

THIS IS AN OLD VERSION OF THE SYLLABUS, AND WHILE READINGS AND TOPICS HAVE CHANGED, THE BASIC STRUCTURE AND WORKLOAD HAVE NOT

**PSCI 531 American Politics Core I
Political Behavior and Public Opinion**

Class Meeting Times & Location:

Monday, 8-11
Room: Cohen 204

Instructor:

Professor Matt Levendusky
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Office: 248 Stiteler Hall
Office Hours: Monday/Wednesday, 2-3 and by appointment

Brief Overview:

This class covers the literature in American politics about public opinion and political behavior. It is designed to be a relatively rigorous overview of this literature, designed with the goal of helping PhD students prepare for their comprehensive examinations in the field (and then to go and do research in this area). Undergraduates may take the course, provided they have sufficient background and the instructor's permission.

Briefly speaking, the course covers five broad thematic areas. First, we cover basic background and some classic literatures, outlining the major approaches to public opinion over time and setting up some key questions. Second, we'll spend several weeks grappling with the difficulties posed by Converse and Zaller in their landmark works and try to understand if there's a way to make sense of the electorate. Third, we'll consider what effects the media and campaigns have on voters. Fourth, we'll consider turnout and participation in politics. Finally, we'll consider the role of social context, political psychology, economic inequality and the ways race shapes public opinion.

Course Responsibilities and Assignments:

The formal requirements for this class consists of the following:

Active and engaged participation: 24%
Short Response Essays: 21%
Short presentation: 5%
Research Note: 25%
Practice Comprehensive Exam: 25%

NB: Students should note that all assignments must be completed and submitted to the instructor to receive credit. Failure to complete any assignment may result in a failing grade for the class.

Policy on Late Work:

All work is due at the date/time indicated in the syllabus or discussed in class. Any late work will be docked one-half letter grade per day late. So if a paper is due at 12 noon, but is submitted at 12:01 PM, then that paper will be docked ½ letter grade (so an A paper becomes an A-, an A- becomes a B+, etc.). Any reaction papers (short or long) will not be accepted after the beginning of class.

Short Response Papers: Students will select 4 weeks during which to write a 3-5 page research design memo. The research design memo should **NOT** be a summary or a commentary on the readings. Instead, use them as an opportunity to explain how to write the “next” paper on a topic. What is the puzzle, theoretical or empirical, that remains to be answered on a topic after the readings I assigned? Here are some guidelines to think about when drafting these memos:

1. Identify the causal proposition/key hypothesis you wish to test, being sure to state it in a clearly falsifiable form. It is often helpful to render this relationship in a diagram or an equation. Note that to do this, you need to clearly identify the dependent and independent variables.
 - a. I often ask myself: “If I were the ruler of the universe with an unlimited research budget, what experiment would I run?” If you can’t think of one, you’re probably not asking a causal question.
2. State a plausible causal mechanism that links your proposed variables, being clear about the steps in your logic.
3. Describe the operationalization of your variables, being sure to explain how your empirical measurement strategy links back to your proposed theoretical concept. Also discuss any trade-offs in competing measurement strategies.
4. What is your identification strategy? That is, how will you convince me that this is an actual relationship, and not simply a spurious correlation?
5. Discuss the sort of empirical evidence you would expect to find, and how this would support your proposed mechanism. You should also discuss what evidence would lead you to conclude that you were wrong.

These short two page papers should be **submitted to me no later than 7 AM on the day of the class**. Pay special attention to point #4 above.

I don’t assign these papers to torture you. Rather, they are designed to get you to think about research design (and remember that design always trumps analysis), and to think about how to contribute to the literature. Your eventual success as an academic will be based in large part on your ability to see how to contribute to the literature. This exercise will help you to do just that.

Research Presentation: Every week, there is a set of common readings on the syllabus. There are also several starred readings each week that are supplemental, but still important. Every student will take 1-2 “starred” articles from the syllabus and teach them

to the class: explain their significance, how they fit into the other readings, etc. This way, we can cover more reading more efficiently.

Research Paper: The final project for this class will be an empirical research paper. In it, you will lay out a tractable research question related to the broad area of public opinion and political behavior. You need to gather some data and test your hypothesis, and then write up your results.

This is, in effect, a research note. Rather than being a whole paper, where you'd lay out a fully elaborated theory and test it, think of this as testing one piece of a claim. I'd suggest thinking about something that interests you that might be possible to turn into a larger publication at some point. The essay will be due on the day of the scheduled final exam.

Please note that I take this requirement seriously. If you will have any success at all as a political scientist, it will be because you can conduct scholarly research. So view this paper as an opportunity to begin that process. **BEGIN THIS EARLY IN THE SEMESTER AND DISCUSS YOUR PAPER TOPIC WITH ME SEVERAL TIMES.**

This research paper will be due at the time of the regularly scheduled final exam. This is **Monday, December 18th at 9 AM.**

Midterm Exam (Practice Comprehensive Exam): Around the mid-point of the semester, we will have a midterm exam, which will simulate a comprehensive exam. Much like the actual comprehensive exam, you'll sit in the classroom for three hours with no books, notes, or other materials. You'll simply write two essay exams (so this simulates part two of the exam).

Active and Engaged Participation: This is fairly self-explanatory. Each week, come to class having read the reading and contemplated your classmate's discussion questions. A seminar cannot work unless people have carefully read the assigned material. Since you're presumably taking a comprehensive exam on this material, it is in your interest to come to class each week having read and digested the material.

The 10 second rule: This term, we'll be implementing (or at least trying to implement) the 10 second rule. After I pose a question or comment, we should all take 10 seconds (which is longer than you think!) before responding. The goal is to encourage more thoughtful responses and comments, rather than that which immediately occurs to us.

Readings:

You're all adults, so you can order your own copy of the books. There are two required books, and a considerable course reader (as well as a plethora of journal articles you'll download and read from JSTOR and the class Canvas site).

