

POS 6207
Political Behavior
Spring 2019

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Required texts:

Elizabeth A. Theiss-Morse et al., *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, 14th ed. (CQ Press, 2018).
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). [Smathers e-book]
John Sides et al., *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America* (Princeton University Press, 2018). [arrives at library on 4/1/19]
Russell J. Dalton, *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Western Democracies*, 7th ed. (CQ Press, 2020; released on 1/16/19, 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 others not at all (the latter are highlighted in red). 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 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; 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 (19939671) 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 26. (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 24, and answers are due by noon on Friday, April 26.
- 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 22 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 26.

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 8): Introduction

Assigned Readings:

Theiss-Morse et al., *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, Appendix: Survey Research Methods.

Small Bites:

Cliff Zukin, "What's the Matter with Polling," *New York Times* (6/20/15).

Nate Silver, "The Polls Are All Right," *fivethirtyeight.com* (5/30/18)

Nate Cohn, "What the Polls Got Right This Year, and Where They Went Wrong," *New York Times* (12/27/18).

Nate Silver, "Question Order May Bias Fox News Health Care Polling," *fivethirtyeight.com* (10/6/09).

Week 2 (Jan 15): The American Electorate: Early Impressions . . . and They Weren't Pretty

Assigned Readings:

Theiss-Morse et al., *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, Chapter 1.

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:

John Sides, "The 40-Year Decline in the Tolerance of College Students, Graphed," *Monkey Cage* (3/9/17).

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

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 22): Voter Competence: How Stupid Are We?

Assigned Readings:

Barbara A. Bardes and Robert W. Oldendick, *Public Opinion: Measuring the American Mind*, Chapter 6.

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).

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).

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).

Elizabeth Suhay, "Science Denial Is Bipartisan," *U.S. News and World Report* (4/8/15).

Reuben Hurst et al., "Americans Love to Hate Foreign Aid, But the Right Argument Makes Them Like It a Lot More," *Monkey Cage* (5/4/17).

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).

Vanessa Williamson, "Public Ignorance or Elitist Jargon? Reconsidering Americans' Overestimates of Government Waste and Foreign Aid," *American Politics Research* (January 2019).

Anthony Fowler and Andrew B. Hall, "Do Shark Attacks Influence Presidential Elections? Reassessing a Prominent Finding on Voter Competence," *Journal of Politics* (October 2018).

Week 4 (Jan 29): Ideology: Beyond Red vs. Blue

Assigned Readings:

Theiss-Morse et al., *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, Chapter 6.

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).

Samara Klar, "A Multidimensional Study of Ideological Preferences and Priorities among the American Public," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (special issue 2014).

Lilliana Mason, "Ideologues without Issues: The Polarizing Consequences of Ideological Identities," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (special issue 2018).

small bites:

Pew Research Center, "With Budget Debate Looming, Growing Share of Public Prefers Bigger Government" (4/24/17); <http://www.people-press.org/2017/04/24/with-budget-debate-looming-growing-share-of-public-prefers-bigger-government/>

Robert N. Lupton et al., "Republicans Are the Party of Ideological Inconsistency," *Monkey Cage* (10/2/17).

Ezra Klein, "For Elites, Politics Is Driven by Ideology. For Voters, It's Not," *Vox* (11/9/17).

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.

Christopher Ellis and James A. Stimson, "Pathways to Conservative Identification: The Politics of Ideological Contradiction in the United States," in Paul M. Sniderman and Benjamin Highton, eds., *Facing the Challenge of Democracy: Explorations in the Analysis of Public Opinion and Political Participation* (2011).

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

Assigned Readings:

Theiss-Morse et al., *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, Chapter 4.

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).

Christopher McConnell et al., "The Economic Consequences of Partisanship in a Polarized Era," *American Journal of Political Science* (January 2018).

Matt Grossmann and David A. Hopkins, "Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats: The Asymmetry of American Party Politics," *Perspectives on Politics* (March 2015).

Daniel Stevens et al., "Fair's Fair? Principles, Partisanship, and Perceptions of the Fairness of Campaign Rhetoric," *British Journal of Political Science* (January 2015).

Small Bites:

John Sides, "Democrats Are Gay, Republicans Are Rich: Our Stereotypes of Political Parties Are Amazingly Wrong," *Monkey Cage* (5/23/16).

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

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).

