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## Issues and Policies in American Government

GOV 312L (38389)

CAL 100, Tuesdays and Thursdays, 1100am-1230pm

<https://utexas.instructure.com/courses/1183015>

Syllabus date: October 8, 2016 (10:12pm)

There are many different Gov 312L courses at UT. “Issues and Policies in American Government” is a generic title that they all share. But you will do better to think of this course as “Public Opinion and Representation in the United States,” because this course is about Americans’ views of political issues (“public opinion”) and the extent to which their views influence elected officials (“representation”). The first and larger part of the course takes up public opinion. The second part takes up representation.

Most people who follow politics get their information about public opinion from others—typically, journalists, pundits, and professors—who are in turn getting it from others or, in rare cases, from raw survey data. One of my hopes for this course is that it will free you, at least a little, from dependence on information middlemen who often convey a highly selective view of public opinion. It’s good to be able to answer questions about public opinion for yourself.

This is not a course about statistics or computing. That said, background in statistics or econometrics is sure to help, as many of the assigned readings contain statistical analyses of data on public opinion or representation.

## Exams, Grading, and Absences

There will not be a final exam.

There will be three in-class exams. They are not cumulative; that is, each exam will cover a distinct set of topics. The first exam will count for 35% of your final grade; the second, for 35%; the third, for 30%. See below for the dates of the exams.

You may handwrite or type your exams. If you know that you want to type but will not have a laptop computer, please notify me as early in the semester as possible.

For the exams, you need to know the last names of all of the authors whose works are assigned in this course. If I ask about Converse, you need to know what Converse argued. If I describe an argument of Converse's, you need to know that Converse is the man who made the argument.

*Final paper option.* You may write a final paper of 6 to 9 pages instead of taking the third exam. If you want to take this option, you must let our TA, Philip Moniz, know by e-mail no later than November 17th. You will be required to write in response to one of at least two (and perhaps only two) prompts. The prompts will be distributed sometime on November 24th, and your paper will be due at 1159pm on December 1st. Do not send it by e-mail; instead, upload it to Canvas.

*Syllabus exam.* There will also be a special in-class exam during the first fifteen minutes of class on September 6th. It will not be on the course material *per se*. Instead, it will be on the rules, guidelines, and ideas in this syllabus. You may refer to this syllabus as you take the exam, but to do well, it will help to have read the entire syllabus in advance.

If you score a 90 or above on the syllabus exam, your final grade for the semester will not be affected. If you score between 75 and 90, I will subtract two points from your final grade. If you score below 75, I will subtract five points from your final grade, and I will ask you to drop the course.

### EXAM ABSENCES

If you are absent from an exam and do not have a good reason, your absence will not be excused. You'll get a 0 for the exam. *Think ahead. If you know that you are going to miss an exam, do not take the course.*

Baptisms, bar mitzvahs, bat mitzvahs, births, job interviews, weddings, and extracurricular activities (athletic or not) are never sufficient reasons for absence from an exam.

Please do not ask a coach to ask me that your absence from an exam be excused because you had to practice, play, or travel for a game. It won't make a difference to me, and you will be wasting the coach's time.

If you miss an exam and your absence is excused, you will need to take a make-up exam. There will only be one make-up exam for each regular exam, so make your arrangements as soon as possible. Send email to me to set a make-up time.

### EXAM PICKUP POLICY

If you are not in class when exams are handed back, meet with Philip. I will not have your exam, and to ensure the confidentiality of your grade, Philip will not leave your exam in a mailbox or give it to a friend.

### EXAM REGRADES

If you think that your exam has been graded in error, talk to Philip. If Philip does not change the grade, you are welcome to talk to me.

Whether regrade requests are made of Philip or of me, they must be made within ten days of the date on which exams were handed back in class.

Historically, the only successful regrade requests have been requests that students justify with reference to specific passages in the assigned reading. And if there are particular passages or other points that you want me to consider as I regrade your exam, you should send them to me by e-mail. I will not read handwritten explanatory notes.

If I regrade your exam, your grade may go down.

### MOST EXAM GRADING WILL BE BLIND

Except for the syllabus exam, all exams will be graded blind. I will not know your exam grades until I calculate your overall grade for the semester.

