candidate Personal Attributes in Presidential Elections," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (March 2016).

Michael Henderson, "Finding the Way Home: The Dynamics of Partisan Support in Presidential Campaigns," *Political Behavior* (December 2015).

Douglas J. Ahler et al., "Face Value? Experimental Evidence that Candidate Appearance Influences Electoral Choice," *Political Behavior* (March 2017).

Week 9 (Mar 10). Retrospective Voting: It's (Usually) the Economy, Stupid

Assigned Readings:

Ken Goldstein et al., "Even the Geeks Are Polarized: The Dispute over the 'Real Driver' in American Elections," *The Forum* (issue 2, 2014).

Thomas J. Rudolph and J. Tobin Grant, "An Attributional Model of Economic Voting: Evidence from the 2000 Presidential Election," *Political Research Quarterly* (December 2002).

Thomas M. Holbrook et al., "Bringing the President Back In: The Collapse of Lehman Brothers and the Evolution of Retrospective Voting in the 2008 Presidential Election," *Political Research Quarterly* (June 2012).

John R. Wright, "Unemployment and the Democratic Electoral Advantage," *American Political Science Review* (November 2012).

Small Bites:

- Nate Silver, "Models Based on 'Fundamentals' Have Failed at Predicting Presidential Elections" (with a reply by John Sides), *fivethirtyeight.com* (3/26/12).
- Ben Casselman and Jim Tankersley, "The Economy Didn't Save Republicans After All," *New York Times* (11/9/18).
- John Sides, "Obama Thinks He Hasn't Gotten Credit for a Growing Economy. He's Right," *Monkey Cage* (5/5/16).
- S. Erdem Aytaç et al., "Trump Supporters Vastly Overestimate Unemployment – and They Blame Politicians for It," *Monkey Cage* (11/2/16).

Recommended Readings:

- Morris P. Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (1981).
- Gabriel S. Lenz, *Follow the Leader? How Voters Respond to Politicians' Policies and Performance* (2012).
- Pamela Johnston Conover and Stanley Feldman, "Emotional Reactions to the Economy: I'm Mad as Hell and I'm Not Going to Take It Anymore," *American Journal of Political Science* (February 1986).
- Diana C. Mutz and Jeffery J. Mondak, "Dimensions of Sociotropic Behavior: Group-Based Judgments of Fairness and Well-Being," *American Journal of Political Science* (January 1997).
- Andrew Healy et al., "Partisan Bias in Blame Attribution: When Does It Occur?" *Journal of Experimental Political Science* (December 2014).
- Christopher J. Anderson, "Economic Voting and Political Context: A Comparative Perspective," *Electoral Studies* (June 2000).

Week 10 (Mar 17). Polarization/Realignment: Can't We All Just Get Along?

Assigned Readings:

- Shanto Iyengar and Masah Krupenkin, "The Strengthening of Partisan Affect," *Political Psychology* (special issue 2018).
- Lilliana Mason and Julie Wronski, "One Tribe to Bind Them All: How Our Social Group Attachments Strengthen Partisanship," *Political Psychology* (special issue 2018).
- Ryan Strickler, "Deliberate with the Enemy? Polarization, Social Identity, and Attitudes toward Disagreement," *Political Research Quarterly* (March 2018).
- Douglas J. Ahler, "Self-Fulfilling Misperceptions of Public Polarization," *Journal of Politics* (July 2014).
- Amnon Cavari and Guy Freedman, "Polarized Mass or Polarized Few? Assessing the Parallel Rise of Survey Nonresponse and Measures of Polarization," *Journal of Politics* (April 2018).

Small Bites:

- Alexander Theodoridis and James Martherus, "Trump Is Not the Only One Who Calls Opponents 'Animals.' Democrats and Republicans Do It to Each Other," *Monkey Cage* (5/21/18).
- Leaf Van Boven et al., "Being Angry Pushes Our Political Positions Further Apart. So What's the Alternative?" *Monkey Cage* (4/4/16).
- Ross Butters and Christopher Hare, "Three-Fourths of Americans Regularly Talk Politics Only with Members of Their Own Political Tribe," *Monkey Cage* (5/1/17).
- Greg Martin and Steven Webster, "The Real Culprit Behind Geographic Polarization," *The Atlantic* (11/26/18).