Mutz, Diana. 2006. *Hearing the Other Side*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Note that on a number of weeks, in addition to the topical readings, I've also assigned a series of readings about various research designs scholars use in this type of work (in brief, randomized experiments, natural experiments, observational designs, and regression discontinuity designs). You should also do these readings, as they'll form part of our discussion. In the end, our substantive conclusions are driven in part by our decisions about research design, so we cannot really separate them from one another.

Statement of Academic Integrity:

Students are bound to uphold the Code of Academic Integrity. The code prohibits activities that “have the effect of intention of interfering with education, pursuit of knowledge, or fair evaluation of a student’s performance.” Students are responsible for fully adhering to the code, the details can be found online at <http://www.upenn.edu/academicintegrity/>. Please note that ignorance of these guidelines is no excuse for failure to comply with them.

Weekly Overview (subject to change at the instructor’s discretion):

PART 1: BACKGROUND AND CORE CONCEPTS

September 11th: The Three Major Schools of Thought: Columbia, Michigan, and Rochester

Berelson, Bernard, Paul Lazarsfeld and William McPhee. 1986 [1954]. *Voting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Midway Reprints. [Chapters 5-7]

Campbell, Angus, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. 1980 [1960]. *The American Voter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Midway Reprints. [Chapters 2, 6-8]

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: McGraw-Hill. [Chapters 3, 7-8, 11-12]

Supplemental:

Adams, James, Samuel Merrill III and Bernard Grofman. 2005. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

September 18th: How Stable Is Party ID, and How Does It Matter?

Fiorina, Morris. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press. [Chapters 4-5]

Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*.

New Haven: Yale University Press. [Chapters 1-3]

Bartels, Larry. 2002. "Beyond the Running Tally: Partisan Bias in Political Perceptions." *Political Behavior* 24(2): 117-150.

Gerber, Alan and Gregory Huber. 2010. "Partisanship, Political Control, and Economic Assessments." *American Journal of Political Science* 54:153-73.

Lavine, Howard, Christopher Johnston, and Marco Steenbergen. 2012. *The Ambivalent Partisan: How Critical Loyalty Promotes Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press. [Chapters 1-2, 5]

Klar, Samara and Yanna Krupnikov. 2016. *Independent Politics: How American Disdain for Parties Leads to Political Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Chapters 2-3]

(*)Huddy, Leonie, Liliana Mason, and Lene Aaroe. 2015. "Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity." *American Political Science Review* 109(1): 1-17.

(*) Iyengar, Shanto, Guarav Sood, and Ypatch Lelkes. 2012. "Affect, Not Ideology: A Social Identity Perspective on Polarization." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76(3): 405-31.

(*) Iyengar, Shanto and Sean Westwood. 2015. "Fear and Loathing Across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3): 690-707.

(*) Gerber, Alan, Gregory Huber, and Ebonya Washington. 2010. "Party Affiliation, Partisanship, and Political Beliefs: A Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 104(4): 720-744.

(*) Gerber, Alan and Gregory Huber. 2009. "Partisanship and Economic Behavior: Do Partisan Differences in Economic Forecasts Predict Real Economic Behavior?" *American Political Science Review* 103(3): 407-26. [Though see also Mary McGrath, 2017, "Economic Behavior and the Partisan Perceptual Screen," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 11(4): 363-83]

(*) Huber, Greg and Neil Malhotra. 2017. "Political Homophily in Social Relationships: Evidence from Online Dating." *Journal of Politics* 79(1): 269-83.

(*) Groenendyk, Eric. 2013. *Competing Motives in the Partisan Mind*. New York: Oxford University Press.

(*) Bullock, John, Alan Gerber, Seth Hill, and Gregory Huber. 2015. "Partisan Bias in Factual Beliefs about Politics." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 10(4): 519-78.

(* Prior, Markus, Gaurav Sood, and Kabir Kahana, 2015, “You Cannot Be Serious: The Impact of Accuracy Incentives on Partisan Bias in Reports of Economic Perceptions,” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 10(4): 489-518.

PART 2: ZALLER, CONVERSE, AND THEIR AFTERMATH

September 25th: Converse and Zaller: Is there any “there” there?

Converse, Philip. 1964. “The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics,” in *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David Apter. New York: Free Press.

Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Chapters 1-5]

Johnston, Christopher, Howard Lavine, and Christopher Federico. 2017. *Open vs. Closed: Personality, Identity, and the Politics of Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press [Chapter 3-4]

(* Broockman, David. 2016. “Approaches to Studying Policy Representation.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 41(1): 181-215.

(* Kinder, Donald and Nathan Kalmoe. 2017. *Neither Liberal Nor Conservative: Ideological Innocence in the American Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Chapters 4-6]

(* Alvarez, R. Michael and John Brehm. 2002. *Hard Choices, Easy Answers*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Chapters 2-4]

(* Lane, Robert. 1962. *Political Ideology: Why The Common Man Believes What He Does*. New York: Free Press. [Chapters 6-7]

October 2nd: Coming to Grips with Zaller & Converse (Heuristics and Aggregation)

Lupia, Arthur. 1994. “Shortcuts vs. Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections.” *American Political Science Review* 88:63-76.

Kuklinski, James and Paul Quirk. 2000. “Reconsidering the Rational Public: Cognition, Heuristics, and Mass Opinion,” in *Elements of Reason*, eds. Arthur Lupia, Mathew McCubbins, and Samuel Popkin. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lau, Richard and David Redlawsk. 2001. “Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making.” *American Journal of Political Science* 45:951-971.

Bartels, Larry. 1996. "Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 40:194-230.

Ansolabehere, Stephen, Jonathan Rodden, and James M. Snyder, Jr. 2008. "The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 102(2): 215-32.

Stimson, James, Michael MacKuen, and Robert Erikson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *American Political Science Review* 89(3): 543-565.

(*)Lau, Richard, David Anderson, and David Redlawsk. 2008. "An Exploration of Correct Voting In Recent U.S. Presidential Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 395-411. You may also want to skim the original 1997 APSR article by Lau and Redlawsk on this topic (entitled "Voting Correctly").