### TRANSLATION OF NUMBERS INTO LETTER GRADES

All of the grades that you receive in this course will be numbers. But I need to report letter grades to the Registrar's Office. This is how I will translate numbers into letter grades: below 60 = F, 60 to 63 = D-, 63 to 67 = D, 67 to 70 = D+, 70 to 73 = C-, 73 to 77 = C, 77 to 80 = C+, 80 to 83 = B-, 83 to 87 = B, 87 to 90 = B+, 90 to 93 = A-, 93 and above = A.

### GRADES WILL BE CURVED

At least 35% of students will receive an A- or an A on each exam and for an end-of-semester grade. To make this happen for any particular exam, I will calculate the raw score (out of 100) for the student at the 40th percentile of the grade distribution. Let this score be  $s$ . I will add  $\min\{0, 90 - s\}$  points to this student's score, bringing it to 90. I will add the same number of points to every other student's score. I will use the same procedure to adjust the end-of-semester grades.

I will not use a similar procedure to adjust grades downward. The percentage of students receiving an A- or an A will not be capped; it may be higher than 35%.

## GRADES WILL NOT BE ROUNDED UP

Grades will not be rounded up. For example, a final grade of 92.9 will be reported to the Registrar as an A-.

## Office Hours

Office hours will take place on most Wednesdays from 115pm to 415pm. They will be held at my office: Batts Hall, Room 3.136. You do not need to make an appointment in advance, but I prefer that you do. Making an appointment also reduces the probability that you will need to wait while I'm meeting with other students.

You cannot sign up for my office hours through Canvas. Instead, please make appointments through <https://www.slotted.co/2016fall>. When you make an appointment, please add a comment indicating what you would like to talk about when we meet.

If all office-hours slots are full—you can tell by checking the slotted.co site—I generally will not be able to meet with you during or immediately after office hours.

## Questions That You Should Not Ask

I like to take questions, including naive questions. (Naive questions may be excellent questions.) I do not expect that you already know any of the material that we cover in this course. I also expect that you will be confused at times, and clarifying questions about confusing points are always in order. But there are a few questions that you should not ask. See <http://johnbullock.org/teaching/badQuestions.pdf> for details. *Reviewing that document is a requirement of this course.*

## Readings

Required readings are marked with an asterisk. The other readings in the syllabus are recommended but not required.

One book is required:

Fiorina, Morris P. 2011. *Culture War?* 3rd ed. New York: Pearson Longman.  
ISBN 978-0205779888.

The book will not be available from the UT Co-op Bookstore. You must obtain a copy—and soon, because it is assigned early in the semester. There are several excellent online bookstores, and I recommend that you order a copy from one of them immediately. “It was out of stock” is not an adequate excuse for not having the book.

I expect to make small changes to the reading list throughout the term. Whenever I make changes especially worth noting, I'll send an announcement via e-mail.

### FINDING THE READINGS

There is no packet of course readings. You should print or acquire them yourself. Most of them are available online, either from URLs that are given in this syllabus or from the course website. If there is no URL in the syllabus and the course website doesn't have the article, please search for it online. *You are responsible for locating every one of the assigned readings.*

In every semester, my TAs and I receive messages from students telling us that certain readings cannot be found online. Most of these messages are incorrect. Please do not send a message along these lines unless you have failed to find a reading *and* have conferred with someone else in the course who has also failed to find it.

I find most of the course readings (except those available through Canvas) by searching Google Scholar via <https://scholar-google-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu>. I recommend that you start your searches with that URL.

You may need to use an on-campus computer or to connect through the UT-Austin VPN to download the articles. If you don't know what a VPN is, see <http://www.utexas.edu/its/vpn/>.

### RECOMMENDED READINGS

Almost all of my recommendations are topic-specific, and they therefore appear below, in the sections on specific topics. But I also recommend two general texts to you:

Erikson, Robert S., and Kent L. Tedin. 2015. *American Public Opinion*. 9th ed. Longman.

Wlezien, Christopher. 2011. "Public Opinion and Public Policy in Advanced Democracies." *Oxford Bibliographies*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/OBO/9780199756223-0045>. Annotated bibliography. Very helpful for those who want to study representation.

