

**Political Science 220**  
Public Opinion and Political Psychology  
Spring 2010  
Tuesday, 3:30-6:00, Monroe B38

John Sides  
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Office hours: Wednesday, 9:30-11:30 am, and by appt.  
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This course surveys major theoretical approaches and empirical research in the field of political behavior. It focuses mainly on psychological approaches to understanding individual citizens' attitudes and actions, and on the implications of individual choices for both collective outcomes and for the quality of representative democracy. Among the alternative approaches we will encounter are theories of rational choice, personality, information-processing and cognition, social learning, and group identity and conflict. Among the many substantive topics we will investigate are authoritarianism, political socialization, political ideologies, the mass media, racial attitudes, and political participation. The majority of empirical research that we will discuss centers on American politics, although we will read and discuss research that is cross-national or comparative in scope.

It should be noted that much of the empirical research that we read will be quantitative in nature. Familiarity with multivariate statistics will be helpful in understanding these articles, but it is not required.

The course has three learning objectives:

- You will become familiar with a wide range of literatures that are routinely part of Ph.D. field examinations, particularly in American politics.
- You will understand and reflect on contemporary debates in the study of political behavior.
- You will be able to think both appreciatively and critically about social scientific research.

### **Seminar Organization and Requirements**

Our weekly meetings will center on a critical analysis of the assigned readings for that week. At the beginning of the meeting, I will ask everyone to offer a brief comment, question, musing, etc. that will serve to help orient the discussion that follows. I will then have comments to offer—and these may take the form of a quasi-lecture—but thereafter our time will be spent in conversation.

Every week, you are required to write a short essay responding to the week's readings. It should be 2 double-spaced pages in length. The essays should engage at least several of the week's readings by doing one of more of the following:

- juxtaposing and commenting on alternative explanations for 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 question or hypotheses for research; and/or
- identifying similarities to or contrasts with the arguments or research in previous readings.

The essential component of these papers is your own argument. Do not summarize or recapitulate the arguments of the readings.

These papers are due by **5 pm on the Monday before class**.

The course's major assignment is a final exam. The exam will be take-home and will have a (self-enforced) three-hour time limit. You may not use any books or notes. The exam thus mimics in some respects a Ph.D. comprehensive exam. Your course grade will be based primarily on your final exam. Your reaction papers and section participation will count for much less, unless you are systematically failing to produce quality papers or contribute productively to class discussion.

## Readings

The following books are required:

- Larry M. Bartels. 2008. *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dennis Chong. 2000. *Rational Lives: Norms and Values in Politics and Society*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Donald L. Horowitz. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Michael Lewis-Beck et al. 2008. *The American Voter Revisited*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Stanley Milgram. 1974. *Obedience to Authority*. New York: Harper & Row.
- David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis. 2003. *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- David O. Sears, Jim Sidanius, and Lawrence Bobo, eds. 2000. *Racialized Politics: The Debate about Racism in America*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- John Zaller. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

In addition to these books, there are a number of articles and book chapters. Most of these articles are available on-line via electronic databases (e.g., JSTOR or ALADIN). They can also be found via ++++++Google Scholar. In a few cases, I will place on Blackboard articles that I have already copied and scanned to pdf format (denoted BB throughout).

I strongly suggest that you muster a form of collective action that minimizes the time and printer ink involved in obtaining the readings.

## Course Plan

### Introduction

January 12

- Sears, Huddy, and Jervis. Chapter 1.
- Bartels, ch. 1-2. Familiarize yourself with the chapter outline, as we will be reading the chapters out of order.

### Personality and Authoritarianism

January 19

#### *Personality*

- Sears, Huddy, and Jervis, chapter 4.
- Greenstein, Fred I. 1987. *Personality and Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 2, 4. [BB]
- Mondak, Jeffery J., and Karen D. Halperin. 2008. "A Framework for the Study of Personality and Political Behaviour." *British Journal of Political Science* 38: 335-362.
- Block, Jack, and Jeanne H. Block. 2006. "Nursery School Personality and Political Orientation Two Decades Later." *Journal of Research in Personality* 40: 734-749.