(*) Peterson, Michael Bang. 2015. "Evolutionary Political Psychology: On the Origin and Structure of Heuristics and Biases in Politics." *Advances in Political Psychology* 36(Supplement 1): 45-78.

(*) Sniderman, Paul and Edward Stiglitz. 2012. *The Reputation Premium: A Theory of Party Identification and Policy Reasoning*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Chapters 2, 5]

(*) Sniderman, Paul and Matthew Levendusky. 2007. "An Institutional Theory of Political Choice," in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*, eds. Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Russell Dalton. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

(*) Kuklinski, James, Paul Quirk, Jennifer Jerit, and Robert Rich. 2001. "The Political Environment and Citizen Competence." *American Journal of Political Science* 45:410-424.

(*) Dancy, Logan and Geoffrey Sheagley. 2013. "Heuristics Behaving Badly: Party Cues and Voter Knowledge." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(2): 312-25.

(*)Althaus, Scott. 2003. "Information Effects in Collective Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 92:545-558.

October 9th: Zaller II and the Elite-Driven Model of Opinion Change

Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Chapters 6-9]

Carmines, Edward and James Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press [Chapters 1, 6-7]

Canes-Wrone, Brandice. 2006. *Who Leads Whom? Presidents, Policy, and the Public*.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Chapters 1, 3]

Chen, Anthony, Robert Mickey, and Robert Van Houweling. 2008. "Explaining the Contemporary Alignment of Race and Party: Evidence from California's 1946 Ballot Initiative on Fair Employment." *Studies in American Political Development* 22:204-228.

Baum, Matthew and Tim Groeling. 2010. "Reality Asserts Itself: Public Opinion on Iraq and the Elasticity of Reality." *International Organization* 64(3): 443-79.

(*) Druckman, James and Larry Jacobs. 2015. *Who Governs?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

(*) Kertzer, Joshua and Thomas Zeitzoff. Forthcoming. "A Bottom-Up Theory of Public Opinion about Foreign Policy." *American Journal of Political Science*

(*) Layman, Geoffrey. 2001. *The Great Divide*. New York: Columbia University Press. [Chapters 1, 5-7]

(*) Noel, Hans. 2012. "The Coalition Merchants: The Ideological Roots of the Civil Rights Realignment." *Journal of Politics* 74(1): 156-73.

(*) Lee, Taeku. 2002. *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

PART 3: THE MEDIA AND CAMPAIGN EFFECTS

October 16th: Media Effects I: Framing, Priming, and Agenda Setting

Iyengar, Shanto, and Donald Kinder. 1987. *News that Matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Chapters 3, 6-7, 9]

Miller, Joanne and Jon Krosnick. 2000. "News Media Impact on the Ingredients of Presidential Evaluations." *American Journal of Political Science* 44:301-315.

Chong, Dennis and James Druckman. 2007. "Framing Public Opinion in Competitive Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 101: 637-655.

Lenz, Gabriel. 2009. "Learning and Opinion Change, Not Priming: Reconsidering the Priming Hypothesis." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(4): 821-837.

Druckman, James, Jordan Fein, and Thomas Leeper. 2012. "A Source of Public Opinion Stability." *American Political Science Review* 106(2): 430-54.

Tesler, Michael. 2015. "Priming Predispositions and Changing Policy Positions: An Account of When Mass Opinion Is Primed or Changed." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4): 806-24.

RESEARCH DESIGN DISCUSSION: RANDOMIZED EXPERIMENTS:

+ Druckman, James, Donald Green, James Kuklinski, and Arthur Lupia. 2011. "Experiments: An Introduction to Core Concepts." In *Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science*, eds. James Druckman, Donald Green, and James Kuklinski. New York: Cambridge University Press.

+ Mutz, Diana. 2011. *Population-Based Survey Experiments*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Chapter 8, "External Validity Reconsidered"]

(*) Anderson, Craig and Brad Bushman. 1997. "External Validity of 'Trivial' Experiments: The Case of Laboratory Aggression." *Review of General Psychology* 1:19-41.

(*) Gilens, Martin. 1996. "'Race Coding' and White Opposition to Welfare." *American Political Science Review* 90:593-604.

(*) Chong, Dennis, and James Druckman. 2010. "Dynamic Public Opinion: Communication Effects over Time." *American Political Science Review*. 104(4): 663-680.

(*) Butler, Daniel and Ana de la O. 2010. "The Causal Effect of Media-Driven Political Interest on Political Attitudes and Behavior." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5:321-337.

(*) Patterson, Thomas and Robert McClure. 1976. *The Unseeing Eye: The Myth of Television Power in National Politics*. New York: Putnam. [Introduction, Chapters 1-3]

(*) Druckman, James, and Thomas Leeper. 2012. "Learning More from Political Communication Experiments: Pretreatment and Its Effects." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4): 875-96.

(*) Gerber, Alan, James Gimpel, Donald Green, and Daron Shaw. 2011. "How Large and Long-Lasting are the Persuasive Effects of Televised Campaign Advertising? Results from a Randomized Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 105:1350-150.

For more background on the classic view of one-sided framing, see:

+ Nelson, Tomas, Rosalee Clausen and Zoe Oxley. 1997. "Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and Its Effect on Tolerance." *American Political Science Review* 91:567-83.

October 23rd: Media Effects II: Are They Massive?

Bartels, Larry. 1993. "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure." *American Political Science Review* 87: 267-285.

Zaller, John. 1996. "The Myth of Massive Media Impact Revisited: New Support for a Discredited Idea," in *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*, eds. Diana Mutz, Paul Sniderman, and Richard Brody. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Ladd, Jonathan and Gabriel Lenz. 2009. "Exploiting a Rare Communication Shift to Document the Persuasive Power of the News Media." *American Journal of Political Science* 53: 394-410. [Pay special attention to their discussion of placebo tests]

Prior, Markus. 2007. *Post-Broadcast Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Chapters 1-2, 7-8]

Bennett, W. Lance and Shanto Iyengar. 2008. "A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication." *Journal of Communication* 58(4): 701-31.