### BACKGROUND READINGS IN STATISTICS

There is no statistics prerequisite, but many of the assigned articles use simple statistics. If you want to better understand the statistical methods that you encounter in the articles, I recommend:

Freedman, David, Robert Pisani, and Roger Purves. 1998. *Statistics*. 3rd ed. New York: W. W. Norton. Presumes almost no background. A few chapters are assigned for the first class and are available from the class web site. There is now a fourth edition; I haven't read it.

Freedman, David A. 2009. *Statistical Models: Theory and Practice*. Revised ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. This is better than *Statistics* but also more advanced. Chapters 1-5 are excellent for self-study if you do the exercises.

Angrist, Joshua D., and Jörn-Steffen Pischke. 2014. *Mastering 'Metrics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. The focus is on the application of quantitative methods to practical problems. Excellent.

## WHAT'S LEFT OUT

In this course, I am doing three things that would ordinarily be done in three different courses: introducing you to ideas and findings in public opinion research; introducing you to ideas and findings in representation research; and teaching you a bit of R. Doing all of this in one course requires some tough compromises.

The toughest three compromises are the omissions of weeks on “nonattitudes,” media effects, and public opinion about war. I will bring these topics into our discussions when appropriate, and you shouldn't hesitate to ask about them. But notice that we don't have a full class devoted to any of these topics.

## Teaching Assistant

The teaching assistant for this course is Philip Moniz ([pmoniz@utexas.edu](mailto:pmoniz@utexas.edu)). He will hold office hours at Batts 1.118 on Tuesdays 200pm-330pm and on Thursdays 1230pm-200pm.

## Accommodation for Disabilities

If you are disabled, you may ask for accommodations from the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities (512-471-6259, <http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/>).

## August 25 (R): Introduction

\*This syllabus—please read all of it before coming to class.

\*Levitt, Steven D., and Stephen J. Dubner. 2005. *Freakonomics*. New York: Harper Perennial. Pages 162-68. A very casual introduction to regression analysis. Those who are already comfortable with regression can skip this reading.

\*Stimson, James A. 2015. *Tides of Consent: How Public Opinion Shapes American Politics*. 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2.

\*Lee, Hermione. 1996. *Virginia Woolf*. New York: Knopf. Pages 286-87. Read from “At the time, in fact . . .” to “the specialist in abnormality.” There is a direct link between this reading and the Stimson reading. What is it? Come to class with an answer: I may put the question to you, and “I don’t know” will not be an acceptable response.

## August 30 (T): Should We Care about Public Opinion?

Each reading required for this part of the class can be seen as offering a reason why we should *not* care about public opinion. For each reading, try to figure out what the reason is. And in light of these reasons, why should we care about public opinion?

\*Bishop, George F. 2005. *The Illusion of Public Opinion*. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield. Chapters 1-2. Skim pages 1-8, picking up on page 8 with “Far from an isolated example . . .”

\*Hibbs, Jr., Douglas A. 2008. “Implications of the ‘Bread and Peace’ Model for the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election.” *Public Choice* 137 (September): 1-10. <http://www.springerlink.com/content/f533t53183x419wl/?p=fce77dfbc1834fe6989ce602f9dee31b>.

Achen, Christopher H., and Larry M. Bartels. 2004. “Musical Chairs: Pocketbook Voting and the Limits of Democratic Accountability.” Presented at the Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago. <https://my.vanderbilt.edu/larrybartels/files/2011/12/musical-chairs.pdf>.

Lauderdale, Benjamin E, and Drew A Linzer. 2015. “Under-performing, Over-performing, or Just Performing? The Limitations of Fundamentals-Based Presidential Election Forecasting.” *International Journal of Forecasting* 31 (July-September): 965-79. Read it partly as a response to Hibbs.

Lee, David S., Enrico Moretti, and Matthew J. Butler. 2004. “Do Voters Affect or Elect Policies? Evidence from the U.S. House.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 119 (August): 807-59. <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1162/0033553041502153>. Very difficult.

Readings marked by an asterisk (\*) are required. All others are optional.

## September 1 (R): Should We Care about Public Opinion? (continued)

\*Key, Jr., V.O. 1960. "The Politically Relevant in Surveys." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 24 (1): 54-61. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2746665>. Read 54-56 and 60-61; you can skim the rest.

\*Hacker, Jacob S. 2010. "The Road to Somewhere: Why Health Reform Happened." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (3): 861-76. <http://journals.cambridge.org/production/action/cjoGetFulltext?fulltextid=7874748>. Focus on pages 869-70; skim the rest.