#### *Authoritarianism*

- Roger Brown. 1965. *Social Psychology*. New York: The Free Press. Chapter 10 ("The Authoritarian Personality and the Organization of Attitudes"). [BB]
- Stenner, Karen. 2005. *The Authoritarian Dynamic*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-4. [BB]
- Hetherington, Marc, and Jonathan D. Weiler. 2008. *Authoritarianism and Polarization in American Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3 and 6. [BB]
- Jost, John T., Jack Glaser, Arie W. Kruglanski, and Frank J. Sulloway. 2003. "Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition." *Psychological Bulletin* 129(3): 339-375.

#### *Further reading*

- The work of Robert Altemeyer on "right-wing authoritarianism."
- Amodio, David M., John T. Jost, Sarah L. Master, and Cindy M. Yee. 2007. "Neurocognitive Correlates of Liberalism and Conservatism." *Nature Neuroscience* 10: 1246-1247.
- Robert M. Bray and Audrey M. Noble. 1978. "Authoritarianism and Decisions of Mock Juries: Evidence of Jury Bias and Group Polarization." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 36 (12): 1424-1430.
- Richard M. Doty, Bill E. Peterson, and David G. Winter. 1991. "Threat and Authoritarianism in the United States, 1978-1987." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 61 (4): 629-640.
- John Duckitt. 1989. "Authoritarianism and Group Identification: A New View of an Old Construct." *Political Psychology* 10: 63-84.
- Stanley Feldman. 2003. "Enforcing Social Conformity: A Theory of Authoritarianism." *Political Psychology* 24 (1): 41-74.
- Herbert McClosky and Dennis Chong. 1985. "Similarities and Differences between Left-Wing and Right-Wing Radicals." *British Journal of Political Science* 15 (3): 329-363.

- Sanford, Nevitt. 1981. "The Approach of the Authoritarian Personality." In Fred I. Greenstein and Michael Lerner (eds.), *A Source Book for the Study of Personality and Politics*. Chicago: Markham. (Skim pp. 304-311, but begin reading in earnest with the section entitled "The F Scale.")

### Rational Choice and Its Critics

January 26

- Sears, Huddy, and Jarvis, chapters 2 and 21.
- Donald P. Green and Ian Shapiro. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 2 and 3. [BB]
- Robert Abelson. 1996. "The Secret Existence of Expressive Behavior." In Jeffrey Friedman (ed.), *The Rational Choice Controversy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. [BB]
- Morris Fiorina. 1996. "Rational Choice, Empirical Contributions, and the Scientific Enterprise." of Rational Choice." In Jeffrey Friedman (ed.), *The Rational Choice Controversy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. [BB]
- John Ferejohn and Debra Satz. 1996. "Unification, Universalism, and Rational Choice Theory." In Jeffrey Friedman (ed.), *The Rational Choice Controversy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. [BB]
- Amartya Sen. 1977. "Rational Fools." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 6: 317-344.
- Chong, chapters 1, 2, and 5.
- Jack Citrin and Donald Green. 1990. "The Self-Interest Motive in American Public Opinion." *Research in Micropolitics* 3: 1-28. [BB]
- Bartels, chapters 3, 6-7.

### Further reading

- Jane Mansbridge (ed.). 1990. *Beyond Self-Interest*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Karen Schweers Cook and Margaret Levi (eds.). 1990. *The Limits of Rationality*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

### Political Socialization

February 2

- Sears, Huddy, and Jarvis, chapter 3.
- M. Kent Jennings. 1987. "Residues of a Movement: The Aging of the American Protest Generation." *American Political Science Review* 81 (2): 367-382.
- Laura Stoker and M. Kent Jennings. 1995. "Life-Cycle Transitions and Political Participation: The Case of Marriage." *American Political Science Review* 89 (2): 421-433
- Jennings, M. Kent, Laura Stoker, and Jake Bowers. 2009. "Politics Across Generations: Family Transmission Reexamined." *Journal of Politics* 71(3): 782-799.
- David O. Sears and Nicholas Valentino. 1997. "Politics Matters: Political Events as Catalysts for Preadult Socialization." *American Political Science Review* 91 (1): 45-65.
- William Mishler and Richard Rose. 2007. "Generation, Age, and Time: The Dynamics of Political Learning during Russia's Transformation." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 822-834.
- Hatemi, Peter K. et al. 2009. "Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Attitudes Over a Life Time." *Journal of Politics* 71(3): 1141-1156.