Hill, Seth, James Lo, Lynn Vavreck, and John Zaller. 2013. "How Quickly We Forget: The Duration of Persuasion Effects from Mass Communication." *Political Communication* 30(4): 521-47.

(*) Settle, Jamie. 2018. *Frenemies: How Social Media Polarizes America*. New York: Cambridge University Press [Chapters 4, 6-7]

(*) King, Gary, Benjamin Schneer, and Ariel White. 2017. "How the News Media Activate Public Expression and Influence National Agendas." *Science* 358 (10 November): 776-80.

(*) Diana Mutz and Byron Reeves. 2005. "The New Videomalaise: Effects of Televised Incivility on Political Trust." *American Political Science Review* 99:1-15. [More generally, you can see Diana's recent book *In Your Face Politics*]

(*) Lau, Richard and Ivy Brown Rovner. 2009. "Negative Campaigning." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 285-306.

(*) Gerber, Alan, Dean Karlan, and Daniel Bergan. 2009. "Does the Media Matter? A Field Experiment Measuring the Effect of Newspapers on Voting Behavior and Political Opinions." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 1(2): 35-52.

(*) Stroud, Natalia. 2010. "Polarization and Partisan Selective Exposure." *Journal of Communication* 60(3): 556-576.

(*) Ladd, Jonathan. 2011. *Why Americans Hate the News Media and Why It Matters*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

October 30th: Midterm Exam (Mock Comprehensive Exam)

November 6th: Political Campaigns

Enos, Ryan, Anthony Fowler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2014. "Increasing Inequality: The Effect of GOTV Mobilization on the Composition of the Electorate." *Journal of Politics* 76(1): 273-88.

Erikson, Robert and Christopher Wlezien. 2012. *The Timeline of Presidential Elections: How Campaigns Do (And Do Not) Matter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Chapters 5-6]

Hillygus, D. Sunshine and Simon Jackman. 2003. "Voter Decision Making in Election 2000: Campaign Effects, Partisan Activation and the Clinton Legacy." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(4): 583-96.

Hillygus, D. Sunshine and Todd Shields. 2008. *The Persuadable Voter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [Chapters 1, 4, and 6]

Huber, Gregory and Kevin Arceneaux. 2007. "Identifying the Persuasive Effects of Presidential Advertising." *American Journal of Political Science* 51:957-977.

Vavreck, Lynn. 2009. *The Message Matters: The Economy and Presidential Campaigns*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [Chapters 2-3, 6-7]

RESEARCH DESIGN: NATURAL EXPERIMENTS

+ Dunning, Thad. 2008. "Improving Causal Inference: Strengths and Limitations of Natural Experiments." *Political Research Quarterly* 61:282-293.

Supplemental Papers on Campaigns:

(*) Hersh, Eitan. 2015. *Hacking the Electorate: How Campaigns Perceive Voters*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Chapters 2 and 8]

(*) Enos, Ryan and Anthony Fowler. Forthcoming. "The Effects of Large-Scale Campaigns on Voter Turnout." *Political Science Research and Methods*

(*) Brady, Henry and John McNulty. 2011. "Turning Out to Vote: The Costs of Finding and Getting to the Polling Place." *American Political Science Review* 105:115-134.

(*) Gelman, Andrew and Gary King. 1993. "Why Are American Presidential Election Campaign Polls So Variable When Votes Are So Predictable?" *British Journal of Political Science* 23: 409-451.

(*) Shaw, Daron. 1999. "The Effect of TV Ads and Candidate Appearances on Statewide Presidential Votes, 1988-1996." *American Political Science Review* 93:345-361.

(*) Franklin, Charles. 1991. "Eschewing Obfuscation? Campaigns and the Perceptions of

U.S. Senate Incumbents.” *American Political Science Review* 85:1192-1214.

(*) Holbrook, Tom. 1996. *Do Campaigns Matter?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage University Press. [Chapters 4-5]

(*) Brader, Ted. 2005. “Striking a Responsive Chord: How Political Ads Motivate and Persuade Voters by Appealing to Emotions.” *American Journal of Political Science* 49:-388-405.

Supplemental Papers on Natural Experiments:

This paper is not on American politics per se, but is one of the most fascinating natural experiments done on a political science topic:

(*) Oken, Benjamin. 2009. “Do Television and Radio Destroy Social Capital? Evidence from Indonesian Villages.” *American Economics Journal: Applied Economics*. 1:1-33.

(*) Sekhon, Jasjeet and Rocio Titunik. 2012. “When Natural Experiments Are Neither Natural Nor Experiments.” *American Political Science Review* 106:36-57.

(*) Erikson, Robert and Laura Stoker. 2011. “Caught in the Draft: The Effects of Vietnam Draft Lottery Status on Political Attitudes.” *American Political Science Review* 105: 221-237.

PART 4: BEHAVIOR AND PARTICIPATION

November 13th: Who Votes & Who Participates?

Brady, Henry, Sidney Verba, and Kay Schlozman. 1995. “Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation.” *American Political Science Review* 89:271-294. [On this same topic, you might also want to read their lengthy tome *Voice and Equality*, 1995, Harvard University Press]

Meredith, Marc. 2009. “Persistence in Political Participation.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 4(3): 187-209.

Campbell, David. 2006. *Why We Vote: How Schools and Communities Shape Our Civic Life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Chapters 7-8]

Han, Hahrie. 2009. *Moved to Action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. [Chapters 1-4]

Mettler, Suzanne and Joe Soss. 2004. “The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship: Bridging Policy Studies and Mass Politics.” *Perspectives on Politics* 2(1): 55-73.

Sondheimer, Rachel Milstein and Donald Green. 2010. “Using Experiments to Estimate the Effects of Education on Voter Turnout.” *American Journal of Political Science* 54(1):

174-89.

RESEARCH DESIGN: REGRESSION DISCONTINUITY DESIGNS

Lee, David and Thomas Lemieux. 2010. "Regression Discontinuity Design in Economics." *Journal of Economic Literature* 48:281-355.

