# PLAP 7110 Core Seminar in Political Behavior Fall 2013

Thursdays 1:00 – 3:30pm New Cabell Hall 209

Professor Nicholas Winter 385 Gibson Hall <u>nwinter@virginia.edu</u> http://faculty.virginia.edu/nwinter

office hours: to be announced and by appointment

This course provides an introduction to the vast literature devoted to public opinion and mass political behavior, and is designed to help prepare you for the political behavior component of the American politics comprehensive examination. We will survey the major theoretical approaches and empirical research on the behavior of non-elite political actors. "Behavior" is a broad term, which includes the psychological and attitudinal precursors as well as overt behavior such as voting or political protest. The primary focus will be on American public opinion and behavior, although there will be some attention to comparative work. In addition to empirical research on the antecedents of opinion and its role in the larger political system, we will consider normative work on the meaning and measurement of political behavior and on its role in democratic politics. Throughout we will give careful attention to questions of methodology and research design.

# **Course Requirements**

This course is a seminar, so it is vital that you come to class having read—and, critically, thought about—the week's readings, and that you participate in the discussion.

Each week you will be required to write a short essay—of no more than one page—responding to the week's readings. These essays should try to engage a number of the week's readings by doing one or more of the following: juxtaposing and commenting on alternative explanations or approaches to a substantive topic; criticizing the methodologies used and proposing other strategies of research; criticizing the conceptualization and/or measurement of a particular construct; analyzing the implications of a set of findings; suggesting new questions or hypotheses for research; developing similarities and contrasts with arguments or research found in the readings from previous weeks. More generally, these papers should *contain an argument*, not a summary or description of the readings. These papers should be turned in to me by email no later than 11*pm on Wednesday* before the scheduled Thursday meeting. I will comment (briefly) on them and turn them back at the end of each seminar session. These essays will serve as the starting point for our discussion.

Additionally, each week at least one student will make a presentation about a research question based on – but drawing on material beyond – that week's readings (more on this in class).

You have two choices for written work in this course:

Choice A: Write three 5–7 page papers *critically* reviewing the literature in some specific topic of political behavior—a topic from the syllabus or a (pre-approved) alternative. Each paper should consist of:

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

These three papers are due October 10, November 7, and December 5.

Option B: Complete a research paper on some aspect of American political behavior, and it must be approved in advance. You will be asked to consider and identify a potential topic early in the semester. The assumption is that this project will serve some concrete purpose beyond the course; for example, as part of a dissertation prospectus or chapter, a master's thesis, a conference paper, or an article for submission to a journal.

Finally, each student will present his or her own work during a symposium on the last day of class. If you complete Option A, you will present one of your three literature reviews; if you complete Option B you will present that work.

Your grade will be based on weekly participation (reaction papers, in-class presentations, and discussion), final presentation (25%), and written work (50%).

# Readings

Most readings are available through JSTOR and/or other UVa electronic resources; I have included links in the syllabus. Book chapters will be posted to Collab.

The following are required books. We will read all or a good bit of these books; they are also among the most centrally important in the field.

- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, Donald E. Stokes. 1960/1980. *The American Voter* (unabridged edition). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. http://www.amazon.com/The-American-Voter-Angus-Campbell/dp/0226092542
- Hajnal, Zoltan, and Taeku Lee. 2011. Why Americans Don't Join the Party : Race, Immigration, and the Failure (of Political Parties) to Engage the Electorate. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. <u>http://www.amazon.com/Why-Americans-Dont-Join-Party/dp/0691148791</u>
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Donald R. Kinder. 2010. *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion*. **updated ed**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. http://www.amazon.com/News-That-Matters-Television-American/dp/0226388581/
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., Helmut Norpoth, William G. Jacoby, Herbert F. Weisberg. 2008. *The American Voter Revisited*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. http://www.amazon.com/American-Voter-Revisited-Michael-Lewis-Beck/dp/0472050400/
- Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press. http://www.amazon.com/Race-Card-Campaign-Princeton-Paperbacks/dp/0691070717
- Rosenstone, Steven J. and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan. [Used copies of the original 1993 edition are plentiful and cheap; there is no need to buy the \$75 Longman Classics Edition] http://www.amazon.com/gp/offer-listing/0024036609/ref=dp\_olp\_used?ie=UTF8&condition=used
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady. 2012. *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. http://www.amazon.com/Unheavenly-Chorus-Political-American-Democracy/dp/0691154848
- Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. http://www.amazon.com/Origins-Opinion-Cambridge-Political-Psychology/dp/0521407869

For each week I have listed a set of "Recommended" readings. I do not expect you to read these for class discussion; rather, they are intended to serve as a resource for further investigation, for your literature review or term paper and for comprehensive examination preparation. I have also included at the end of the syllabus a set of topics (and readings) that we will not cover this term.

# Auditing this Course

Graduate students are welcome to audit the course. I would advise you to think carefully about your motivation for auditing, however. If you are too busy this term to take the course for credit, consider whether you will really be able to commit the time necessary to get much from the course. But in the end the decision is yours. *Note, however, that auditors must still write and turn in the weekly reaction essays.* 

# **Course Outline**

- I. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS
  - Week 0 Introduction and overview
  - Week 1 Meaning and measurement of public opinion (September 5)
  - Week 2 Citizen Competence: Ignorance, ideology and political reasoning (September 12)

# II. INDIVIDUAL OPINIONS

- Week 3 Attitudes and Attitude Change I: Priming and agenda setting (September 19)
- Week 4 Attitudes and Attitude Change II: Framing (September 26)
- Week 5 Groups: Race and the American political system (October 3)
- Week 6 Party Identification I: The unmoved mover? (October 10)
- Week 7 Party identification II: (Attention to) new citizens, new conceptualization? (October 17)

# III. POLITICS AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Week 8 Campaigns and campaign effects (October 24)Week 9 Voting (October 31)Week 10 Political participation (November 7)

# **IV.** CONCLUSIONS

- Week 11 Collective opinion: The miracle of aggregation and enlightened preferences (November 14)
- Week 12 Public opinion and American democracy (November 21)
  - No class: Thanksgiving break (November 28)
- Week 13 Symposium (December 5)

# **Course Schedule**

## Week 0: Introduction and overview (August 29)

## I. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

#### Week 1: Meaning and measurement of public opinion (September 5)

Herbst, Susan. 2012. "The History and Meaning of Public Opinion" in *New Directions in Public Opinion*, ed. Adam Berinsky. New York: Routledge, ch. 1.