- Dawes, Christopher T., and James H. Fowler. 2009. "Partisanship, Voting, and the Dopamine D2 Receptor Gene." *Journal of Politics* 71(3): 1157-1171.  
[http://jhfowler.ucsd.edu/partisanship\\_voting\\_and\\_drd2.pdf](http://jhfowler.ucsd.edu/partisanship_voting_and_drd2.pdf)

#### Further reading

- John R. Alford, Carolyn L. Funk, and John R. Hibbing. 2005. "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" *American Political Science Review* 99 (2): 153-167.
- Alwin, Duane F., and Jon A. Krosnick. 1991. "Aging, Cohorts, and the Stability of Sociopolitical Orientations Over the Life Span." *American Journal of Sociology* 97(1) 169-195.
- Duane F. Alwin, Ronald L. Cohen, and Theodore M. Newcomb. 1991. *Political Attitudes over the Lifespan: The Bennington Women after Fifty Years*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Paul Allen Beck and M. Kent Jennings. 1991. "Family Traditions, Political Periods, and the Development of Partisan Orientations." *Journal of Politics* 53 (3): 742-763.
- Glenn Firebaugh and Kevin Chen. 1995. "Vote Turnout of Nineteenth Amendment Women: The Enduring Effect of Disenfranchisement." *American Journal of Sociology*, 100 (4): 972-996.
- Jennings, M. Kent, and Richard G. Niemi. 1968. "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child." *American Political Science Review* 62 (1): 169-184.
- Newcomb, Theodore. 1943. *Personality and Social Change: Attitude Formation in a Student Community*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Treas, Judith. 2002. "How Cohorts, Education, and Ideology Shaped a New Sexual Revolution on American Attitudes toward Nonmarital Sex, 1972-1998." *Sociological Perspectives* 45(3): 267-283.

#### Public Opinion and Political Attitudes

February 9

- V.O. Key. 1961. *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. New York: Knopf. pp. 3-18. [BB]
- Walter Lippmann. 1922. *Public Opinion*. New York: Pelican Books. Chapter 1 ("The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads"). [BB]
- Zaller, chapters 1-5.
- David O. Sears. 1993. "Symbolic Politics: A Social Psychological Theory." In Shanto Iyengar and William J. McGuire (eds.), *Explorations in Political Psychology*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. [BB]
- Bartels, Larry M. 2003. "Democracy with Attitudes." In Michael B. MacKuen and George Rabinowitz (eds.), *Electoral Democracy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. [BB]

#### Further reading

- Richard E. Petty, Duane T. Weneger, and Leandre R. Fabriger. 1997. "Attitudes and Attitude Change." *Annual Review of Psychology* 48: 609-647.
- LaPiere, Richard T. 1934. "Attitudes vs. Actions." *Social Forces* 13 (2): 230-237.

#### Ideology and Democratic Competence

February 16

- Converse, Phillip. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In David E. Apter (ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: Free Press. pp. 206-261. [BB]

- Zaller, revisit pp. 94-96.
- Lewis-Beck et al., chapters 9-10.
- Baldassarri, Delia, and Andrew Gelman. 2008. "Partisans without Constraint: Political Polarization and Trends in American Public Opinion." *American Journal of Sociology* 114 (2): 408-46.  
[http://www.stat.columbia.edu/~gelman/research/published/B&G\\_PartisansWithoutConstraint\\_final.pdf](http://www.stat.columbia.edu/~gelman/research/published/B&G_PartisansWithoutConstraint_final.pdf)
- Kuklinski, James H. and Buddy Peyton. 2007. "Belief Systems and Political Decision-Making." In Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp.45-64. [BB]
- Converse, Philip E. 2007. "Perspectives on Mass Belief Systems and Communication." In Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 144-157. [BB]

#### *Further reading*

- Philip E. Converse. 2000. "Assessing the Capacity of Mass Electorates." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 331-53.
- Philip E. Converse, and Gregory B. Markus. 1979. "Plus ça change: The New CPS Election Study Panel." *American Political Science Review* 73 (1): 32-49.
- Stanley Feldman and John Zaller. 1992. "The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State." *American Journal of Political Science* 36: 268-307.
- Robert E. Lane. 1962. *Political Ideology*. New York: The Free Press.
- Norman H. Nie and Kristi Anderson. 1974. "Mass Belief Systems Revisited: Political Change and Attitude Structure." *Journal of Politics* 36: 540-87.
- John L. Sullivan, James E. Pierson, 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.
- The entire issue of *Critical Review* 18 (1-3).