\*Hacker, Jacob S., and Paul Pierson. 2005b. *Off Center: The Republican Revolution and the Erosion of American Democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapter 5. Focus on pages 149-62, which are about "backlash insurance." Skim the rest.

## September 6 (T): Syllabus Exam *and* Polling

\*Gelman, Andrew. 2011 November 29b. "Why Are Primaries Hard to Predict." *New York Times*. <http://nyti.ms/2b3u0JV>.

\*Erikson, Robert S., and Kent L. Tedin. 2015. *American Public Opinion*. 9th ed. Longman. Chapter 2.

Freedman, David, Robert Pisani, and Roger Purves. 1998. *Statistics*. 3rd ed. New York: W. W. Norton. Chapters 19-21. More than in Erikson and Tedin, the focus here is on the statistical aspects of polling. The prose here is unusually engaging, given the subject matter.

Focus on the parts about surveys. In the files for each chapter (available from the course website), I've omitted a few pages that have no relevant information.

Bishop, George F. 2005. *The Illusion of Public Opinion*. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield. Especially Chapters 1-2 (which were assigned for the previous class).

Druckman, James N., and Lawrence R. Jacobs. 2006. "Lumpers and Splitters: The Public Opinion Information that Politicians Collect and Use." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 70 (4): 453-76. How are presidents affected by polling?

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 (October): 409-51. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/194212>.



## September 8 (R): Polling (continued)

\*Cohn, Nate. 2016 January 07. "Why Polls Have Been Wrong Recently." *New York Times*.  
<http://nyti.ms/1JwXWcF>. Touches on several of the biggest current issues in election polling.

## September 13 (T): Partisanship

\*Lewis-Beck, Michael S., William G. Jacoby, Helmut Norpoth, and Herbert F. Weisberg. 2008. *The American Voter Revisited*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Chapter 6. The book is an update of *The American Voter* (Campbell et al. 1960), a highly influential but now rather dated book. You may also want to examine Chapter 4 ("Partisan Choice"), but it is not required.

Lenz, Gabriel S. 2012. *Follow the Leader?* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Hersh, Eitan D. 2015. *Hacking the Electorate: How Campaigns Perceive Voters*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Especially Chapter 5. What can campaigns predict about you if they know your party registration, and how well can they predict it?

Green, Donald P. 2013. "Breaking Empirical Deadlocks in the Study of Partisanship: An Overview of Experimental Research Strategies." *Politics and Governance* 1 (1): 6-15. Somewhat advanced. Useful framing of the pre-experimental literature, and a nice introduction to Gerber, Huber, and Washington (2010).

Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, and Ebonya Washington. 2010. "Party Affiliation, Partisanship, and Political Beliefs: A Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 104 (November): 720-44. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055410000407>. Think about how to manipulate partisanship in an experiment. In this article, the authors show you how to do it rather simply.

Gerber, Alan S., and Gregory A. Huber. 2009. "Partisanship and Economic Behavior: Do Partisan Differences in Economic Forecasts Predict Real Economic Behavior?" *American Political Science Review* 103 (August): 407-26. <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?aid=6101708>.

Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapters 1, 2, and 8. Available from the course web site. The authors' main argument is that party identification is very stable over time.

Erikson, Robert S., Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 2002. *The Macro Polity*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 4 and 5. [http://resources.library.yale.edu/ereserves/default.asp?class=PLSC238A&File=PLSC\\_238A\\_2.pdf](http://resources.library.yale.edu/ereserves/default.asp?class=PLSC238A&File=PLSC_238A_2.pdf).

Bullock, John G. 2011. "Elite Influence on Public Opinion in an Informed Electorate." *American Political Science Review* 105 (September): 496-515. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055411000165>.

## September 15 (R): Partisan Polarization in the Mass Public

\*Fiorina, Morris P. 2011. *Culture War?* 3rd ed. New York: Pearson Longman. Read the whole book, except for this: you can choose whether to read the abortion chapter or the gay rights chapter, and you should skip both Chapter 8 and the epilogue.

\*Gelman, Andrew. 2015 November 29a. "Where's the Partisan Polarization on Abortion?" <https://goo.gl/Uk9rPP>. Focus above all on the first figure.