Lippmann, Walter. [1922] 1997. Public Opinion, chapter 1 (3-20).

V.O. Key. 1961. Public Opinion and American Democracy. New York: Knopf, 3-17.

- Blumer, Herbert. 1948. "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling." *American Sociological Review* 13(5):542-554. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2087146.pdf
- Converse, Philip E. 1987. "Changing Conceptions of Public Opinion in the Political Process." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51(Supplement): 12-24. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2749185.pdf
- Sanders, Lynn M. 1999. "Democratic Politics and Survey Research." *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 29(2):248-80. (available at http://faculty.virginia.edu/lsanders/P29s2s5.pdf or http://pos.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/29/2/248)
- Tilly, Charles. 1983. "Speaking Your Mind Without Elections, Surveys, or Social Movements." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 47(4):461-478. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2748659.pdf
- Verba, Sidney. 1996. "The Citizen as Respondent: Sample Surveys and American Democracy." American Political Science Review 90(1):1-7. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2082793

Zaller, John. 1992. The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 1.

- Kinder, Donald R. 1998. "Opinion and Action in the Realm of Politics." In *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. Daniel Gilbert, Susan Fiske and Gardner Lindzey. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 778-865. *This handbook chapter, thought somewhat dated, is a very useful overview of the entire field of political behavior.*
- Kinder, Donald R. 2004. "Pale Democracy: Opinion and Action in Postwar America." In *The Evolution of Political Knowledge: Theory and Inquiry in American Politics*, ed. Edward D. Mansfield, and Richard Sisson. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 104-47. *A shorter but newer version.*
- Lippmann, Walter. [1922] 1997. Public Opinion. New York: Free Press Paperbacks.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Igo, Sarah E. 2007. *The Averaged American: Surveys, Citizens, and the Making of a Mass Public*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Herbst, Susan. 1993. Numbered Voices: How Opinion Polling Has Shaped American Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lee, Taeku. 2002. *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapter 3.
- Brehm, John. 1993. The Phantom Respondents. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

- Bryce, James. 1916. "The Nature of Public Opinion." Reprinted in Berelson & Janowitz, *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication* (2d ed), 13-19.
- Lowell, A. Lawrence. 1900. "Public Opinion." Reprinted in Berelson & Janowitz, *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication* (2d ed), 20-26.
- John Zaller and Stanley Feldman. 1992. "A Simple Theory of the Survey Response: Answering Questions or Revealing Preferences?" *American Journal of Political Science*, 36(3): 579-616.
- Fishkin, James S. 1995 The Voice of the People. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press.
- Weisberg, Herbert F. 2005. *The Total Survey Error Approach: A Guide to the New Science of Survey Research*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

# Week 2: Citizen Competence: Ignorance, ideology and political reasoning (September 12)

- Downs, Anthony. 1957. An Economic Theory of Democracy. New York: Harper and Row, chapters 11-13.
- Delli Carpini, Michael X. and Scott Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters.* New Haven: Yale University Press, chapter 4.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapter 10 (*skim*).
- Converse, Philip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David Ernest Apter. New York: Free Press, 206-61. Reprinted Jeffrey Friedman (ed.), *Is Democratic Competence Possible?* A special issue of *Critical Review* 18 (1-3):1-74. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/08913810608443650
- Lane, Robert E. 1962. *Political Ideology: Why the Common Man Believes What He Does*. New York: Free Press, chapters 4 & 22.
- Achen, Christopher H. 1975. "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response." *American Political Science Review* 69 (4):1218-31. http://links.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1955282.pdf
- Kinder, Donald R. 1983. "Diversity and Complexity in American Public Opinion." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, ed. Ada Finifter. Washington, DC: APSA Press.
- Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapters 2–6 and Measures Appendix.

- Lupia, Arthur and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1998. *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Popkin, Samuel L. 1994. *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jennifer Jerit, Paul Quirk and James Kuklinski. 2009. "Strategic Politicians, Emotional Citizens, and the Rhetoric of Prediction." In Borgida et al, (Eds.), *The Political Psychology of Democratic Citizenship*.
- James Kuklinski, et al. 2000. "Misinformation and the Currency of Democratic Citizenship." *Journal of Politics*, 62: 790-816.
- James H. Kuklinski, Paul J. Quirk, Jennifer Jerit, and Robert F. Rich, 2001. "Political Environment and Citizen Competence," *American Journal of Political Science*, 45 (April 2001):410-424.

Luskin, Robert C. 1987. "Measuring Political Sophistication." American Journal of Political Science 31: 856-899.