#### **Political Cognition and Its Limits**

**February 23**

- Sears, Huddy, and Jervis, chapter 13.
- Bartels, chapters 4-5.
- Anthony Downs. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row. Chapters 11-13. [BB]
- Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections." *American Political Science Review* 88 (1): 63-76.
- Delli Carpini, Michael X. and Scott Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Introduction and Chapter 4. [BB]
- Scott L. Althaus. 1998. "Information Effects in Collective Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 92(3): 545-558.

- Sniderman, Paul. 2000. "Taking Sides: A Fixed Choice Theory of Political Reasoning." In Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Samuel L. Popkin (eds.), *Elements of Reason*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 67-84. [BB]
- Kuklinski, James H., and Paul J. Quirk. 2000. "Reconsidering the Rational Public: Cognition, Heuristics, and Mass Opinion." In Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Samuel L. Popkin (eds.), *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp.153-182. [BB]
- Taber, Charles S., and Milton Lodge. 2006. "Motivated Skepticism in Political Information Processing." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 755-69.
- Lupia, Arthur. 2006. "How Elitism Undermines the Study of Voter Competence." *Critical Review* 18 (1-3): 217-232.

#### Further reading

- Stefano DellaVigna. 2009. "Psychology and Economics: Evidence from the Field." *Journal of Economic Literature* 47(2): 315-372.
- Gilens, Martin. 2001. "Political Ignorance and Collective Policy Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 95 (2): 379-396.
- Kaplan, Bryan. 2007. *The Myth of the Rational Voter: Why Democracies Choose Bad Policies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lupia, Arthur, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Samuel L. Popkin (eds.), *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Luskin, Robert C. 2002. "From Denial to Extenuation (and Finally Beyond): Political Sophistication and Citizen Performance." In James H. Kuklinski (ed.), *Thinking about Political Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [BB]
- Luskin, Robert C. 2003. "The Heavenly Public: What Would a Fully Informed Citizen Be Like?" In Michael B. MacKuen and George Rabinowitz (eds.), *Electoral Democracy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Matthew Rabin. 1998. "Psychology and Economics." *Journal of Economic Literature* 36 (1): 11-46.
- Sniderman, Paul, Richard A. Brody, and Philip E. Tetlock. 1991. *Reasoning and Choice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tetlock, Philip E. 2005. *Expert Political Judgment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Tversky, Amos, and Daniel Kahneman. 1974. "Judgment Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases." *Science* 185: 1124-1131.

#### Mass Media Influence

#### March 2

- Sears, Huddy, and Jarvis, chapter 11.
- Sears, David O., and Richard Kosterman. 1994. "Political Persuasion." In Sharon Shavitt & Timothy C. Brock (eds.), *Persuasion: Psychological Insights and Perspectives*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. pp. 251-278. [BB]
- Zaller. *Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Chapters 6, 8, and 9.

- Zaller, John. 2001. "Monica Lewinsky and the Mainsprings of American Politics." In W. Lance Bennett and Robert M. Entman (eds.), *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 252-278. [BB]
- Shanto Iyengar and Donald Kinder. 1987. *News That Matters*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Chapters 2, 3, and 7. [BB]
- Dennis Chong and James N. Druckman. 2007. "Framing Public Opinion in Competitive Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 637-656.
- Markus Prior. 2005. "News vs. Entertainment: How Increasing Media Choice Widens Gaps in Political Knowledge and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 577-592.