(*) Bechtel, Michael, Dominik Hangartner, and Lukas Schmid. 2016. "Does Compulsory Voting Increase Support for Leftist Policy?" *American Journal of Political Science* 60(3): 752-67.

(*) Holbein, John. 2017. "Childhood Skill Development and Adult Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 111(3): 572-83.

(*) Gerber, Alan, Gregory Huber, Marc Meredith, Daniel Biggers, and David Hendry. 2015. "Can Incarcerated Felons Be (Re)Integrated into the Political System? Results from a Field Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4): 912-26.

(*) Gerber, Alan, Gregory Huber, David Doherty, and Conor Dowling. 2016. "Why People Vote: Estimating the Social Returns to Voting." *British Journal of Political Science* 46(2): 241-64.

(*) Highton, Benjamin and Raymond Wolfinger. 2001. "The Political Implications of Higher Turnout." *British Journal of Political Science* 31:179-192.

(*) Arceneaux, Kevin and David Nickerson. 2009. "Who Is Mobilized to Vote? A Re-Analysis of 11 Field Experiments." *American Journal of Political Science* 53: 1-16.

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

(*) Coppock, Alex and Donald Green. 2016. "Is Voting Habit Forming? New Evidence from Experiments and Regression Discontinuities." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(4): 1044-62.

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

(*) Kam, Cindy and Carl Palmer. 2008. "Reconsidering the Effects of Education on Political Participation." *Journal of Politics*. 70:612-631. You should also skim the exchange on this article in the summer 2011 JOP between Mayer, Henderson and Chatfield, and Kam and Palmer.

(*) Munson, Ziad. 2008. *The Making of Pro-Life Activists*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Chapters 1,2,8]

(*) Weaver, Vesla, and Amy Lerman. 2010. "Political Consequences of the Carceral State." *American Political Science Review* 104(4): 817-883.

(*) Han, Hahrie. 2016. "The Organizational Roots of Political Activism: Field Experiments on Creating a Relational Context." *American Political Science Review* 110(2): 296-307.

(*) Lerman, Amy and Katherine McCabe. 2017. "Personal Experience and Public Opinion: A Theory and Test of Conditional Policy Feedback." *Journal of Politics* 79(2): 624-41.

(*) Bruch, Sarah and Joe Soss. 2018. "Schooling as a Formative Political Experience: Authority Relations and the Education of Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics*

Those interested in policy feedback should also consult the following classic citations:
+ Campbell, Andrea. 2003. *How Policies Make Citizens*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

+ Pierson, Paul. 1993. "When Effects Become Cause: Policy Feedback and Policy Change." *World Politics* 45(4):585-628.

PART 5: CONTEXT, POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY, AND RACE/ETHNOCENTRISM

November 20th: Social Influence and Social Networks

Mutz, Diana. 2006. *Hearing the Other Side*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Chapters 1, 3-5]

Huckfeldt, Robert and John Sprague. 1987. "Networks in Context: The Social Flow of Political Information." *American Political Science Review* 81:1197-1216.

Gerber, Alan, Donald Green, and Christopher Larimer. 2008. "Social Pressure and Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 102: 33-48.

Klofstad, Casey, Anand Sokhey, and Scott McClurg. 2013. "Disagreeing about Disagreement: How Conflict in Social Networks Affects Political Behavior." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 120-34.

Nickerson, David. 2009. "Is Voting Contagious? Evidence from Two Field Experiments." *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 49-57.

(*) Druckman, James, Matthew Levendusky and Audrey McLain. 2018. "No Need to Watch: How the Effects of Partisan Media Can Spread Interpersonal Discussions." *American Journal of Political Science*

(* Gerber, Alan, Gregory Huber, David Doherty, and Connor Dowling. 2012. "Disagreement, and the Avoidance of Political Discussion: Aggregate Relationships and Differences across Personality Traits." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4): 849-74.

(* Beck, Paul Allen, Russell Dalton, Steven Greene and Robert Huckfeldt. 2002. "The Social Calculus of Voting: Interpersonal, Media, and Organization Influences on Presidential Choices." *American Political Science Review* 96:57-73.

(* Campbell, David. 2010. "Civic Engagement and Education: An Empirical Test of the Sorting Model." *American Journal of Political Science* 53:771-786.

(* Sinclair, Betsy. 2012. *The Social Citizen: Peer Networks and Political Behavior*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Especially chapters 1, 2, and 5]

(* Sokhey, Anand and Scott McClurg. 2012. "Social Networks and Correct Voting." *Journal of Politics* 74(3): 751-64.

(* Cowan, Sarah and Delia Baldassari. 2018. "'It Could Turn Ugly:' Selective Disclosure of Attitudes in Political Discussion Networks." *Social Networks* 52(1): 1-17.

November 27th: Motivated Reasoning

Review *The Ambivalent Partisan* (Lavine, Johnson, and Steenbergen) from week 2, as they have a nice discussion of motivated reasoning

Taber, Charles and Milton Lodge. 2006. "Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 755-69.

Druckman, James, Erik Peterson, and Rune Slothuus. 2013. "How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation." *American Political Science Review* 107(1): 57-79.

Bolsen, Toby, James Druckman, and Fay Lomax Cook. 2014. "The Influence of Partisan Motivated Reasoning on Public Opinion." *Political Behavior* 36(2): 235-62.

Bisgaard, Martin. 2015. "Bias Will Find a Way: Economic Perceptions, Attributions of Blame, and Partisan-Motivated Reasoning during Crisis." *Journal of Politics* 77(3): 849-60.

Coronel, Jason, Melissa Duff, David Warren, Kara Federmeier, Brian Gonsalves, Daniel Tranei, and Neal Cohen. 2012. "Remembering and Voting: Theory and Evidence from Amnesiac Patients." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4): 837-48.

If you are not familiar with online processing, you might also review:

Lodge, Milton, Kathleen McGraw, and Patrick Stroh. 1989. "An Impression-Driven Model of Candidate Evaluation." *American Political Science Review* 83(2): 399-419.