- Mondak, Jeffrey. 2001. "Developing Valid Knowledge Scales". American Journal of Political Science. 45: 224-238.
- Converse, Philip. 2000. "Assessing the Capacity of Mass Electorates." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 331-353. http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=5366731&site=ehost-live
- Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections." *American Political Science Review* 88(1): 63-76. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2944882.pdf</u>
- Lodge, Milton, Marco R. Steenbergen, Shawn Brau. 1995. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and The Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation." *American Political Science Review* 89(2):309-26. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2082427.pdf
- Hutchings, Vincent. 2001. "Political Context, Issue Salience, and Selective Attentiveness: Constituent Knowledge of the Clarence Thomas Confirmation Vote." *The Journal of Politics* 63(3):846-868. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2691716.pdf</u>
- Althaus, Scott L. 1998. "Information Effects in Collective Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 92(3):545-58.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1996. "Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections." American Journal of Political Science 40(1):194-230.
- Kuklinski James H., Paul J. Quirk; Jennifer Jerit, David Schwieder and Robert F. Rich. 2000. "Misinformation and the Currency of Democratic Citizenship." *The Journal of Politics* 62(3):790-816.
- Rosenberg, Shawn W. 1988. "The Structure of Political Thinking." *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (3):539-66. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2111236
- Jost, John T., Christopher M. Federico, and Jaime L. Napier. 2009. "Political Ideology: Its Structure, Functions, and Elective Affinities." *Annual Review of Psychology* 60 (1):307-37. http://www.annualreviews.org.proxy.its.virginia.edu/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.psych.60.110707.163600
- Sniderman, Paul M., Richard A. Brody, and Philip Tetlock. 1991. *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Federico, C. M., Hunt, C. V., & Ergun, D. 2009. "Political expertise, social worldviews, and ideology: Translating 'competitive jungles' and 'dangerous worlds' into ideological reality. *Social Justice Research* 22(xx): 259–279.
- Friedman, Jeffrey (ed.). 2006. Is Democratic Competence Possible? A special issue of Critical Review 18 (1-3).
- Kinder, Donald R., and Nathan P. Kalmoe. 2008. "The Nature of Ideological Identification in Mass Publics: Meaning and Measurement." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston. <u>http://sitemaker.umich.edu/kalmoe/files/apsa2008.pdf</u>
- Kuklinski, James H., Robert C. Luskin, and John Bolland. 1991. "Where Is the Schema? Going Beyond the 'S' Word in Political Psychology." *American Political Science Review* 85(4):1341-65.
- Lodge, Milton, Kathleen M. McGraw, Pamela J. Conover, Stanley Feldman, and Arthur H. Miller. 1991. "Where Is the Schema? Critiques." *The American Political Science Review* 85(4):1357-80.
- Conover, Pamela J. and Stanley Feldman. 1981. "The Origins and Meaning of Liberal/Conservative Self-Identifications." *American Journal of Political Science* 25(4):617-45.
- Sullivan, John L, James E. Piereson, and George E. Marcus. 1978. "Ideological Constraint in the Mass Public: A Methodological Critique and Some New Findings." *American Journal of Political Science* 22:233-49.
- Nie, Norman H., Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik. 1976. *The Changing American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

# **II. INDIVIDUAL OPINIONS**

# Week 3: Attitudes and Attitude Change I: Priming and agenda setting (September 19)

- Iyengar, Shanto, and Donald R. Kinder. 2010. *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion*. updated ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Miller, Joanne and Jon Krosnick. 2000. "News Media Impact on the Ingredients of Presidential Evaluations." *American Journal of Political Science*. 44(2) 301-15. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2669312.pdf
- Nosek, Brian A., Jesse Graham, and Carlee Beth Hawkins. 2010. "Implicit Political Cognition," in *Handbook of Implicit Social Cognition*, ed. Bertram Gawronski and B. Keith Payne. New York: The Guilford Press. ch. 29.
- Valentino, Nicholas A. 1999. "Crime News and the Priming of Racial Attitudes During Evaluations of the President." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 63(3):293-320. http://poq.oxfordjournals.org/content/63/3/293.full.pdf
- Lenz, Gabriel S. 2009. "Learning and Opinion Change, Not Priming: Reconsidering the Priming Hypothesis." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (4):821-37. <u>http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2009.00403.x/pdf</u>

# Recommended

- Bartels, Larry M. 1993. "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure." *American Political Science Review* 87: 267-285.\*
- Krosnick, Jon, and Donald Kinder. 1990. "Altering the Foundations of Support for the President through Priming." *American Political Science Review* 84 (2):497-512.
- Neuman, W. R., Marion R. Just, and Ann N. Crigler. 1992. *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Prior, Markus. 2007. Post-Broadcast Democracy: How Media Choice Increases Inequality in Political Involvement and Polarizes Elections. Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, Timothy E. 1998. *Governing With the News: the News Media As a Political Institution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

#### Week 4: Attitudes and Attitude Change II: Framing (September 26)

- Chong, Dennis. 1996. "Creating Common Frames of Reference on Political Issues." In Diana C. Mutz, Paul M. Sniderman and Richard A. Brody (eds.) *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kinder, Donald R. and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. Divided by Color. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, ch. 7.
- Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2005. "Framing Gender: Political Rhetoric, Gender Schemas, and Public Opinion on U.S. Health Care Reform." *Politics and Gender* 1 (3):453-80. <u>http://faculty.virginia.edu/nwinter/papers/winter-g&p2005-paper.pdf</u>
- Nelson, Thomas E., Rosalee A. Clawson, and Zoe M. Oxley. 1997. "Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and Its Effect on Tolerance." *American Political Science Review* 91(3):67-83. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2952075
- Druckman, James N. 2001. "The Implications of Framing Effects for Citizen Competence." *Political Behavior* 23(3):225-56. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1558384.pdf</u>
- Zaller, John. 1992. The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 7-9.