Recommended Readings:

- Morris P. Fiorina, *Unstable Majorities: Polarization, Party Sorting and Political Stalemate* (Hoover Institution Press, 2017). [Smathers e-book]
- David A. Hopkins, *Red Fighting Blue: How Geography and Electoral Rules Polarize American Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2017). [Smathers e-book]
- Lilliana Mason, *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity* (University of Chicago Press, 2018).
- Alan I. Abramowitz, *The Great Alignment: Race, Party Transformation, and the Rise of Donald Trump* (Yale University Press, 2018). [Smathers e-book]

- Marc Hetherington and Jonathan Weiler, *Prius or Pickup? How the Answers to Four Simple Questions Explain America's Great Divide* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt 2018).
- John Sides et al., *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America* (Princeton University Press, 2018).
- Ashley Jardina, *White Identity Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2019). [Smathers e-book]
- Jonathan Mummolo and Neil Malhotra, "Why Partisans Do Not Sort: The Constraints on Political Segregation," *Journal of Politics* (January 2017).
- Matthew S. Levendusky, "Americans, Not Partisans: Can Priming American National Identity Reduce Affective Polarization?" *Journal of Politics* (January 2018).
- Seth J. Hill and Chris Tausanovitch, "A Disconnect in Representation? Comparison of Trends in Congressional and Public Polarization," *Journal of Politics* (October 2015).

Week 11 (Mar 24). Issue Opinions . . . Are a Dime a Dozen

Assigned Readings (all students):

- Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 4.
- Cheryl Boudreau and Scott A. MacKenzie, "Wanting What Is Fair: How Party Cues and Information about Income Inequality Affect Public Support for Taxes," *Journal of Politics* (April 2018).
- Angela Farizo McCarthy et al., "Religion and Attitudes toward Redistributive Policies among Americans," *Political Research Quarterly* (March 2016).
- Kenneth F. Scheve and David Stasavage, "Are We Ready to Raise Taxes on the Rich? History Says No," *Monkey Cage* (5/16/16).
- Daniel Treisman, "Why the Poor Don't Vote to Soak the Rich," *Monkey Cage* (2/27/18).
- Harry Enten, "The Politics of Tax Reform: 101," *fivethirtyeight.com* (10/27/17).
- Greg Sargent, "The Massive Triumph of the Rich, Illustrated by Stunning New Data," *Washington Post* (12/9/19).

Special Assignment Instructions:

- No later than week #7 (Feb 18), each student will select one issue on which they will lead class discussion. A set of readings (two academic, two small bites) will be assigned by me on week #8 (Feb 25).
- Be prepared to talk about these readings for approximately 10 minutes, including some time for questions and discussion. Try to emphasize the "big picture" more than the specific details of a particular study.
- You should provide a one-page summary of your assigned readings for distribution to the class.
- Your articles may not have a unifying theme, so don't try to force it if that's the case. On the other hand, if you do believe that the readings are thematically connected, be sure to tell us how.
- If you find an article that you would like to substitute for one of those listed, you must get my approval no later than week #9 (Mar 10) before doing so. Send me a pdf of your preferred article by Sunday the 8th and I will get back to you with a decision as quickly as possible.
- If you want to write an essay on your topic, that's allowed – though it may not be a good idea to do so unless there is a central theme that ties the readings together. Also, if you decide to write an essay, you should find some additional readings (academic or otherwise) to complement the ones that are required.

I will spend the first part of class talking about inequality (the subject of the assigned readings listed above, except for Erikson-Tedin) before turning things over to students, who may choose from the following topics: abortion, race, immigration, social welfare, gay/LGBTQ rights, gun control, sexual harassment, national security/war on terror, foreign policy, free trade, and the environment/climate change. If there's an issue you're interested in that's not on this list, let me know that by Feb 18 and I will consider adding it.