Lilliana Mason and Nathan Kalmoe, "Surprised by the Anger toward McCain? Party Loyalists Can Hate Apostates as Much as Opponents," *Monkey Cage* (5/16/18).

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]
- Paul Allen Beck and M. Kent Jennings, "Family Traditions, Political Periods, and the Development of Partisan Orientations," *Journal of Politics* (August 1991).
- Elias Dinas, "Does Choice Bring Loyalty? Electoral Participation and the Development of Party Identification," *American Journal of Political Science* (April 2014).
- 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).
- Philip G. Chen and Paul N. Goren, "Operational Ideology and Party Identification: A Dynamic Model of Individual-Level Change in Partisan and Ideological Predispositions," *Political Research Quarterly* (December 2016).
- Yphtach Lelkes and Sean J. Westwood, "The Limits of Partisan Prejudice," *Journal of Politics* (April 2017).
- Lilliana Mason and Julie Wronski, "One Tribe to Bind Them All: How Our Social Group Attachments Strengthen Partisanship," *Political Psychology* (special issue 2018).

Week 6 (Feb 12). Political Learning: Where Do Our Opinions Come From?

Assigned Readings:

- Theiss-Morse et al., *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, Chapter 7.
- 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).
- Scott Clifford and Jennifer Jerit, "Disgust, Anxiety, and Political Learning in the Face of Threat," *American Journal of Political Science* (April 2018).

Small Bites:

- Shana Gadarian, "How Sensationalist TV Stories on Terrorism Make Americans More Hawkish," *Monkey Cage* (10/9/14).
- Andrew Gelman, "How Do You Reduce Prejudice toward Transgender People? This New Study Explains," *Monkey Cage* (4/7/16).
- Eitan D. Hersh, "Long-Term Effect of September 11 on the Political Behavior of Victims' Families and Neighbors," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* (12/9/2013).
- Harvard University, "Elite Cues or Social Cues? The Formation of Public Opinion on Foreign Policy," report by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs (2/14/17).

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]
- Jeffrey Lyons, "The Family and Partisan Socialization in Red and Blue America," *Political Psychology* (April 2017).
- Samara Klar, "Partisanship in a Social Setting," *American Journal of Political Science* (July 2014).

- Tali Mendelberg et al., "College Socialization and the Economic Views of Affluent Americans," *American Journal of Political Science* (July 2017).
- Ian G. Anson, "Just the Facts? Partisan Media and the Political Conditioning of Economic Perceptions," *Political Research Quarterly* (September 2018).
- Elias Dinas, "Opening 'Openness to Change': Political Events and the Increased Sensitivity of Young Adults," *Political Research Quarterly* (December 2013).

Week 7 (Feb 19). Social Groups/Conflict and Identity: Demography Is Destiny . . . Or Not

Assigned Readings:

- Theiss-Morse et al., *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, Chapter 5.
- Pamela Johnston Conover, "The Influence of Group Identifications on Political Perception and Evaluation," *Journal of Politics* (August 1984).
- 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>).
- Brian D. McKenzie and Stella M. Rouse, "Shades of Faith: Religious Foundations of Political Attitudes among African Americans, Latinos, and Whites," *American Journal of Political Science* (January 2013).

Small Bites:

- Thomas Wood, "Racism Motivated Trump Voters More than Authoritarianism," *Monkey Cage* (4/17/17).
- Larry Bartels and Katherine Cramer, "White People Get More Conservative When They Move Up – Not Down – Economically. Here's the Evidence," *Monkey Cage* (5/14/18).
- 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).
- 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).
- Ronald Brownstein, "There Are Absolutely Two Americas. Sometimes in the Same State," *cnn.com* (7/20/18).

Recommended Readings:

- Michael Tesler, *Post-Racial or Most-Racial? Race and Politics in the Obama Era* (2016).
- Eitan D. Hersch and Clayton Nall, "The Primacy of Race in the Geography of Income-Based Voting: New Evidence from Public Voting Records," *American Journal of Political Science* (April 2016).
- 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 26). Voting Behavior: Just Another Pretty Face?

Assigned Readings:

- Theiss-Morse et al., *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, Chapter 8.
- 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).
- Douglas J. Ahler et al., "Face Value? Experimental Evidence that Candidate Appearance Influences Electoral Choice," *Political Behavior* (March 2017).

Small Bites:

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

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

Lior Sheffer, "Trump Thinks a Mustache Disqualifies You from Office. So Do a Lot of Voters," *Monkey Cage* (12/27/16).

