

Political Science 258: Seminar on American Political Behavior, Winter 2022

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Mon, Wed 1-2
& by appointment

This course is intended to be a core seminar in American Politics. The course covers the literature on individual political behavior in the United States. Topics include the nature and consequences of the public's knowledge about politics, persuasion, political identity, ideology, values, tolerance, prejudice, public opinion, participation, and voting.

The course requirements are: (1) a term paper, which may be a research paper, a critical review and synthesis of the literature, or a prospectus and research design; (2) two short (4-5 pp) critical reviews on assigned topics—one based on readings from weeks 1-5, the other based on readings from weeks 6-10; (3) class participation, including leading discussions of the literature. If the term paper is a research paper, it may be coauthored. I am flexible about paper topics, especially for those whose first field is not American politics. I recommend Lodge & Tabor and Peréz for one paper and Achen & Bartels for the other, but any readings for the short papers are fine, including relevant readings that are not on the syllabus.

Campus Resources for Students - If you experience difficulty in this course for any reason, please don't hesitate to consult with me or your teaching assistant. If you have a disability that may prevent you from fully demonstrating your abilities, you should contact me as soon as possible so we can discuss accommodations necessary to ensure your full participation and facilitate your educational process. A wide range of services is available to support you in your efforts to meet the course requirements:

- Counseling and Psychological Services: (893-4411, ww.counseling.ucsb.edu) offers counseling for personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.
- Disabled Students Program: 893-2668; www.sa.ucsb.edu/dsp. DSP provides academic support services to eligible students with temporary and permanent disabilities. Students with disabilities may request academic accommodations online through the UCSB Disabled Students Program at <http://dsp.sa.ucsb.edu/>. Please make your requests for accommodations through the online system as early in the quarter as possible to ensure proper arrangements.
- If you are facing any challenges in food or housing and believe this may affect your performance in the class, you are urged to meet with a Food Security and CalFresh Advocate who is aware of the broad variety of resources that UCSB has to offer. See their drop-in hours at food.ucsb.edu. You are also urged to contact the professor if you feel comfortable doing so.

Gender and Sex Discrimination Policy and Student Support: Under Title IX, university students are protected from harassment and discrimination based on gender and sex. If a student feels uncomfortable or in need of support at any time related to their gender, sex, and/or sexual

orientation, please contact your instructor (me) and/or your TA immediately. UCSB's Resource Center for Sexual and Gender Diversity (<http://wgse.sa.ucsb.edu/sgd/home>) is also available to advocate and be of and support to students.

All of the books are on reserve in the library. The articles are all on Gauchospace. The following books are required:

Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists*
Efrén Pérez, *Unspoken Politics*
Marisa Abranjano and Zoltan Hajnal, *White Backlash*
Sidney Verba et al., *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*

The readings marked with * are recommended. The following abbreviations are used for journals:

APSR: *American Political Science Review* POQ: *Public Opinion Quarterly*
AJPS: *American Journal of Political Science*

Weekly Topics

1. **Introductory Discussion: Measuring Public Opinion** (January 4)

Howard Schuman and Stanley Presser, *Questions and Answers in Attitude Surveys* (1981), chap. 11, "Tone of Wording."
David Wiley and James Wiley, "The Estimation of Measurement Error in Panel Data."
American Sociological Review 35 (1970): 112-117.

2. **Nature of Attitudes, the Survey Response, and Political Knowledge** (January 11)

John Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, 1992), chaps 2-7
Christopher Achen, "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response." *APSR* 69 (1985): 1218-31.
John Winkler et al., "Controlling for Acquiescence Response Set in Scale Development."
Journal of Applied Psychology 67 (1982): 555-561.
Michael Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, "Stability and Change in the US Public's Knowledge of Politics," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 55 (1991): 583-612.
Michael Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*, (1996) chap. 6, "Consequences of Knowledge and Ignorance."
Katherine Cramer and Benjamin Toff, "The Fact of Experience: Rethinking Political Knowledge and Civic Competence." *Perspectives on Politics* 15 (2017): 754-770.

* Philip Converse, "Attitudes & Nonattitudes" in Edward Tufte, *The Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems*

* Howard Schuman & Stanley Presser, *Questions & Answers in Attitude Surveys*

- * Scott Althaus, *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics*
- * W. Russell Neuman, Marion Just, and Ann Crigler, *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*
- * Patrick Egan and Megan Mullin, "Turning personal experience into political attitudes: The effect of local weather on Americans' perceptions about global warming." *Journal of Politics* 74 (3)(2012): 796-809.
- * Couch, A., & Keniston, K. "Yeasayers and naysayers: Agreeing response set as a personality variable." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1960, 60,151-174

3. Learning, Persuasion, and Framing (January 18)

Milton Lodge and Charles Taber, *The Rationalizing Voter*, chaps 1-4

Efrén Pérez, *Unspoken Politics*

Shanto Iyengar et al., "Experimental Demonstrations of the 'Not-so-Minimal' Consequences of Television News Programs." *APSR*, 76 (1982): 848-858.

Dennis Chong and James Druckman, "Framing Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10 (2007): 103-126.