Zaller, John. 1996. "The Myth of Massive Media Impact Revisited," In Diana C. Mutz, Paul M. Sniderman and Richard A. Brody (eds.) *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

# Recommended

- Tversky, Amos and Daniel Kahneman. 1981. "The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology Of Choice." *Science* 211:453-58.
- Druckman, James N. 2001. "On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame?" Journal of Politics 63(4):1041-66.
- Druckman, James N., Erik Peterson, and Rune Slothuus. 2013. "How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation," *American Political Science Review*, 107: 57-79. <u>PDF</u>
- Druckman, James N., Samara Klar and Joshua Robison. 2013. "Political Dynamics of Framing," in *New Directions in Media and Politics*, ed. Travis N. Ridout. New York: Routledge. <u>PDF</u>
- Druckman, James N. and Dennis Chong. 2013. "Counterframing Effects." The Journal of Politics 75: 1-16, 2013. PDF
- Nelson, Thomas E. and Donald R. Kinder. 1996. "Issue Frames and Group-Centrism in American Public Opinion." *Journal of Politics* 58(4):1055-78.
- Gilens, Martin. 1999. Why Americans Hate Welfare. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 5 and 6.
- Entman, Robert M. and Andrew Rojecki. 2000. *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2008. *Dangerous Frames: How Ideas About Race and Gender Shape Public Opinion*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

# Week 5: Groups—Race and the American political system (October 3)

- Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- White, Ismail K. 2007. "When Race Matters and When it Doesn't: Racial Group Differences in Response to Racial Cues." *American Political Science Review* 101(2):339–54. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/27644449.pdf</u>
- Trewalter, Sophie and Jenessa R. Shapiro. 2010. "Racial Bias and Stereotyping: Interpersonal Processes," in Bertram Gawronski and B. Keith Payne, editors, *Handbook of Implicit Social Cognition*. New York: The Guilford Press. ch. 20.
- Fiske, Susan T., Amy J. C. Cuddy, Peter Glick, and Jun Xu. 2002. "A Model of (Often Mixed) Stereotype Content: Competence and Warmth Respectively Follow from Perceived Status and Competition." *Journal of Personality* and Social Psychology 82 (6):878-902. http://psycnet.apa.org/journals/psp/82/6/878.pdf

# Recommended-race and groups in general

- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapter 12.
- Conover, Pamela Johnston. 1984. "The Influence of Group Identifications on Political Perception and Evaluation." *The Journal of Politics* 46(3): 760-785. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2130855.pdf
- Nelson, Thomas E., and Donald R. Kinder. 1996. "Issue Frames and Group-Centrism in American Public Opinion." *The Journal of Politics* 58 (4):1055-78. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2960149.pdf</u>

- Sears, David O., John J. Hetts, Jim Sidanius, and Lawrence Bobo. 2000. "Race in American Politics." In *Racialized Politics: the Debate About Racism in America*, ed. David O. Sears, Jim Sidanius, and Lawrence Bobo. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1-43.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Cindy D. Kam. 2009. *Us against Them Ethnocentric Foundations of American Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dawson, Michael. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lee, Taeku. 2002. *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Kinder, Donald R. and Allison Dale-Riddle. 2011. *The End of Race? Obama, 2008, and Racial Politics in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Tesler, Michael and David O. Sears. *Obama's Race: The 2008 Election and the Dream of a Post-Racial America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kinder, Donald R. and Lynn Sanders. 1996. Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals.
- Hochschild, Jennifer. 1995. Facing Up to the American Dream: Race, Class, and the Soul of the Nation. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gay, Claudine. 2006. "Seeing Difference: The Effect of Economic Disparity on Black Attitudes toward Latinos." American Journal of Political Science 50 (4):982-97.

# Recommended-gender

- Sapiro, Virginia. 2003. "Theorizing Gender in Political Psychology Research." In Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, ed. David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis. New York: Oxford University Press, 601-34.
- Jackman, Mary R. 1994. *The Velvet Glove: Paternalism and Conflict in Gender, Class, and Race Relations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sears, David O., and Leonie Huddy. 1992. "On the Origins of Political Disunity Among Women." In Women, Politics, and Change, ed. Louise Tilly, and Patricia Gurin. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 249-80.
- Huddy, Leonie, and Nayda Terkildsen. 1993. "Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (1):119-47. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/2111526</u>
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1996. The Political Consequences of Being a Woman: How Stereotypes Influence the Conduct and Consequences of Political Campaigns. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2008. "Women as Candidates in American Politics: The Continuing Impact of Sex and Gender." In *Political Women and American Democracy*, ed. Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith and Lisa Baldez. New York: Cambridge University Press, 110-27.
- Glick, Peter, Jeffrey Diebold, Barbara Bailey-Werner, and Lin Zhu. 1997. "The Two Faces of Adam: Ambivalent Sexism and Polarized Attitudes toward Women." *Personality And Social Psychology Bulletin* 23 (12):1323-34. http://psp.sagepub.com.proxy.its.virginia.edu/content/23/12/1323.full.pdf+html
- Fiske, Susan T., and Laura E. Stevens. 1993. "What's So Special About Sex? Gender Stereotyping and Discrimination." In *Gender Issues in Contemporary Society*, ed. Stuart Oskamp. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 173-96.

## Recommended—stereotypes

Greenwald, Anthony G., and Mahzarin R. Banaji. 1995. "Implicit Social Cognition: Attitudes, Self-Esteem, and Stereotypes." *Psychological Review* 102(1):4-27.

- Devine, Patricia G. 1989. "Stereotypes and Prejudice: Their Automatic and Controlled Components." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 56 (1):5-18.
- Valentino, Nicholas A., Vincent L. Hutchings, and Ismail K. White. 2002. "Cues That Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes During Campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 96 (1):75-90.

## Recommended-debates about The Race Card

- Huber, Gregory A., and John S. Lapinski. 2006. "The 'Race Card' Revisited: Assessing Racial Priming in Policy Contests." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (2):421-40.
- Mendelberg, Tali. 2008. "Racial Priming: Issues in Research Design and Interpretation." *Perspectives on Politics* 6 (1):135-40
- Huber, Gregory A., and John S. Lapinski. 2008. "Testing the Implicit-Explicit Model of Racialized Political Communication. *Perspectives on Politics* 6(1):125-34.
- Mendelberg, Tali. 2008a. "Racial Priming: Issues in Research Design and Interpretation. *Perspectives on Politics* 6(1):135-40.

#### Recommended—authoritarianism

Brown, Roger. 1965. "The Authoritarian Personality and the Organization of Attitudes." In Social Psychology. New York: Free Press, 477-546.