\*Iyengar, Shanto, Gaurav Sood, and Yphtach Lelkes. 2012. "Affect, Not Ideology: A Social Identity Perspective on Polarization." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76 (Fall): 405-31. Skip 421-27. And note that there is an error on page 412: see the correction at <http://poq.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/content/76/4/819.full.pdf+html>.

Fiorina, Morris P., and Samuel J. Abrams. 2008. "Political Polarization in the American Public." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 563-88. Read 574-75 ("Polarized Choices") Also read 577-82 ("Party Sorting"), including the page-581 sidebar on the importance of party identification.

Ansolabehere, Stephen, Jonathan Rodden, and James M. Snyder, Jr. 2006. "Purple America." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20 (2): 97-118. <http://www.stanford.edu/~jrodden/jep.20.2.pdf>.

Abramowitz, Alan I., and Kyle L. Saunders. 2008. "Is Polarization a Myth?" *Journal of Politics* 70 (April): 542-55. [http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract\\_S0022381608080493](http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0022381608080493).

Fiorina, Morris P., Samuel A. Abrams, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2008. "Polarization in the American Public: Misconceptions and Misreadings." *Journal of Politics* 70 (April): 556-60. [http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract\\_S002238160808050X](http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S002238160808050X).

Jacobson, Gary C. 2006. *A Divider, Not a Uniter: George W. Bush and the American People*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.

## September 20 (T): Income and Voting I

Of late, there has been a lot of interest in the link between income and representation: are rich citizens better represented than others? We will take up this question—but later in the course, when we take up representation. Our focus this week has more to do with the ways in which income may shape the attitudes and preferences of ordinary citizens.

\*Goldstein, Dan. 2016 March 07. “*The Wall Street Journal Uses the Word ‘Percentile’ Incorrectly.*” <http://goo.gl/gyNa6l>.

\*Alesina, Alberto, and Edward L. Glaeser. 2004. *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe*. Oxford. Chapter 7. <http://goo.gl/UwPuq>. Note an error: on page 213, where the authors write that “bigger countries should be more likely to believe that luck determines income,” they mean “less likely.”

\*Gelman, Andrew, David Park, Boris Shor, Joseph Bafumi, and Jeronimo Cortina. 2010. *Red State, Blue State, Rich State, Poor State*. Expanded ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 4 and 5.

Aarøe, Lene, and Michael Bang Petersen. 2014. “Crowding out Culture: Scandinavians and Americans Agree on Social Welfare in the Face of Deservingness Cues.” *Journal of Politics* 76 (03): 684-697. A complement to the chapter by Alesina and Glaeser.

McCarty, Nolan, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. 2006. *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Chapter 3.

Bartels, Larry M., and John Zaller. 2001. “Presidential Vote Models: A Recount.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 34 (1): 9-20. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1049096501000026>. Interesting and important, but difficult to understand if you do not have prior experience with regression analysis.

Page, Benjamin I., Larry M. Bartels, and Jason Seawright. 2013. “Democracy and the Policy Preferences of Wealthy Americans.” *Perspectives on Politics* 11 (1): 51-73. <http://goo.gl/oB3A9n>. This article is about wealth, not income.

Roemer, John E. 1998. “Why the Poor Do Not Expropriate the Rich: An Old Argument in New Garb.” *Journal of Public Economics* 70 (December): 399-424. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2727\(98\)00042-5](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2727(98)00042-5).

Scheve, Kenneth, and David Stasavage. 2010. “The Conscription of Wealth: Mass Warfare and the Demand for Progressive Taxation.” *International Organization* 64 (4): 529-61. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0020818310000226>.

Walsh, Katherine Cramer. 2012. “Putting Inequality in Its Place: Rural Consciousness and the Power of Perspective.” *American Political Science Review* 106 (August): 517-32. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055412000305>.

Shapiro, Ian. 2002. "Why the Poor Don't Soak the Rich." *Daedalus* 131 (Winter): 118-28.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20027743>.

September 22 (R): Exam 1

September 27 (T): To Be Determined

September 29 (R): Education and Public Opinion

\*Fisher, Patrick. 2014. *Demographic Gaps in American Political Behavior*. Westview Press. Pages 40-42.