(*) Flynn, D.J., Brendan Nyhan and Jason Reifler. 2017. "The Nature and Origins of Misperceptions: Understanding False and Unsupported Beliefs about Politics." *Advances in Political Psychology* 38(S1): 127-150.

(*) Bisgaard, Martin. 2019. "How Getting the Facts Right Can Fuel Partisan Motivated Reasoning." *American Journal of Political Science*

(*) Redlawsk, David, Andrew Civettini, and Karen Emmerson. 2010. "The Affective Tipping Point: Do Motivated Reasoners Ever 'Get It?'" *Political Psychology* 31(4): 563-93.

(*) Druckman, James. 2012. "The Politics of Motivation." *Critical Review* 24: 199-216.

(*) Erisen, Cenzig, Milton Lodge, and Charles Taber. 2014. "Affective Contagion in Effortful Political Thinking." *Political Psychology* 35(2): 187-206.

(*) Fernbach, Phillip, Todd Rogers, Craig Fox, and Steven Sloman. 2013. "Political Extremism is Supported by an Illusion of Understanding." *Psychological Science* 24(6): 939-46.

(*) Lodge, Milton and Charles Taber. 2013. *The Rationalizing Voter*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

(*) Lodge, Milton, Marco Steenbergen, and Shawn Brau. 1995. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation." *American Political Science Review* 89: 309-26.

(*) Mitchell, Dona-Gene. 2012. "It's About Time: The Lifespan of Information Effects in a Multiweek Campaign." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(2): 298-311.

December 4th: Public Opinion & Inequality

Mendelberg, Tali, Katherine McCabe, and Adam Thal. 2017. "College Socialization and the Economic Views of Affluent Americans." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(3): 606-23.

Kuziemko, Ilyana, Michael Norton, Emmanuel Saez, and Stefanie Stantcheva. 2015. "How Elastic Are Preferences for Redistribution? Evidence from Randomized Survey Experiments." *American Economic Review* 105(4): 1478-1508.

Alesina, Alberto, Stefanie Stantcheva, Edoardo Teso, "Intergenerational Mobility and Preferences for Redistribution," "NBER Working Paper #23027

Sands, Melissa. 2017. "Exposure to Inequality Affects Support for Redistribution." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 114(4): 663-8.

Ballard-Rosa, Cameron, Lucy Martin and Kenneth Scheve. 2016. "The Structure of American Income Tax Preferences" *Journal of Politics* 79(1): 1-16.

Bartels, Larry. 2008. *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press [Chapter 9]

Gilens, Martin and Ben Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics* 12(3): 564-81.

(*) Cramer Walsh, Katherine. 2012. "Putting Inequality in its Place: Rural Consciousness and the Power of Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 106(3): 517-32. [You might also look at her book *The Politics of Resentment* (University of Chicago Press, 2016).]

(*) Carnes, Nicholas. 2013. *White Collar Government: The Hidden Role of Class in Economic Policymaking*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press [Chapters 2 & 5]

(*) Piston, Spencer. 2018. *Class Attitudes in America: Sympathy for the Poor, Resentment for the Rich, and Political Implications*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Chapters 2 and 5]

(*) Hacker, Jacob and Paul Pierson. 2010. "Winner-Take-All Politics: Public Policy, Political Organization, and the Precipitous Rise of Top Incomes in the United States." *Politics and Society* 38(2): 152-204.

(*) Levine, Adam. 2015. *American Insecurity: Why Our Economic Fears Lead to Political Inaction*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Chapters 4-5]

(*) Norton, M. I., & Ariely, D. (2011). "Building a better America—One Wealth Quintile at a Time." *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6(1), 9-12.

(*) Bonica, Adam, Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. 2013. "What Hasn't Democracy Slowed Rising Inequality?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 27(3): 103-24.

(*) Gilens, Martin. 2012. *Affluence and Influence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Esp. chapters 3-4]

December 11th: Race, Immigration, and Ethnocentrism

Davenport, Lauren. 2016. "Beyond Black and White: Biracial Attitudes in Contemporary U.S. Politics." *American Political Science Review* 110(1): 52-67.

Feldman, Stanley and Leonie Huddy. 2005. "Racial Resentment and White Opposition to Race-Conscious Programs: Principles or Prejudice?" *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 168-183. [See also Feldman and Huddy's literature review on this topic in the 2009 *Annual Review of Political Science*, "On Assessing the Effects of Racial Prejudice."]

Tesler, Michael. 2012. "The Spillover of Racialization into Health Care: How President Obama Polarized Public Opinion by Racial Attitudes and Race." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3): 690-704.

Dawson, Michael. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press [Chapters 3-4]

Kinder, Donald and Cindy Kam. 2009. *Us Against Them: Ethnocentric Foundations of American Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Chapters 1,2, 10]

Abrajano, Marisa and Zoltan Hajnal. 2015. *White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Chapters 1, 2, and 5]

(*) Goldman, Seth and Diana Mutz. 2014. *The Obama Effect: How the 2008 Campaign Changed White Racial Attitudes*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. [Chapters 1 and 5]

(*) Masuoka, Natalie and Jane Junn. 2013. *The Politics of Belonging: Race, Public Opinion, and Immigration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

(*) Enos, Ryan. 2015. "What the Demolition of Public Housing Teaches Us about the Impact of Racial Threat on Political Behavior." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(1): 123-42.

(*) Sniderman, Paul and Edward Carmines. 1997. *Reaching Beyond Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

(*) Kinder, Donald and Lynn Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

(*) Peffley, Mark and Jon Hurwitz. 2010. *Justice in America: The Separate Realities of Blacks and Whites*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

(*) Telser, Michael. 2013. "The Return of Old-Fashioned Racism to White Americans' Partisan Preferences in the Early Obama Era." *Journal of Politics* 75(1): 110-23.

(*) For those interested in the politics of immigration (especially public opinion about immigration), see: Hainmueller, Jens and Daniel Hopkins. 2014. "Public Attitudes toward Immigration," *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1):225-249. If you're interested in this topic, you should also talk to Dan Hopkins and Michael Jones-Correa.