Stenner, Karen. 2005. The Authoritarian Dynamic. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-4.

Hetherington, Marc J., and Jonathan Daniel Weiler. 2009. *Authoritarianism and Polarization in American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

#### Week 6: Party Identification I: The unmoved mover? (October 10)

- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1993. "The Impact and Development of Party Identification." In *Classics in Voting Behavior*, ed. R. G. Niemi and H. F. Weisberg. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly. [This is an abridged selection from chapters 6 and 7 of *The American Voter*]
- Green, Donald P., Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1 & 2.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapter 5.
- Franklin, Charles H., and John E. Jackson. 1983. "The Dynamics of Party Identification." *The American Political Science Review* 77 (4):957-73. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1957569.pdf
- MacKuen, Michael, Robert Erikson, and James Stimson. 1989. "Macropartisanship." *American Political Science Review* 83 (4):1126-42. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1961661.pdf</u>
- Bartels, Larry M. 2000. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996." American Journal of Political Science 44 (1):35-50. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2669291.pdf</u>

Recommended

- Markus, Gregory B., and Philip E. Converse. 1979. "A Dynamic Simultaneous Equation Model of Electoral Choice." *American Political Science Review* 73:1055-70.
- Jennings, M. Kent, and Richard G. Niemi. 1968. "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child." *American Political Science Review* 62 (March):169-84.

Keith, Bruce E. 1992. The Myth of the Independent Voter. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Hetherington, Marc J. 2001. "Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization." *The American Political Science Review* 95(3):619-31.
- Levendusky, Matthew. 2009. The Partisan Sort: How Liberals Became Democrats and Conservatives Became Republicans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist; and Eric Schickler. 1998. "Macropartisanship: A Replication and Critique. *American Political Science Review* 92(4):883-99.
- Erikson, Robert S., Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 1998. "What Moves Macropartisanship? A Response to Green, Palmquist, and Schickler." *American Political Science Review* 92(4):901-12.
- Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Abramowitz, Alan I. 1994. "Issue Evolution Reconsidered: Racial Attitudes and Partisanship in the U.S. Electorate." *American Journal of Political Science* 38(1):1-24.
- Adams, Greg D. 1997. "Abortion: Evidence of an Issue Evolution." American Journal of Political Science 41(3):718-37.
- Abramson, Paul R. and Charles W. Ostrom, Jr. 1991. "Macropartisanship: An Empirical Reassessment." *American Political Science Review* 85(1):181-92.
- MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson; James A. Stimson; Paul R. Abramson; Charles W. Ostrom, Jr. 1992. "Question Wording and Macropartisanship (in Controversy)." *American Political Science Review* 86(2):475-486. [see erratum]

## Week 7: Party Identification II: (Attention to) new citizens, new conceptualization? (October 17)

Hajnal, Zoltan, and Taeku Lee. 2011. Why Americans Don't Join the Party : Race, Immigration, and the Failure (of Political Parties) to Engage the Electorate. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

# IV. POLITICS AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

# Week 8: Campaigns and campaign effects (October 24)

- 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 (4):409-51. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/194212.pdf</u>
- Bartels, Larry M. 2006. "Priming and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns." In *Capturing Campaign Effects*, ed. Henry E. Brady and Richard Johnston. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 78-112.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1987. "Candidate Choice and the Dynamics of the Presidential Nominating Process." *American Journal of Political Science* 31 (1):1-30. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2111322.pdf</u>
- Shaw, Daron R. 1999. "The Effect of TV Ads and Candidate Appearances on Statewide Presidential Votes, 1988-1996." American Political Science Review 93: 345-361. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2585400.pdf</u>
- Gilens, Martin, Lynn Vavreck, Martin Cohen. 2007. "The Mass Media and the Public's Assessments of Presidential Candidates, 1952-2000" *The Journal of Politics* 69 (4), 1160–1175. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2007.00615.x/pdf

# Recommended

- Brader, Ted. 2006. *Campaigning for Hearts and Minds: How Emotional Appeals in Political Ads Work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Vavreck, Lynn. 2009. *The Message Matters: The Economy and Presidential Campaigns*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hillygus, D. Sunshine and Todd G. Shields. 2008. *The Persuadable Voter: Wedge Issues in Presidential Campaigns.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lenz, Gabriel S. 2012. *Follow the Leader? How Voters Respond to Politicians' Policies and Performance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Freedman, Paul, Michael Franz, and Kenneth Goldstein. 2004. "Campaign Advertising and Democratic Citizenship." *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (4):723-41.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Shanto Iyengar, Adam Simon, and Nicholas Valentino. 1994. "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" *American Political Science Review* 88 (4):829-38.
- Finkel, Steven E. 1993. "Reexamining the "Minimal Effects" Model in Recent Presidential Campaigns." *The Journal of Politics* 55 (1):1-21. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2132225.pdf</u>

# Week 9: Voting (October 31)

- Berelson, Bernard R., Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee. 1954. *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, ch. 4, 7.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley. ch. 3, 4, 19, 20.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., Helmut Norpoth, William G. Jacoby, Herbert F. Weisberg. 2008. *The American Voter Revisited*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. ch. 3, 4, 14, 15
- 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*, 47:583-596. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3186120.pdf</u>

- Converse, Philip E. 1966. "The concept of a normal vote." In Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes (eds.), *Elections and the Political Order*. New York: John Wiley and Son.
- Fiorina, Morris. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981, chapters 1-2.
- Rahn, Wendy M., John Aldrich, Eugene Bordiga, and John L. Sullivan. "A Social-Cognitive Model of Candidate Appraisal." In *Information and Democratic Processes*. Edited by John Ferejohn and James Kuklinski. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990.
- Lau, Richard R., and David P. Redlawsk. 2006. *How Voters Decide: Information Processing During Election Campaigns*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Petrocik, John R. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science* 40, no. 3 (August 1996): 825-50.
- Kinder, Donald R., Gordon S. Adams, and Paul W. Gronke. "Economics and Politics in the 1984 American Presidential Election." *American Journal of Political Science* 33, no. 2 (May 1989): 491-515.