James Druckman, "On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame?" *Journal of Politics*, 63 (2001): 1041-66.

- * Robert Huckfeldt and John Sprague, "Networks in Context: The Social Flow of Political Information." *APSR*, 81 (1987): 1197-1216.
- * Howard Schuman & Stanley Presser, *Questions & Answers in Attitude Surveys*
- * Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, *The Spiral of Silence*, 2nd ed.
- * Paul Sniderman et al, *Reasoning and Choice*
- * Benjamin Page & Robert Shapiro, *The Rational Public*
- * Ronald Inglehart, "Political Value Orientations," in M. Kent Jennings et al., *Continuities in Political Action*
- * Ronald Inglehart, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Democracies*
- * Chen, Serena, and Shelly Chaiken. 1999. "The Heuristic-Systematic Model in Its Broader Context." In Shelly Chaiken and Yaacov Trope (eds.), *Dual-Process Theories in Social Psychology*. New York: Guilford Press, 73-96.
- * Paul Brewer and Kimberly Gross, "Values, Framing, and Citizens' Thoughts about Policy Issues: Effects on Content and Quality." *Political Psychology*, 26 (2005): 929-48.

4. Party Identification and Socialization (January 25)

Larry Bartels, "Partisanship and Voting Behavior: 1952-1996." *AJPS*, 44 (2000): 35-50.

Morris Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in America*, chap 5

M. Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence*, (1974) chaps 1-3 (skim chap 1)

Richard Niemi and M. Kent Jennings, "Issues and Inheritance in the Formation of Party Identification." *AJPS*, 35 (1991): 970-988.

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

* Bruce Keith et al, *The Myth of the Independent Voter*

* Jennings, M. Kent, and Richard G. Niemi. (1974) *Generations and Politics: A Panel Study of Young Adults and Their Parents*.

Paper 1 due

5. Belief Systems, Ideology, and Self-interest (February 1)

Mark Peffly and Jon Hurwitz, "A Hierarchical Model of Attitude Constraint." *AJPS* 29 (): 871-890.

Stanley Feldman, "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: The Role of Core Beliefs and Values." *AJPS* 32 (May 1988): 416-40.

Eric Smith, *The Unchanging American Voter*, chap. 3

Jennifer Hochschild, *What's Fair?* chap. 1-2

Dennis Chong et al., "When Self-interest Matters." *Political Psychology*, 22 (2001): 541-70.

Dana Carney, et al., "The Secret Lives of Liberals and Conservatives: Personality Profiles, Interaction Styles, and the Things They Leave Behind." *Political Psychology*, 29 (2008): 807-40.

* Donald Kinder, "Belief Systems after Converse." In M. Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz, ed., *Electoral Democracy* (2003)

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

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

* Jane Mansbridge, "The Rise and Fall of Self-Interest in the Explanation of Political Life," in J. Mansbridge (ed), *Beyond Self-Interest*

* Jennifer Hochschild, *What's Fair? American Beliefs about Distributive Justice*

* Eric Smith, *The Unchanging American Voter*

* George Marcus et al., *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*

* Stanley Feldman and John Zaller, "The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State." *AJPS* 36 (Feb 1992): 268-307.

6. Presidential and Congressional Elections (February 8)

Gregory Markus & Philip Converse, "A Dynamic Simultaneous Equation Model of the Electoral Choice" *APSR*, 73 (1979):1055-70

Morris Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*, chap 1, pp. 44-47, and chaps 4 and 8

Stuart Elaine Macdonald and George Rabinowitz, "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review*, 83 (1989): 93-121.

James Enelow and Melvin Hinich, *The Spatial Theory of Voting*, chaps 2-3

Jon Krasno, *Challengers, Competition and Reelection*, chaps 1-3, 5
Shaun Bowler et al., “Earthquakes and Aftershocks: Race, Direct Democracy, and Partisan Change.” *AJPS*, 50 (2006): 146-159.
Tali Mendelberg, *The Race Card*, chaps 1, 6,7

- * Warren Miller and Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter*
- * Samuel Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter*
- * Steven Rosenstone et al., *Third Parties in America*, 2nd ed.
- * Larry Bartels, *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*
- * James Enelow and Melvin Hinich, *The Spatial Theory of Voting*
- * Sides, John, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2018. *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America*. Princeton University Press
- * Gary Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*
- * Gary Jacobson, & Samuel Kernell, *Strategy & Choice in Congressional Elections*, 2/e
- * Kim Kahn & Patrick Kenney, *The Spectacle of U.S. Senate Campaigns*
- * Eric Smith and Richard Fox, “The Electoral Fortunes of Women Candidates for Congress.” *Political Research Quarterly*, 54 (2001): 205-21.

7. Voter Turnout and Participation (February 15)

Sidney Verba, Kay Schlozman, & Henry Brady, *Voice and Equality*
Jan Leighley and Jonathan Nagler, *Who Votes Now?* Chaps. 2-3
Alan Gerber and Donald Green, “The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout.” *APSR*, 94 (2000): 653-663.
Zulemn Valdez, “Political Participation among Latinos in the United States: The Effect of Group Consciousness and Identity.” *Social Science Quarterly* 92 (2011): 466-82.