Week 12 (Mar 31). Campaign Effects: Playing to Win

Assigned Readings:

- Daron Shaw et al., "Testing Overall and Synergistic Campaign Effects in a Partisan Statewide Election," *Political Research Quarterly* (June 2018).
- Larry M. Bartels, "Remembering to Forget: A Note on the Duration of Campaign Advertising Effects," *Political Communication* (2014).
- Kevin K. Banda and Jason H. Windett, "Negative Advertising and the Dynamics of Candidate Support," *Political Behavior* (September 2016).
- Ryan D. Enos and Eitan D. Hersh, "Campaign Perceptions of Electoral Closeness: Uncertainty, Fear and Over-Confidence," *British Journal of Political Science* (July 2017).
- Jessica Baldwin-Philippi, "The Myths of Data-Driven Campaigning," *Political Communication* (no. 4, 2017).

Small Bites:

- Maggie Koerth, "How Money Affects Elections," *fivethirtyeight.com* (9/10/18).
- Marc Levitt, "The Heyday of Television Ads Is Over. Political Campaigns Ought to Act Like It." *Washington Post* (11/6/18).
- Joshua Kalla and David Brookman, "Persuading Voters Is Hard: That Doesn't Mean Campaigns Should Give Up," *Monkey Cage* (10/11/17).
- John Sides, "Politicians Play the Race Card. This Is What Helps Neutralize It," *Monkey Cage* (1/8/16).

Recommended Readings:

- Kyle Mattes and David P. Redlawsk, *The Positive Case for Negative Campaigning* (2014).
- John Sides and Jake Haselswerdt, "Campaigns and Elections," in Adam J. Berinsky, ed., *New Directions in Public Opinion* (2012).
- Peter K. Enns and Brian Richman, "Presidential Campaigns and the Fundamentals Reconsidered," *Journal of Politics* (July 2013).
- R. Michael Alvarez et al., "Mobilizing Pasadena Democrats: Measuring the Effects of Partisan Campaign Contacts," *Journal of Politics* (January 2010).
- Joshua L. Kalla and David E. Broockman, "The Minimal Persuasive Effects of Campaign Contact in General Elections: Evidence from 49 Field Experiments," *American Political Science Review* (February 2018).
- Ryan D. Enos and Eitan D. Hersh, "Party Activists as Campaign Advertisers: The Ground Campaign as a Principle-Agent Problem," *American Political Science Review* (May 2015).
- Stephen C. Craig et al., "Attack and Response in Political Campaigns: An Experimental Study in Two Parts," *Political Communication* (October 2014).
- Messing, Solomon, Maria Jabon, and Ethan Plaut, "Bias in the Flesh: Skin Complexion and Stereotype Consistency in Political Campaigns," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Spring 2016).

Week 13 (Apr 7). Turnout and Participation: How to Be a Good Citizen

Assigned Readings:

- Theiss-Morse et al., *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, Chapter 3.
- Jon C. Rogowski, "Electoral Choice, Ideological Conflict, and Political Participation," *American Journal of Political Science* (April 2014).
- Leonie Huddy et al., "Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity," *American Political Science Review* (February 2015).
- Barry C. Burden and Amber Wichowsky, "Economic Discontent as a Mobilizer: Unemployment and Voter Turnout," *Journal of Politics* (October 2014).
- Costas Panagopoulos, "Extrinsic Rewards, Intrinsic Motivation and Voting," *Journal of Politics* (January 2013).

Small Bites:

- Nathaniel Rakich, "Early-Voting Laws Probably Don't Boost Turnout," *fivethirtyeight.com* (1/30/19).
- Nathaniel Rakich, "What Happened When 2.2 Million People Were Automatically Registered to Vote?" *fivethirtyeight.com* (10/10/19).