Howard Lavine and Wendy Rahn, "What If Trump's Nativism Actually Hurts Him?" *New York Times* (7/2/18).

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).

Patrick J. Egan, *Partisan Priorities: How Issue Ownership Drives and Distorts American Politics* (2013).

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).

Timothy J. Ryan, "How Do Indifferent Voters Decide? The Political Importance of Implicit Attitudes," *American Journal of Political Science* (October 2017).

Edward G. Carmines et al., "Ideological Heterogeneity and the Rise of Donald Trump," *The Forum* (issue no. 4, 2016).

Week 9 (Mar 12). 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).

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 19). Polarization/Realignment: Can't We All Just Get Along?

Assigned Readings:

- Morris P. Fiorina, "America's Missing Moderates: Hiding in Plain Sight"; also Alan I. Abramowitz (with a reply by Fiorina), "Polarized or Sorted? Just What's Wrong with Our Politics Anyway," *The American Interest* (March/April 2013).
- Shanto Iyengar and Masah Krupenkin, "The Strengthening of Partisan Affect," *Political Psychology* (special issue 2018).
- James M. Druckman et al., "How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation," *American Political Science Review* (February 2013).
- 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:

- Larry Bartels, "2016 Was an Ordinary Election, Not a Realignment," *Monkey Cage* (11/10/16).
- Rachael Dottle and Galen Druke, "America's Electoral Map Is Changing," *fivethirtyeight.com* (12/17/18).
- 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).
- Lilliana Mason, "Why Are Americans So Angry This Election Season? Here's New Research That Helps Explain It," *Monkey Cage* (3/10/16).
- 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).

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). [Smathers e-book]
- John Sides et al., *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America* (Princeton University Press, 2018). [arrives at library on 4/1/19]
- Stephen Hawkins et al., "Hidden Tribes: A Study of America's Polarized Landscape," a 2018 study conducted by More in Common (see <https://hiddentribes.us>).
- Matthew S. Levendusky, "When Efforts to Depolarize the Electorate Fail," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Fall 2018).
- Christopher D. Johnston, "Authoritarianism, Affective Polarization, and Economic Ideology," *Political Psychology* (special issue 2018).
- Matthew D. Luttig, "Authoritarianism and Affective Polarization: A New View on the Origins of Partisan Extremism," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Winter 2017).

- Lilliana Mason, "I Disrespectfully Agree: The Differential Effects of Partisan Sorting on Social and Issue Polarization," *American Journal of Political Science* (January 2015).
- Jonathan Mummolo and Neil Malhotra, "Why Partisans Do Not Sort: The Constraints on Political Segregation," *Journal of Politics* (January 2017).
- 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 26). Issue Opinions . . . Are a Dime a Dozen

Assigned Readings (all students):

Theiss-Morse et al., *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, review Chapter 6.

Special Assignment Instructions:

- See readings below. Read the four articles about the issue you are responsible for (assignments to be made in class). Be prepared to talk for roughly 10 minutes, including some time for questions, about those articles. Try to emphasize the "big picture" more than the specific details of a particular study.
- You are expected to provide a one-page summary of your articles 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 before doing so. Send me a pdf of your preferred article by Sunday, 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 articles (academic or otherwise) to complement the ones that are required.

Abortion

- Mitchell Killian and Clyde Wilcox, "Do Abortion Attitudes Lead to Party Switching?" *Political Research Quarterly* (December 2008).
- Julianna Pacheco and Rebecca Kreitzer, "Adolescent Determinants of Abortion Attitudes: Evidence from the Children of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Spring 2016).
- David Weakliem, "More People Think Abortion Should Always Be Legal. And More People Think It Should Never Be Legal," *Monkey Cage* (2/19/16).
- Clare Malone and Harry Enten, "Democrats Aren't in Lockstep over Abortion – That's Why They're Fighting," *fivethirtyeight.com* (8/3/17).

Racial Attitudes

- Michael Tesler, "The Spillover of Racialization into Health Care: How President Obama Polarized Public Opinion by Racial Attitudes and Race," *American Journal of Political Science* (July 2012).
- Matthew Fowler, "Race Still Matters: Political Ideology and the South," *PS: Political Science & Politics* (April 2016).
- Ashley Jardina, "White Identity Politics Isn't Just About White Supremacy," *Monkey Cage* (8/17/17).
- Sean McElwee et al., "Is America More Divided by Race or Class?" *Monkey Cage* (10/12/16).