- Kinder, Donald R. and D. Roderick Kiewiet. 1981. "Sociotropic Politics: The American Case." British Journal of Political Science 11(2):129-61.
- Kramer, Gerald H. 1983. "The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate- versus Individual-level Findings on Economics and Elections, and Sociotropic Voting." *American Political Science Review* 77(1):92-111.
- Markus, Gregory B. 1988. "The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on the Presidential Vote: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* 32:137-54.

## Week 10: Political participation (November 7)

- Rosenstone, Steven J. and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan, chapters 1,2,7,8.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, Donald E. Stokes. 1960/1980. *The American Voter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, ch. 5.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., Helmut Norpoth, William G. Jacoby, Herbert F. Weisberg. 2008. *The American Voter Revisited*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. ch. 5.
- Brady, Henry E., Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 89 (2):271-94. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2082425.pdf
- Gerber, Alan and Donald P. Green. 2000. "The Effects of Canvassing, Direct Mail, and Telephone Contact on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 94:653-63. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/2585837</u>
- McDonald, Michael P. and Samuel L. Popkin. 2001. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *American Political Science Review* 95(4):963-74. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/3117725</u>

- Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 2001. *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Nancy Burns, and Sidney Verba. 1999. ""What Happened at Work Today?": A Multistage Model of Gender, Employment, and Political Participation." *The Journal of Politics* 61 (1):29-53. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2647774.pdf
- Gerber, Alan S., Donald P. Green, and Ron Shachar. 2003. "Voting May Be Habit-Forming: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (3):540-50. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3186114.pdf
- Aldrich, John H. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 37, no. 1 (February 1993): 246-78.
- Campbell, Andrea Louise. 2002. "Self-Interest, Social Security, and the Distinctive Participation Patterns of Senior Citizens." *American Political Science Review* 96 (3):565-74.
- Citrin, J, E Schickler, and J Sides. 2003. "What If Everyone Voted? Simulating the Impact of Increased Turnout in Senate Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (1):75-90.
- Powell, G. Bingham. 1986. "American Voting Turnout in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 80 (1): 17-43. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1957082.pdf

- Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, Henry Brady, and Norman H. Nie. 1993. "Citizen Activity: Who Participates? What Do They Say?" *American Political Science Review* 87 (2):303-18. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2939042.pdf
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady. 2010. "Weapon of the Strong? Participatory Inequality and the Internet." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (2):487-509..
- Highton, Benjamin, and Raymond E. Wolfinger. 1998. "Estimating the Effects of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993." *Political Behavior* 20(2): 79-104.
- Plutzer, Eric. "Becoming a Habitual Voter: Inertia, Resources, and Growth in Young Adulthood." *American Political Science Review* 96, no. 1 (March 2002): 41-56.

# **IV. CONCLUSIONS**

# Week 11: Collective opinion: The miracle of aggregation and enlightened preferences (November 14)

- Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in American Policy Preferences.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 1,2,8,9
- Converse, Philip E. 1990. "Popular Representation and the Distribution of Information." In *Information and Democratic Processes*, ed. John Ferejohn and James Kuklinski. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Gilens, Martin. 2001. "Political Ignorance and Collective Policy Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 95(2):379-96. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3118127.pdf
- Druckman, James N. "Is Public Opinion Stable?: Resolving the Micro-Macro Disconnect in Studies of Public Opinion," with Thomas J. Leeper, *Daedalus* 141:50-68, 2012. http://faculty.wcas.northwestern.edu/~jnd260/pub/Druckman%20Leeper%20Daedalus%202012.pdf

#### Recommended

- Stimson James A., Michael B. MacKuen, and Robert S. Erikson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *American Political Science Review* 89:543-565. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2082973.pdf
- Bartels, Larry M. 1996. "Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections." American Journal of Political Science 40:194-230. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2111700.pdf</u>
- Druckman, James N. "A Source of Bias in Public Opinion Stability," with Jordan Fein, and Thomas J. Leeper, *American Political Science Review*, 106: 430-454, 2012. <u>PDF</u>
- Erikson, Robert S., Michael MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 2002. *The Macro Polity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Althaus, Scott L. "Information Effects in Collective Preferences" American Political Science Review 92 (2):545-558.
- Stimson, James A. 1999. Public Opinion in America. Moods, Cycles, and Swings (2nd edition). Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

# Week 12: Public opinion and American Democracy (November 21)

Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady. 2012. *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

- Bartels, Larry. 2003 "Democracy with Attitudes" in Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz, ed, *Electoral Democracy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Don Herzog. 1993. "Democratic Discussion." In *Reconsidering the Democratic Public*, ed. G. E. Marcus and R. L. Hanson. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Key, V.O. 1961. Public Opinion and American Democracy. New York: Knopf, chapter 21.
- Zaller, John. 1992. The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 12.
- Ginsberg, Benjamin. 1986. The Captive Public. New York: Basic Books.
- Berelson, Bernard. 1950. "Democratic Theory and Public Opinion." Public Opinion Quarterly 16: 313-330.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady. 2012. *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Bartels, Larry M. 2008. Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 2000. *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in American Policy Preferences.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapter 10.