N.B.: Here is a brief list of other topics we won't cover this term, but we probably should (there just isn't time to do everything). These would be good things to review on your own.

Social Identity Theory & Politics:

- + Begin by reviewing the Huddy, Mason and Aaroe article from week 2 above [this article lays out social identity theory as it applies to partisanship].
- + Tajfel, Henri and John Turner. 1979. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict," In *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, W.G. Austin and Stephen Worchel (eds.). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole. [This is perhaps the *locus classicus* for this literature. The literature on this is huge, and builds from here. There's also something called social categorization theory, but the differences between the theories probably aren't all that important.]
- + Huddy, Leonie. 2001. "From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory." *Political Psychology* 22(1): 127-56.
- + Harrison, Brian and Melissa Michelson. 2017. *Listen, We Need to Talk: How to Change Attitudes about LGBT Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- + Levendusky, Matthew. Forthcoming. "Americans, Not Partisans: Can Priming American National Identity Reduce Affective Polarization?" *Journal of Politics*

Rumors, False Beliefs & Corrections:

- + Start with the Flynn, Nyhan and Reifler supplemental paper from the week on motivated reasoning above
- + Nyhan, Brendan and Jason Reifler. 2015. "The Effect of Fact-Checking on Elites: A Field Experiment on U.S. State Legislators." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3): 628-40.
- + Berinsky, Adam. 2017. "Rumors and Health Care Reform: Experiments in Political Misinformation." *British Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 241-62.
- + Wood, Thomas and Ethan Porter. 2016. "The Elusive Backfire Effect: Mass Attitudes' Steadfast Factual Adherence." Manuscript: OSU.
- + Miller, Joanne, Kyle Saunders, and Christina Farhart. 2016. "Conspiracy Endorsement as Motivated Reasoning: The Moderating Roles of Political Knowledge and Trust." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(4): 824-44.
- + Thorson, Emily. 2016. "Belief Echoes: The Persistent Effect of Corrected Misinformation." *Political Communication* 33(3): 460-80.

New and Innovative Experimental Research Designs:

- + Gaines, Brian and James Kuklinski. 2011. "Experimental Estimation of Heterogeneous Treatment Effects Related to Self-Selection." *American Journal of Political Science* 55:724-36. [See also Rucker 1989, *Statistics in Medicine*, for the original appearance of this experimental design]
- + See the Leeper and Druckman article above on pre-treatment bias, and the Druckman, Fein, and Leeper article above

Cue-Taking Studies:

- + Sniderman, Paul, Richard Brody, and Phillip Tetlock. 1991. *Reasoning and Choice*.

New York: Cambridge University Press. [This is the *locus classicus* on cue-taking and heuristics in political science]

- + Bullock, John. 2011. "Elite Influence on Public Opinion in an Informed Electorate." *American Political Science Review* 105(3): 496-515.
- + Rahn, Wendy. 1993. "The Role of Partisan Stereotypes in Information Processing about Political Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(3): 472-496.
- + Malhotra, Neil and Yotam Margalit. 2010. "Short Term Communication Effects or Longer-Term Predispositions? The Public's Response to the Financial Crisis of 2008." *Journal of Politics* 72(3): 852-867.
- + Druckman, James, Cari Lynn Hennessy, Kristi St. Charles, and Jonathan Webber. 2010. "Competing Rhetoric over Time: Frames Versus Cues." *Journal of Politics* 72(1): 136-148.
- + Boudreau, Cheryl. 2009. "Closing the Gap: When Do Cues Eliminate Differences Between Sophisticated and Unsophisticated Citizens?" *Journal of Politics* 71(3): 964-976.
- + Nicholson, Stephen. 2012. "Polarizing Cues." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(1): 52-66.
- + Peterson, Erik. Forthcoming. "The Role of the Information Environment in Partisan Voting." *Journal of Politics*

Source Credibility Effects:

- + Baum, Matthew and Timothy Groeling. 2009. "Shot by the Messenger: Partisan Cues and Public Opinion Regarding National Security and War." *Political Behavior* 31(2): 157-186.
- + Lupia, Arthur and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1998. *The Democratic Dilemma*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- + Druckman, James. 2001. "On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame?" *Journal of Politics* 63(4): 1041-1066.
- + Kuklinski, James and Norman Hurley. 1994. "On Hearing and Interpreting Political Messages: A Cautionary Tale of Citizen Cue-Taking." *Journal of Politics* 56(3): 729-751.
- + Nicholson, Stephen. 2011. "Dominating Cues and the Limits of Elite Influence." *Journal of Politics* 73(4): 1165-77.

Racial Priming & Campaign Context:

- + Hutchings, Vincent and Ashley Jardina. 2009. "Experiments on Racial Priming in Political Campaigns." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12:397-402.
- + The exchange between Mendelberg & Huber and Lapinski in *Perspectives on Politics* (2008, v.6, issue 1, pp.109-140; This is a debate over Huber and Lapinski's "'The Race Card' Revisited" from the AJPS in 2006.)

Retrospective Voting:

- + Fiorina, Morris. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press. [Remainder; the idea of retrospective voting is Fiorina's modification of Key's original idea]
- + Kramer, Gerald. 1983. "The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate- vs. Individual-

Level Findings on Economics and Elections.” *American Political Science Review* 77: 92-111.

+ Hibbs, Douglas. 1987. *The American Political Economy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. [While dense, this is the seminal reference on how economic conditions play out in elections. See also Hibbs’s website for his updates to the model in more recent years]

+ MacKuen, Michael, Robert Erikson, and James Stimson. 1992. “Peasants or Bankers? The American Electorate and the U.S. Economy.” *American Political Science Review* 86:597-611.

+ Anderson, Christopher. 2007. “The End of Economic Voting? Contingency Dilemmas and the Limits of Democratic Accountability.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 271-96.

+ Malhotra, Neil and Alex Kuo. 2008. “Attributing Blame: The Public’s Response to Hurricane Katrina.” *Journal of Politics* 70(1): 120-135.