- Andrew Gelman, "A New Controversy Erupts over Whether Voter Identification Laws Suppress Minority Turnout," *Monkey Cage* (6/11/18).
- Pippa Norris et al., "Why Don't More Americans Vote? Maybe Because They Don't Trust U.S. Elections," *Monkey Cage* (12/26/16).
- Melissa Deckman, "A New Poll Shows How Younger Women Could Help Drive a Democratic Wave in 2018," *Monkey Cage* (3/5/18).

Recommended Readings:

- Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, *Participation in America* (1972); also see Verba et al., *Voice and Equality: Civic Volunteerism in American Politics* (1995).
- Nicholas A. Valentino et al., "Election Night's Alright for Fighting: The Role of Emotions in Political Participation," *Journal of Politics* (January 2011).
- David W. Nickerson, "Do Voter Registration Drives Increase Participation? For Whom and When?" *Journal of Politics* (January 2015).
- Alan S. Gerber et al., "Personality Traits and Participation in Political Processes," *Journal of Politics* (July 2011).
- Allison P. Anoll, "What Makes a Good Neighbor? Race, Place, and Norms of Political Participation," *American Political Science Review* (August 2018).
- John B. Holbein, "Childhood Skill Development and Adult Political Participation," *American Political Science Review* (August 2017).

Week 14 (Apr 14). Representation and Linkage: The Rulers and the Ruled

Assigned Readings:

- Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapters 10, 11.
- Marc J. Hetherington and Jason A. Husser, "How Trust Matters: The Changing Political Relevance of Political Trust," *American Journal of Political Science* (April 2012).
- Chanita Intawan and Stephen P. Nicholson, "My Trust in Government Is Implicit: Automatic Trust in Government and System Support," *Journal of Politics* (April 2018).
- David Macdonald, "Trust in Government and the American Public's Responsiveness to Rising Inequality," *Political Research Quarterly* (2019 online, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912919856110>).
- Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics* (September 2014).

Small Bites:

- Marc Hetherington and Thomas Rudolph, "Why Don't Americans Trust the Government? Because the Other Party Is in Power," *Monkey Cage* (1/30/14).
- Bill Bishop, "Americans Have Lost Faith in Institutions. That's Not Because of Trump or 'Fake News.'" *Washington Post* (3/23/17).
- Robert Barnes, "Polls Show Trust in Supreme Court, But There Is Growing Interest in Fixed Terms and Other Changes," *Washington Post* (10/24/19).
- Nathan Kalmoe, "A Surprising Number of Americans Endorse Violence Against the Government. Here's Why," *Monkey Cage* (6/14/17).
- Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page, "Critics Argued with Our Analysis of U.S. Political Inequality. Here Are 5 Ways They're Wrong," *Monkey Cage* (5/23/16).

Recommended Readings:

- Marc J. Hetherington, *Why Trust Matters: Declining Political Trust and the Demise of American Liberalism* (2005).
- Marc J. Hetherington and Thomas J. Rudolph, *Why Washington Won't Work: Polarization, Political Trust, and the Governing Crisis* (2015).

- Kay L. Schlozman et al., *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy* (2012).
- Diana C. Mutz and Byron Reeves, "The New Videomalaise: Effects of Televised Incivility on Political Trust," *American Political Science Review* (February 2005).
- John Lapinski et al., "What Do Citizens Want from Their Member of Congress?" *Political Research Quarterly* (September 2016).
- John D. Griffin and Brian Newman, "Voting Power, Policy Representation, and Disparities in Voting's Rewards," *Journal of Politics* (January 2013).
- David E. Broockman and Christopher Skovron, "Bias in Perceptions of Public Opinion among Political Elites," *American Political Science Review* (July 2018).
- Anthony Fowler and Andrew B. Hall, "Long-Term Consequences of Election Results," *British Journal of Political Science* (April 2017).
- Devin Caughey and Christopher Warsaw, "Policy Preferences and Policy Change: Dynamic Responsiveness in the American States, 1936-2014," *American Political Science Review* (May 2018).