Thanksgiving Break (November 28)

# Week 13: Symposium (December 5)

### V. IMPORTANT OTHER TOPICS YOU WON'T LEARN HERE

# **Political socialization**

## **Emotion and public opinion**

## **Political Tolerance**

- James L. Gibson, "Political Intolerance and Political Repression during the McCarthy Red Scare," American Political Science Review, 82(2): 511-530. [JSTOR]
- Prothro, James W. and C. W. Grigg. 1960. "Fundamental Principles of Democracy: Bases of Agreement and Disagreement." *Journal of Politics* 22(2):276-94. [JSTOR]
- John L. Sullivan, et al. "Why Politicians Are More Tolerant: Selective Recruitment and Socialization among Political Elites in Britain, Israel, New Zealand and the United States," British Journal of Political Science, Vol. 23, No. 1. (Jan., 1993), pp. 51-76. [JSTOR]
- Sullivan, John L., James Piereson, and George E. Marcus. 1979. "An Alternative Conceptualization of Political Tolerance: Illusory Increases 1950s-1970s." *The American Political Science Review* 73(3):781-94. [JSTOR]
- Mueller, John. 1988. "Trends in Political Tolerance." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 52(1):1-25. [JSTOR]
- Sniderman, Paul M., Richard A. Brody, and Philip Tetlock. 1991. Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapters 3 & 7 (31-57 & 120-139).
- Gibson, James L. 1992. "The Political Consequences of Intolerance: Cultural Conformity and Political Freedom." *The American Political Science Review* 86(2):338-56. [JSTOR]
- Gibson, James L. and Amanda Gouws. 2000. "Social Identities and Political Intolerance: Linkages Within the South African Mass Public." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(2):278-92. [JSTOR]
- Davis, Darren W. and Brian D. Silver. 2004. "Civil Liberties Vs. Security: Public Opinion in the Context of the Terrorist Attacks on America." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(1):28-46.
- Sullivan, John L., James Piereson, and George E. Marcus. 1982. *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. (chapter 3)
- Marcus, George E., John L. Sullivan, Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, and S. L. Wood. 1995. *With Malice Toward Some: How People Make Civil Liberties Judgments*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Marcus, George E. and Russell L. Hanson. 1993. *Reconsidering the Democratic Public*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, Part III.
- Gibson, James L. 1992. "Alternative Measures of Political Tolerance: Must Tolerance Be 'Least-Liked'?" *American Journal of Political Science* 36(2):560-577.
- Gross, Kimberly A. and Donald R. Kinder. 1998. "A Collision of Principles? Free Expression, Racial Equality and the Prohibition of Racist Speech." *British Journal of Political Science* 28(3):445-71.
- Gibson, James L., and Raymond M. Duch. 1993. "Political Intolerance in the USSR: The Distribution and Etiology of Mass Opinion." *Comparative Political Studies* 26(3): 286-329.
- Shamir, Michal. 1991. "Political Intolerance Among Masses and Elites in Israel: A Reevaluation of the Elitist Theory of Democracy." *The Journal of Politics* 53(4):1018-43.
- Duch, Raymond M. and James L. Gibson. 1992. "Putting Up With' Fascists in Western Europe: A Comparative, Cross-Level Analysis of Political Tolerance." *The Western Political Quarterly* 45(1):237-73.

# Democratic responsiveness: Opinion & public policy

- Stimson James A., Michael B. MacKuen, and Robert S. Erikson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *American Political Science Review* 89:543-565. [JSTOR]
- Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *American Political Science Review* 77: 175-190. [JSTOR]
- Zaller, John.. 2003 "Coming to Grips with V.O. Key's Concept of Latent Opinion" in Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz, ed, *Electoral Democracy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Wlezien, Christopher. 1995. "The Public as Thermostat: Dynamics of Preferences for Spending." American Journal of Political Science 39: 981-1000. [JSTOR]
- Hansen, Mark. 1998. "Individuals, Institutions, and Public Preferences over Public Finance." *American Political Science Review* 92:513-531. [JSTOR]
- Bartels, Larry. 2005. "Homer Gets a Tax Cut: Inequality and Public Policy in the American Mind." *Perspectives on Politics* 3(1):15-32. (available from instructor)
- Bartels, Larry M. 1991. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Buildup." American Political Science Review 85: 457-474.\*
- Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 2000. *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

### Material Interests (and symbolic politics)

- Sears, David O., Richard R. Lau, Tom R. Tyler, & Harris M. Allen, Jr. 1980. "Self-Interest vs. Symbolic Politics in Policy Attitudes and Presidential Voting" *The American Political Science Review* 74(3): 670-684. (*skim*) <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1958149.pdf</u>
- Kinder, Donald and Roderick Kiewiet. 1981. "Sociotropic Politics: The American Case," British Journal of Political Science 11(2):129–41. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/193580.pdf
- Citrin, Jack and Donald P. Green. 1990. "The Self-Interest Motive in American Public Opinion." In *Research in Micropolitics: A Research Annual*, ed. Samuel Long. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1-28.
- Chong, Dennis, Jack Citrin, and Patricia Conley. 2001. "When Self-Interest Matters." *Political Psychology* 22 (3):541-70. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3792426.pdf</u>
- Green, Donald Philip and Jonathan A. Cowden. 1992. "Who Protests: Self-Interest and White Opposition to Busing." *The Journal of Politics* 54(2):471-496. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2132035.pdf
- Holmes, Stephen. 1990. "The Secret History of Self-Interest." In *Beyond Self-Interest*, ed. Jane J. Mansbridge. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 267-86.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. An Economic Theory of Democracy. New York: Harper and Row, chapters 1-3.
- Kramer, Gerald. 1983. "The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate- Versus Individual-Level Findings on Economics and Elections, and Sociotropic Voting." *American Political Science Review* 77:92–111\*
- Markus, Gregory B. 1988. "The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions On the Presidential Vote: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science* 32: 137-54.
- Mansbridge, Jane J., ed. 1990. Beyond Self-Interest. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sen, Amartya K. 1990. "Rational Fools: A Critique of the Behavioral Foundations of Economic Theory." In *Beyond Self-Interest*, ed. Jane J. Mansbridge. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 25-44.