\*Erikson, Robert S., and Kent L. Tedin. 2015. *American Public Opinion*. 9th ed. Longman. Pages 131-138.

\*Alesina, Alberto, and Edward L. Glaeser. 2004. *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe*. Oxford. Pages 204-206. You read the entire chapter for last week's classes. But *re-read* these pages, which are especially about education. There is an important idea in these three pages, and I will be asking you about it.

Hainmueller, Jens, and Michael J. Hiscox. 2006. "Learning to Love Globalization: Education and Individual Attitudes toward International Trade." *International Organization* 60 (2): 469-98.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3877900>.

Key, Jr., V. O. 1961. *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. New York: Knopf. Chapter 13, "The Educational System."

Stouffer, Samuel A. 1955. *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*. Doubleday. Chapters 4 and 5. Dated, but deservedly influential.

Sullivan, John L., James Piereson, and George E. Marcus. 1982. *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Pages 114-126.

MacMullen, Ian. 2011. "On Status Quo Bias in Civic Education." *Journal of Politics* 73 (July): 872-86. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0022381611000521>. An excellent political theory article.

Merelman, Richard M. 1980. "Democratic Politics and the Culture of American Education." *American Political Science Review* 74 (June): 319-32. This article is a work of political theory.

Readings marked by an asterisk (\*) are required. All others are optional.

Some of the ideas in it are radical. Some are ridiculous. Some are profound. There are short follow-ups to this article in the same issue of the APSR, but I don't find them edifying.

## October 4 (T): Education and Public Opinion (continued)

\*Marshall, John. 2015. "Learning to Be Conservative." Harvard University. Manuscript.

\*Mendelberg, Tali, Katherine T. McCabe, and Adam Thal. 2016. "College Socialization and the Economic Views of Affluent Americans." *American Journal of Political Science* 60. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12265>. Skip the sections entitled "Cohort Political Opinion Norm" and "Alternative Mechanism: Networks" (pages 13-16).

Dee, Thomas S. 2004. "Are There Civic Returns to Education?" *Journal of Public Economics* 88 (9-10): 1697-1720.

## October 6 (R): Using Public Datasets to Study Public Opinion

\*On the Canvas website, please find my instructions on getting started with R. Follow those instructions before coming to class.

\*Read the questions in the [2008 ANES codebook](#). (You will need to scroll down a little to get to the interesting stuff.) Also read <http://www.electionstudies.org/studypages/2008prepost/2008prepost.htm> and prowl around <http://www.electionstudies.org> for at least a bit.

Dalgaard, Peter. 2002. *Introductory Statistics With R*. New York: Springer. Then read Chapters 1 and 3 and work through the exercises in those chapters.

King, Gary. 1995. "Replication, Replication." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 28 (September): 444-52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/420301>. Among other things, this article outlines an excellent strategy for data-based senior theses.

Nagler, Jonathan. 1995. "Coding Style and Good Computer Practices." *The Political Methodologist* 6 (Spring): 2-8. [http://polmeth.wustl.edu/tpm/tpm\\_v6\\_n2.pdf](http://polmeth.wustl.edu/tpm/tpm_v6_n2.pdf). Dated but highly recommended. The link is to a PDF of the entire issue; you need only print pages 2-8.

If you want general information about R, read <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/07/technology/business-computing/07program.html> and check out the R web site at <http://www.r-project.org/>.

## October 11 (T): Racial Attitudes

\*Fisher, Patrick. 2014. *Demographic Gaps in American Political Behavior*. Westview Press. Chapter 5.

\*Hopkins, Daniel J. 2009. "No More Wilder Effect, Never a Whitman Effect: When and Why Polls Mislead about Black and Female Candidates." *Journal of Politics* 71 (July): 769-81. <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=5962084>.

\*Kinder, Donald R., and Allison Dale-Riddle. 2012. *The End of Race? Obama, 2008, and Racial Politics in America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapter 2. Read pages 26-38 and 46-56. Skim the rest.

Sniderman, Paul M., and Edward G. Carmines. 1997. *Reaching Beyond Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapter 2. The authors' argument is built around several simple figures. Think about the simple and complex interpretations that could be assigned to each figure, and think about how defensible those interpretations are.

Huddy, Leonie, and Stanley Feldman. 2009. "On Assessing the Political Effects of Racial Prejudice." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 423-47. <http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.062906.070752>. Mainly about different measures of racism. Read up to 434; skim the rest.