+ Bechtel, Michael and Jens Hainmueller. 2011. “How Lasting is Voter Gratitude? An Analysis of the Short-Term Electoral Returns to Beneficial Policy.” *American Journal of Political Science* 55(4): 855-868.

+ Lenz, Gabriel and Andrew Healey. 2014. “Substituting the End for the Whole: Why Voters Respond Primarily to the Election Year Economy.” *American Journal of Political Science* 58(1): 31-47.

+ Healy, Andrew and Neil Malhotra. 2013. “Retrospective Voting Reconsidered.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 16:285-306.

+ Achen, Christopher and Larry Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Polarization in the Mass Public: [ask for the Levendusky syllabus on this if you’re interested]

+ Fiorina, Morris, Samuel Abrams, and Jeremy Pope. 2005. *Culture War?* New York: Pearson Longman.

+ Abramowitz, Alan and Kyle Saunders. 2008. “Is Polarization a Myth?” *Journal of Politics* 70: 542-555. [See also the reply immediately following by Fiorina et al]

+ Hetherington, Marc. 2001. “Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization.” *American Political Science Review* 95: 619-631.

+ Levendusky, Matthew. 2009. *The Partisan Sort*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

+ Hetherington, Marc. 2009. “Putting Polarization in Perspective.” *British Journal of Political Science* 39: 413-448.

+ Iyengar, Sood, and Lelkes POQ (see week on party ID)

+ Mason, Liliana. 2015. “I Disrespectfully Agree: The Differential Effects of Partisan Sorting on Social and Issue Polarization.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59: 128-45.

+ Iyengar, Shanto and Sean Westwood. 2015. “Fear and Loathing Across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3): 690-707.

War and Public Opinion [If you’re interested in this topic, also talk to Ryan Brutger]:

+ Mueller, John. 1973. *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion*. New York: John Wiley and

Sons.

- + Feaver, Peter, Christopher Gelpi, and Jason Reifler. 2008. *Paying the Human Costs of War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- + Berinsky, Adam and James Druckman. 2008. "Public Opinion Research and Support for the Iraq War." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 71:126-141. [See also the reply by Gelpi et al.]
- + Berinsky, Adam. 2009. *In Time of War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- + Baum, Matthew and Timothy Groeling. 2010. *War Stories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- + Levendusky, Matthew and Michael Horowitz. 2012. "When Backing Down Is the Right Decision: Partisanship, New Information, and Audience Costs." *Journal of Politics* 74(2) 323-338.
- + Aldrich JH, Sullivan JL, Bordiga E. 1989. "Foreign affairs and issue voting: Do presidential candidates "Waltz before a blind audience?" *American Political Science Review* 81:123-41 [This was the classic article on this topic, though it's now pretty badly outdated.]
- + Baum, Matthew and Phillip Potter. 2015. *War and Democratic Constraint: How the Public Influences Foreign Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- + Kertzer, Joshua and Thomas Zeitoff. 2017. "A Bottom-Up Theory of Public Opinion about Foreign Policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(3): 543-58.

Biopolitics, Genes, and Political Behavior:

- + Alford, John, Carolyn Funk, and John Hibbing. 2005. "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" *American Political Science Review* 99(2): 153-68.
- + Charney, Evan. 2008. "Genes and Ideologies." *Perspectives on Politics* 6(2): 299-319. See also this broader exchange that follows this article, which is a critique of Alford, Funk, and Hibbing (2005).
- + Hatemi et al. 2011. "Genome-Wide Analysis of Political Attitudes." *Journal of Politics* 73(1): 1-15.
- + Smith et al. 2012. "Biology, Identity, and Epistemology: How Do We Know Political Attitudes Are Inherited and Why Should We Care?" *American Journal of Political Science*
- + Fowler, James and Christopher Dawes. 2013. "In Defense of Genopolitics." *American Political Science Review* 107(2):1-13. [See also the reply by Charney]
- + Chabris et al. 2013. "Why It Is Hard to Find Genes Associated with Social Science Traits: Theoretical and Empirical Considerations." *American Journal of Public Health* doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2013.301327.
- + Aaroe, Lene, Michael Bang Peterson, and Kevin Arceneaux. 2017. "The Behavioral Immune System Shapes Political Intuitions: Why and How Individual Differences in Disgust Sensitivity Underlie Opposition to Immigration." *American Political Science Review* 111(2): 277-294.
- + Kam, Cindy and Beth Estes. 2016. "Disgust Sensitivity and Public Demand for Protection." *Journal of Politics* 78(2): 481-96.

Public Opinion and Public Policy

- + Bartels, Larry. 2008. *Unequal Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[Chapters 9-10]

- + Stimson, James, Michael MacKuen, Robert Erickson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *American Political Science Review* 89:543-565.
- + Page, Benjamin and Robert Shapiro. 1983. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *American Political Science Review* 77: 175-190.
- + Wlezien, Christopher. 1995. "The Public as Thermostat: Dynamics of Public Preferences and Policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 981-1000.
- + Gilens, Martin. 2012. *Affluence and Influence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Chapters 3, 6, and 8]
- + Bartels, Larry. 1991. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policymaking: The Reagan Defense Buildup." *American Political Science Review* 85:457-474.
- + Soroka, Stuart and Christopher Wlezien. 2010. *Degrees of Democracy: Politics, Public Opinion, and Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

What Role Does Public Opinion Play in Democratic Politics? What Role Should It Play?

- + Green, Jeffrey. 2009. *The Eyes of the People: Democracy in an Age of Spectatorship*. New York: Oxford University Press. [Chapter 1, plus pp. 102-119]
- + Bartels, Larry. 2003. "Democracy with Attitudes," in *Electoral Democracy*, eds. Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- + Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press [Chapter 12]
- + Sabl, Andrew. 2015. "The Two Cultures of Democratic Theory: Responsiveness, Democratic Quality, and the Empirical-Normative Divide." *Perspectives on Politics* 13(2): 345-65.