- Sears, David O. and Carolyn L. Funk. 1990. "Self-Interest in Americans' Political Opinions." In *Beyond Self-Interest*, ed. Jane J. Mansbridge. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 147-70.
- Campbell, Andrea Louise. 2002. "Self-Interest, Social Security, and the Distinctive Participation Patterns of Senior Citizens." *American Political Science Review* 96(3):565-74.
- Stoker, Laura. 1994. "A Reconsideration of Self-Interest in American Public Opinion." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association Albuquerque, NM. <u>ftp://ftp.electionstudies.org/ftp/nes/bibliography/documents/nes010876.pdf</u>

## Core values and political principles

- Schwartz, Shalom H. and Wolfgang Bilsky. 1987. "Toward a Universal Psychological Structure of Human Values." Journal of Personality & Social Psychology 53(3):550-562. http://content.apa.org/journals/psp/53/3/550.pdf
- Feldman, Stanley. 1988. "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: The Role of Core Beliefs and Values." *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (2): 416-440. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2111130.pdf</u>
- Feldman, Stanley and John Zaller. 1992. "The Political Culture of Ambivalence." *American Journal of Political Science* 36 (1): 268-307. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2111433.pdf
- Chong, Dennis. 1993. "How People Think, Reason, and Feel about Rights and Liberties," *American Journal of Political Science*, 37 (3):867-99. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2111577.pdf</u>
- Federico, Christopher, Corrie Hunt, and Damla Ergun. 2009. "Political Expertise, Social Worldviews, and Ideology: Translating "Competitive Jungles" and "Dangerous Worlds" into Ideological Reality." *Social Justice Research* 22 (2):259-79. <u>http://www.springerlink.com/content/91403r60881342l3/fulltext.pdf</u>
- Alvarez, R. Michael and John Brehm. 1997. "Are Americans Ambivalent Toward Racial Policies?" American Journal of Political Science, 41 (2):345-75. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2111768.pdf</u>
- Luker, Kristin. 1984. Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tetlock, Philip E. 1986. "A Value Pluralism Model of Ideological Reasoning." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50(4):819-27. [Available electronically]
- Stoker, Laura. 2001. "Political Value Judgments." In *Citizens and Politics: Perspectives From Political Psychology*, ed. James H. Kuklinski. New York: Cambridge University Press, 433-68.
- Feldman, Stanley and Marco R. Steenbergen. 2001. "The Humanitarian Foundation of Public Support for Social Welfare." *American Journal of Political Science* 45(3):658-77.
- Alvarez, R. Michael and John Brehm. 2002. *Hard Choices, Easy Answers: Values, Information, and American Public Opinion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Chong, Dennis. 2000. Rational Lives: Norms and Values in Politics and Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hochschild, Jennifer L. 1981. What's Fair? American Beliefs about Distributive Justice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press:
- McClosky, Herbert and John Zaller. 1984. *The American Ethos: Public Attitudes Toward Capitalism and Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Smith, Rogers M. 1993. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America." American Political Science Review 87(3):549-66.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1990. Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Dawson, Michael C. 2001. *Black Visions: the Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Kuklinski, James H. (ed.) 2001. *Citizens and Politics: Perspectives From Political Psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press, section IV.
- Jacoby, William G. 2000. "Issue f and Public Opinion on Government Spending." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(4):750-767.
- McCann, James A. 1997. "Electoral Choices and Core Value Change: the 1992 Presidential Campaign." American Journal of Political Science 41(2):564-83.
- Alford, J. R., C. L. Funk, and J. R. Hibbing. 2005. "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" American Political Science Review 99(2):153.

#### Social Context and Deliberation

- Mutz, Diana C. 1998. *Impersonal Influence: How Perceptions of Mass Collectives Affect Political Attitudes*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mutz, Diana Carole. 2006. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative Versus Participatory Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Druckman, James N., and Kjersten R. Nelson. 2003. "Framing and Deliberation: How Citizens' Conversations Limit Elite Influence." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (4):729-45. http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3186130.pdf

Gamson, William. 1992. Talking Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Barabas, Jason. 2004. "How Deliberation Affects Policy Opinions." American Political Science Review 98(4):687-701.
- Druckman, James N. and Kjersten R. Nelson. 2003. "Framing and Deliberation: How Citizens' Conversations Limit Elite Influence." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(4):729-45.
- Fishkin, James. 1991. Democracy and Deliberation: New Directions for Democratic Reform. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Fishkin, James and Peter Laslett, editors. 2003. Debating Deliberative Democracy. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Guttman, Amy and Dennis Thompson. 2004. Why Deliberative Democracy? Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Jacobs, Lawrence R., Fay Lomax Cook, and Michael X. Delli Carpini. 2009. *Talking Together: Public Deliberation and Political Participation in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Macedo, Stephen, editor. 1999. *Deliberative Politics: Essays on Democracy and Disagreement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sanders, Lynn M. 1997. "Against Deliberation." Political Theory 25(3):347-76.
- Walsh, Katherine Cramer. 2003. *Talking About Politics: Informal Groups and Social Identity in American Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Huckfeldt, Robert and John Sprague. 1987. "Networks in Context: The Social Flow of Political Information." American Political Science Review 81(4):1197-1216.
- Oliver, Eric and Tali Mendelberg. 2000 "Reconsidering the Environmental Determinants of Racial Attitudes" *American Journal of Political Science* 44(3): 574-589.
- Krysan, Maria. 1998. "Privacy and the Expression of White Racial Attitudes: a Comparison Across Three Contexts." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 62(4):506-44.
- Schuman, Howard and Jean M. Converse. 1971. "The Effect of Black and White Interviewers on Black Responses." Public Opinion Quarterly 35:44-68.

- Tourangeau, Roger and Tom W. Smith. 1996. "Asking Sensitive Questions: The Impact of Data Collection Mode, Question Format, and Question Context." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 60:275-304.
- Zuckerman, Alan S., ed. 2005. *The Social Logic of Politics: Personal Networks As Contexts for Political Behavior*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Katz, Elihu and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. 1955. *Personal Influence: the Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications*. Glencoe, Ill: Free Press.