Wilson, Thomas C. 1996. "Cohort and Prejudice: Whites' Attitudes Toward Blacks, Hispanics, Jews, and Asians." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 60 (Summer): 253-74. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2749690>.

## October 13 (R): Income and Voting II: The 2001 Tax Cuts

\*Bartels, Larry M. 2005. "Homer Gets a Tax Cut: Inequality and Public Policy in the American Mind." *Perspectives on Politics* 3 (March): 15-31. <http://journals.cambridge.org/production/action/cjoGetFulltext?fulltextid=286250>.

\*Lupia, Arthur, Adam Seth Levine, Jesse O. Menning, and Gisela Sin. 2007. "Were Bush Tax Cut Supporters 'Simply Ignorant?' A Second Look at Conservatives and Liberals in 'Homer Gets a Tax Cut'." *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (December): 773-84. [http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract\\_S1537592707072210](http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S1537592707072210).

\*Bartels, Larry M. 2007. "Homer Gets a Warm Hug: A Note on Ignorance and Extenuation." *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (December): 785-90. [http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract\\_S1537592707072222](http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S1537592707072222).

\*Hacker, Jacob S., and Paul Pierson. 2005a. "Abandoning the Middle: The Bush Tax Cuts and the Limits of Democratic Control." *Perspectives on Politics* 3 (March): 33-53.

Graetz, Michael J., and Ian Shapiro. 2005. *Death by a Thousand Cuts: The Fight over Taxing Inherited Wealth*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bartels, Larry M. 2008. *Unequal Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapter 7, "The Strange Appeal of Estate Tax Repeal." Part of this is a direct criticism of Graetz and Shapiro (2005).

Walsh, Katherine Cramer. 2012. "Putting Inequality in Its Place: Rural Consciousness and the Power of Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 106 (August): 517-32. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055412000305>.

## October 18 (T): Political Knowledge I

\*Lupia, Arthur. 2016. *Uninformed: Why People Know So Little about Politics and What We Can Do about It*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapters 14-16.

\*Luskin, Robert C. 1987. "Measuring Political Sophistication." *American Journal of Political Science* 31 (November): 856-99. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2111227>. Read the first eight pages; skim the remainder.

\*Bartels, Larry M. 1996. "Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 40 (February): 194-230. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2111700>.

\*Gilens, Martin. 2001. "Political Ignorance and Collective Policy Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 95 (2): 379-96.

Converse, Philip E. 2000. "Assessing the Capacity of Mass Electorates." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 331-53.

Althaus, Scott L. 2003. *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Part 2.

McKelvey, Richard D., and Peter C. Ordeshook. 1986. "Information, Electoral Equilibria, and the Democratic Ideal." *Journal of Politics* 48 (November): 909-37. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2131005>.

## October 20 (R): Exam 2



## October 25 (T): To Be Determined

## October 27 (R): Theoretic Foundations of Representation I

\*Stewart, Charles III. 2001. *Analyzing Congress*. New York: W. W. Norton. Chapter 1 through page 35, and pages 45-49.

Grofman, Bernard. 2004. "Downs and Two-Party Convergence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7: 25-46. <http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.polisci.7.012003.104711>. Shows how the assumptions of Downs' formulation of the median voter theorem often fail to hold in practice.

## November 1 (T): Theoretic Foundations of Representation II

\*Lepore, Jill. 2013. "Long Division." *The New Yorker*, December 2. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/12/02/long-division> (accessed August 23, 2015). There is some editorializing here. For our purposes, focus on the summaries of specific research efforts by social scientists.

\*Mayhew, David R. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Introduction and Part 1.

## November 3 (R): Descriptive and Substantive Representation

The first two required readings for this unit are theoretical, not empirical.

\*Burke, Edmund. 1774. "Speech to the Electors of Bristol." <http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/v1ch13s7.html> (accessed August 24, 2015).

\*Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *Journal of Politics* 61 (3): 628-657. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2647821>.

\*Butler, Daniel M., and David E. Broockman. 2011. "Do Politicians Racially Discriminate Against Constituents? A Field Experiment on State Legislators." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (July): 463-77. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00515.x/pdf>.