Immigration

- Alan S. Gerber et al., "Self-Interest, Beliefs, and Policy Opinions: Understanding How Economic Beliefs Affect Immigration Policy Preferences," *Political Research Quarterly* (March 2017).
- Antoine J. Banks, "Are Group Cues Necessary? How Anger Makes Ethnocentrism among Whites a Stronger Predictor of Racial and Immigration Policy Opinions," *Political Behavior* (September 2016).
- Morris Levy and Matthew Wright, "Americans Aren't Biased against Latino Immigration. Here's What They Actually Fear," *Monkey Cage* (6/9/16).

Jack Citrin et al., "Trump Wants an Immigration System Overhaul. Do Americans Agree?" *Monkey Cage* (4/3/2017).

Social Welfare

Robert W. Oldendick and Lindsey Brooke Hendren, "Party Differences in Support for Government Spending, 1973-2014," *American Politics Research* (May 2017).

James C. Garand et al., "Immigration Attitudes and Support for the Welfare State in the American Mass Public," *American Journal of Political Science* (January 2017).

David Lauter, "How Do Americans View Poverty? Many Blue-Collar Whites, Key to Trump, Criticize Poor People as Lazy and Content to Stay on Welfare," *Los Angeles Times* (8/14/16).

Scott Clement, "Hard-Working Taxpayers Don't Support Big Cuts to Food Stamps, It Turns Out," *Washington Post* (5/25/17).

Inequality/Tax Policy

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).

Gay/LGBT Rights

Benjamin B. Bishin et al., "Opinion Backlash and Public Attitudes: Are Political Advances in Gay Rights Counterproductive," *American Journal of Political Science* (July 2016).

"Gay' or 'Homosexual'? The Implications of Social Category Labels for the Structure of Mass Attitudes," *American Politics Research* (2017 online).

Andrew R. Lewis, "Abortion Taught Conservative Christians to Argue for Minority Rights – As They're Doing Today in Masterpiece Cakeshop," *Monkey Cage* (12/5/17).

Sarah Pulliam Bailey, "Poll Shows a Dramatic Generational Divide in White Evangelical Attitudes on Gay Marriage," *Washington Post* (6/27/17).

Gun Control

Alexandra Filindra and Noah J. Kaplan, "Racial Resentment and Whites' Gun Policy Preferences in Contemporary America," *Political Behavior* (June 2016).

Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz and Joshua J. Dyck, "Crime and Partisanship: How Party ID Muddles Reality, Perception and Policy Attitudes on Crime and Guns," *Social Science Quarterly* (June 2017).

Mark Joslyn and Don Haider-Markel, "Gun Ownership Used to Be Bipartisan. Not Anymore." *Monkey Cage* (5/9/17).

John Sides, "New Poll: Most Teenagers and Adults Think Arming Teachers Is Dangerous, Favor Minimum Age for Buying Assault Rifles," *Monkey Cage* (3/9/18).

National Security / War on Terror

Marc J. Hetherington, and Elizabeth Suhay, "Authoritarianism, Threat, and Americans' Support for the War on Terror," *American Journal of Political Science* (July 2011).

Peter Liberman and Linda J. Skitka, "Revenge in US Public Support for War against Iraq," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Fall 2017).

Connor Huff and Joshua D. Kertzer, "If the Gunman Was Muslim, Would We Be Talking about Las Vegas 'Terrorism'?" *Monkey Cage* (10/4/17).

Adam Taylor, "Poll: 42 Percent of Americans Say They Are Less Safe from Terrorism than Before 9/11," *Washington Post* (8/22/16).

Foreign Policy

- Amnon Cavari and Guy Freedman, "Partisan Cues and Opinion Formation on Foreign Policy," *American Politics Research* (January 2019).
- Joshua D. Kertzer et al., "Moral Support: How Moral Values Shape Foreign Policy Attitudes," *Journal of Politics* (July 2014).
- Shibley Telhami, "Americans Dislike the Islamic State More than Putin or Assad. Here's How This Shapes Policy Preferences," *Monkey Cage* (11/1/16).
- Gustavo A. Flores-Macías and Sarah Kreps, "Does Shielding the Public from the Costs of War Actually Affect Attitudes about the War?" *Monkey Cage* (4/14/16).