- * Steven Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*
- * Kay Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and Henry Brady, *The Unheavenly Chorus*
- * Paul Abramson et al, *Change & Continuity in the 2016 Elections*, chap 4
- * David Nickerson, “Is Voting Contagious? Evidence from Two Field Experiments.” *APSR*, 102 (2008): 49-57.
- * Donald Green and Alan Gerber, *Get Out the Vote*
- * Markus Prior, “You’ve Either Got It or You Don’t? The Stability of Political Interest over the Life Cycle.” *Journal of Politics*, 72 (2010): 747-766.
- * J. Rusk "Political Participation in American: A review essay" *APSR* 70:583- (1976)
- * Walter D. Burnham, "Theory & Voting Research" [& comments/rejoinder] *APSR*, 68:1002-57 (Sep 1974)
- * Frances Piven and Richard Cloward, *Why Americans Don't Vote*
- * Robert Putnam, “Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital” *Journal of Democracy*, 6 (1995): 65-78.
- * Larry Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*
- * Raymond Wolfinger and Steven Rosenstone, *Who Votes?*

* Fraga, Bernard. 2018. *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*. Cambridge University Press

8. Identity Groups, Political Parties, and Elections (February 22)

Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists*. Princeton U. Press, 2016.

Stokes, Susan. 2018. "Accountability for Realists." *Critical Review* 30: 130 - 138.

Leonie Huddy, "The Group Foundations of Democratic Political Behavior." *Critical Review* 30 (2018): 71-86.

* Henri Tajfel & John Turner, "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior." In *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* Ed. S. Worchel and W. G. Austin, 1986, 7-24.

* Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro, *The Rational Public*. U. of Chicago Press, 1992.

* Walter Stone, *Candidates and Voters* Cambridge University Press, 2017

Paper 2 due

9. The Rise of Conservatives, Polarization, and Race in America (March 1)

Herbert McClosky, "Issue Conflict and Consensus among Party Leaders and Followers." *APSR*, 69 (1960): 406-427.

Shanto Iyengar and Sean Westwood, "Fear and Loathing across party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization." *AJPS*, 59 (2015): 690-707.

Laura Stoker and M. Kent Jennings, "Of Time and the Development of Partisan Polarization." *AJPS* 52 (2008): 619-635.

Marisa Abranjan and Zoltan Hajnal, *White Backlash*

Daniel Hopkins and Samantha Washington, "The Rise of Trump, the Fall of Prejudice? Tracking White Americans' Racial Attitudes via a Panel Survey, 2008–2018." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 84 (2020): 119-140.

* Alan Abramowitz, *The Disappearing Center*

* Morris Fiorina and Samuel Abrams, *Disconnect*

* Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto, *Change They Can't Believe In*

* Sides, John, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America*. Princeton University Press, 2018.

Paper 2 due

10. Tolerance and Civil Liberties (March 8)

Herbert McClosky and Giuseppe DiPalma, "Personality and Conformity: The Learning of Political Attitudes," *APSR*, 64 (1970): 1059-73.

John L. Sullivan, et al., "An Alternative Conceptualization of Political Tolerance," *APSR*, 73 (Sep 1979): 781-94.

Stephen Craig et al., "Core Values, Value Conflict, and Citizens' Ambivalence about Gay Rights," *Political Research Quarterly*, 58 (2005): 5-17.

Donald Haider-Markel and Mark Joslyn, "Beliefs about the Origins of Homosexuality and Support for Gay Rights," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 72 (2008): 291-310.

Jon Hurwitz and Mark Peffley, "Explaining the Great Racial Divide." *Journal of Politics*, 67 (2005): 762-783.

Stanley Feldman and Leonine Huddy, "Racial Resentment and White Opposition to Race-Conscious Programs." *AJPS* 49 (2005): 168-183.

- * Jeremiah Garretson, *The Path to Gay Rights: How Activism and Coming Out Changed Public Opinion* (2018)
- * Benjamin Bishin et al., *Elite-Led Mobilization and Gay Rights: Dispelling the Myth of Mass Opinion Backlash* (2021)
- * Bobo, Lawrence, "Racial Attitudes and Relations at the Close of the Twentieth Century," in N. Smelser, W.J. Wilson, and F. Mitchell (eds.) *America Becoming – Racial Trends and their Consequences*, Washington, D.C.: National Research Council, pp.: 264-301, 2001.
- * Donald Kinder and Lynn Sanders, *Divided by Color* (1996)
- * Bob Altemeyer, *The Authoritarian Specter*
- * Dennis Chong, "How People Think, Reason, and Feel about Rights and Liberties," *AJPS* 37 (Aug 1993): 867-99.
- * Bob Altemeyer, "Highly Dominating, Highly Authoritarian Personalities." *Journal of Social Psychology*, 144 (2004): 421-447
- * James Kuklinsky et al., "The Cognitive and Affective Bases of Political Tolerance Judgments." *AJPS*, 35 (February 1991): 1-27.
- * Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," *APSR*, 58 (1964): 361-82.
- * Howard Schuman, et al., *Racial Attitudes in America*