Mansbridge, Jane. 2003. "Rethinking Representation." *American Political Science Review* 97 (4): 515-528. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055403000856>. I prefer Mansbridge's 1999 article; I



find the thinking in this one to be somewhat muddled. But it does have some useful ideas. Read Table 1 (page 525) immediately after reading the introduction.

Rehfeld, Andrew. 2009. "Representation Rethought: On Trustees, Delegates, and Gyroscopes in the Study of Political Representation and Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 103 (2): 214-30. <http://journals.cambridge.org/production/action/cjoGetFulltext?fulltextid=5832116>. A response to Mansbridge (2003).

Lax, Jeffrey R., and Justin H. Phillips. 2012. "The Democratic Deficit in the States." *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (January): 148-66. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00537.x/abstract>.

Canes-Wrone, Brandice, Michael C. Herron, and Kenneth W. Shotts. 2001. "Leadership and Pandering: A Theory of Executive Policymaking." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (July): 532-550. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2669237>.

Canes-Wrone, Brandice, David W. Brady, and John F. Cogan. 2004. "Out of Step, Out of Office." *American Political Science Review* 96 (March): 127-140. <http://journals.cambridge.org/production/action/cjoGetFulltext?fulltextid=208468>.

## November 8 (T): Election Day

No assigned readings. I will assimilate some of the topics that we've covered and explain how they relate to the 2016 elections.

## November 10 (R): After Election Day

A further effort to link the ideas of the course to the 2016 election—this time, with the election behind us.

## November 15 (T): To Be Determined

## November 17 (R): Who Gets Represented?

\*Gilens, Martin, and Benjamin I. Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (September): 564-81. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592714001595>. Skim the early section entitled "Four Theoretical Traditions." Read the rest.

\*Matthews, Dylan. 2016 May 9. "Remember that study saying America is an oligarchy? 3 rebuttals say it's wrong." <http://www.vox.com/2016/5/9/11502464/gilens-page-oligarchy-study>.

\*Gilens, Martin, and Benjamin I. Page. 2016 May 23. "Critics argued with our analysis of U.S. political inequality. Here are 5 ways they're wrong." <http://wapo.st/1TDPnzE>.

\*Patty, John. 2014. "It's Better To Fight When You Can Win, Or At Least Look Like You Did." <http://www.mathofpolitics.com/2014/04/08/its-better-to-fight-when-you-can-win-or-at-least-look-like-you-did/> (accessed August 24, 2015).

Gilens, Martin. 2012. *Affluence and Influence*. New York: Russell Sage. Impressive and the product of an enormous effort. Some people find the first chapter boring, but if you know the background—if you realize that Gilens is using the chapter to join a long debate about the importance of public opinion—you won't be bored.

*Boston Review* published a symposium on Gilens' book. I recommend the contributions by Bartels, Yglesias, and Ferejohn. You can find links to those responses at <http://goo.gl/Cywco3>.

Erikson, Robert S. 2015. "Income Inequality and Policy Responsiveness." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (May): 11-29. <http://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-020614-094706>.

Wlezien, Christopher, and Stuart N. Soroka. 2011. "Inequality in Policy Responsiveness." In *Who Gets Represented?*, ed. Peter K. Enns and Christopher Wlezien. New York: Russell Sage.

Butler, Daniel M., and David W. Nickerson. 2011. "Can Learning Constituency Opinion Affect How Legislators Vote? Results from a Field Experiment." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 6 (1): 55-83. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1561/100.00011019>.

Shapiro, Robert Y. 2011. "Public Opinion and American Democracy." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 75 (5): 982-1017.

## November 22 (T): Who Gets Represented? (continued)

\*Brunner, Eric, Stephen L. Ross, and Ebonya Washington. 2013. "Does Less Income Mean Less Representation?" *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 5 (May): 53-76. <http://www.aeaweb.org/articles.php?hs=1&fnd=s&doi=10.1257/pol.5.2.53>. This will be a difficult article for many of you. But it is worth the effort. Note an error in Tables 2 and 3: the word "percentile" occurs seven times in those tables; in every case, it should be "tercile."

## November 29 (T): Conclusion

By this time, we will have covered many ideas and a lot of research. I will use this class to review and synthesize the semester's readings.

## December 1 (R): Exam 3; Papers Due

Papers are due for those who opt to write a paper instead of taking the third exam.