Free Trade

- Edward D. Mansfield et al., "Effects of the Great Recession on American Attitudes toward Trade," *British Journal of Political Science* (2016 online, doi:10.1017/S0007123416000405).
- Edward D. Mansfield et al., "Men, Women, Trade, and Free Markets," *International Studies Quarterly* (June 2015).
- Shahrazad Sabet, "Key Ingredients of Opposition to Free Trade? Prejudice and Nationalism," *Monkey Cage* (8/22/16).
- Tobias Konitzer et al., "Who Cares about Free Trade? Not Many Americans, It Turns Out," *Monkey Cage* (7/29/16).

The Environment/Climate Change

- Patrick J. Egan and Megan Mullin, "Turning Personal Experience into Political Attitudes: The Effect of Local Weather on Americans' Perceptions about Global Warming," *Journal of Politics* (July 2012).
- Joseph E. Uskinski and Santiago Olivella, "The Conditional Effect of Conspiracy Thinking on Attitudes toward Climate Change," *Research and Politics* (October-December 2017, doi. 10.1177.2053168017743105).
- Alexander Maki, "How to Persuade People That Climate Change is Real," *Monkey Cage* (11/28/17).
- Philip Bump, "As with Many Issues, Trump's Rhetoric on Climate Change is More Battering Ram than Belief," *Washington Post* (12/29/17).

Week 12 (Apr 2). Campaign Effects: Playing to Win**Assigned Readings:**

- Theiss-Morse et al., *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, Chapter 2.
- Larry M. Bartels, "Remembering to Forget: A Note on the Duration of Campaign Advertising Effects," *Political Communication* (2014).
- 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).
- Michael A. Bailey et al., "Unresponsive and Unpersuaded: The Unintended Consequences of a Voter Persuasion Effort," *Political Behavior* (September 2016).
- 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).
- 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).

Small Bites:

- Ted Brader, "Five Myths about Campaign Ads," *Washington Post Opinions* (7/19/12).
- Jack Shafer, "In Praise of Negative Campaigning," *Politico Magazine* (7/15/15).

John Sides (channeling Eitan Hersh), "The Real Story about How Data-Driven Campaigns Target Voters," *Monkey Cage* (7/9/15).

John Sides, "Politicians Play the Race Card. This Is What Helps Neutralize It," *Monkey Cage* (1/8/16).

Recommended Readings:

Sasha Issenberg, *The Victory Lab: The Secret Science of Winning Campaigns* (2012).

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).

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 9). 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).

Alan S. Gerber et al., "Why People Vote: Estimating the Social Returns to Voting," *British Journal of Political Science* (April 2016).

Barry C. Burden and Amber Wichowsky, "Economic Discontent as a Mobilizer: Unemployment and Voter Turnout," *Journal of Politics* (October 2014).

Small Bites:

Pippa Norris et al., "Why Don't More Americans Vote? Maybe Because They Don't Trust U.S. Elections," *Monkey Cage* (12/26/16).

Zoltan L. Hajnal et al., "Do Voter Identification Laws Suppress Minority Voting? Yes. We Did the Research," *Monkey Cage* (2/15/17).

Joshua Tucker (channeling Victoria Shineman), "Incentivizing Participation Would Increase Voter Turnout and Political Information," *The Monkey Cage* (11/6/12).

Jenny Oser et al., "People Who Participate 'Beyond Voting' Are Different," *Monkey Cage* (12/28/14).

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).
- John B. Holbein, "Childhood Skill Development and Adult Political Participation," *American Political Science Review* (August 2017).

Week 14 (Apr 16). Representation and Linkage: The Rulers and the Ruled

Assigned Readings:

- 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).
- Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics* (September 2014).
- John D. Griffin and Brian Newman, "Voting Power, Policy Representation, and Disparities in Voting's Rewards," *Journal of Politics* (January 2013).

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).
- 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).
- Bill Bishop, "Americans Have Lost Faith in Institutions. That's Not Because of Trump or 'Fake News.'" *Washington Post* (3/23/17).
- Paul Gronke et al., "Americans Have Become Much Less Confident That We Count Votes Accurately," *Monkey Cage* (8/10/16).
- Amy Erica Smith, "Do Americans Still Believe in Democracy?" *Monkey Cage* (4/9/16).
- 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).
- Jack Citrin and Laura Stoker, "Political Trust in a Cynical Age," *Annual Review of Political Science* (2018).
- 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).
- 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).