#### Further reading

- Bosso, Christopher. 1989. "Setting the Agenda: Mass Media and the Discovery of Famine in Ethiopia." In Michael Margolis and Gary A. Mauser (eds.), *Manipulating Public Opinion: Essays on Public Opinion as a Dependent Variable*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing.
- William A. Gamson. 1998. "Media Discourse as a Framing Resource." In Ann N. Crigler (ed.), *The Psychology of Political Communication*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Shanto Iyengar. 1991. *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Markus Prior. 2007. *Post-Broadcast Democracy: How Media Choice Increases Inequality in Political Involvement and Polarizes Elections*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Paul M. Sniderman and Sean M. Theriault. 2004. "The Structure of Political Argument and Issue Framing." In Willem E. Saris and Paul M. Sniderman (eds.), *Studies in Public Opinion: Attitudes, Nonattitudes, Measurement Error, and Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [BB]

### Social Influence and Mass Violence

March 9

- Milgram. *Obedience to Authority*.
- Thomas Blass. 1999. "The Milgram Paradigm after 35 Years: Some Things We Now Know about Obedience to Authority." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 29 (5): 955-978.
- Rupert Brown. 2000. *Group Processes*. Oxford: Blackwell. Chapter 4 ("Social Influence in Groups"). [BB]
- Straus, Scott. 2006. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. For background, see pp. 17-31 and pp. 41-52. Then read chapters 3-6. [BB]
- Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil Wars." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 436-455.

#### Further reading

- Sears, Huddy, and Jarvis, chapter 20.
- Chirof, Daniel, and Clark McCauley. 2006. *Why Not Kill Them All? The Logic and Prevention of Mass Murder*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Janis, Irving L. 1982. *Groupthink* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Kelman, Herbert, and V. Lee Hamilton. 1989. *Crimes of Obedience*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Sabini, John P., and Maury Silver. 1993. “Destroying the Innocent with a Clear Conscience: A Sociopsychology of the Holocaust.” In Neil J. Kressel (ed.), *Political Psychology: Classic and Contemporary Readings*. New York: Paragon House.
- Zimbardo, Philip. *The Lucifer Effect*. New York: Random House.

### Groups I: Theories of Group Conflict

March 23

- Sherif, Muzafer. 1956. “Experiments in Group Conflict.” *Scientific American* 195 (5): 54-58. [BB]
- Tajfel, Henri. 1970. “Experiments in Intergroup Discrimination.” *Scientific American* 223 (5): 96-102. [BB]
- Sears, Huddy, and Jervis, chapters 15-16.
- Rupert Brown. 2000. *Group Processes*. Oxford: Blackwell. Chapters 6, 7, 8. (Skim ch. 7.) [BB]
- Chong, chapter 3.
- Horowitz, chapters 1-6.
- James D. Fearon, and David D. Laitin. 1996. “Explaining Interethnic Cooperation.” *American Political Science Review* 90 (4): 715-735.

#### Further reading

- More of Horowitz.
- Hardin, Russell. 1995. *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- So much more it’s hard even to make a list.

### Groups II: Racial Attitudes among Whites

March 30

- Sears, Huddy, and Jervis, chapter 16.
- Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo, chapters 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 11.
- Huddy, Leonie, and Stanley Feldman. 2009. “On Assessing the Political Effects of Racial Prejudice.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 423-447.

#### Further reading

- Donald Kinder and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kuklinski, James H., Michael D. Cobb, Martin Gilens. 1997. “Racial Attitudes and the ‘New South.’” *Journal of Politics* 59 (2): 323-349.
- Tali Mendelberg. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 3, 6.
- J. Eric Oliver and Tali Mendelberg. 2000. “Reconsidering the Environmental Determinants of White Racial Attitudes.” *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (3): 574-589.
- Various of Sniderman’s books, e.g., *Reaching Beyond Race*, and *The Scar of Race*.
- Christopher Tarman and David O. Sears. 2005. “The Conceptualization and Measurement of Symbolic Racism.” *Journal of Politics* 67 (3): 731-761.

**Voter Turnout and Political Participation****April 6**

- You should familiarize yourself with the trend in turnout in American elections. See [http://elections.gmu.edu/Election\\_of\\_a\\_Century.html](http://elections.gmu.edu/Election_of_a_Century.html) and [http://elections.gmu.edu/voter\\_turnout.htm](http://elections.gmu.edu/voter_turnout.htm). (For background, you can also skim this article: Michael P. McDonald, and Samuel L. Popkin. 2001. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *American Political Science Review* 95 (4): 963-974.)
- Lewis-Beck et al., chapter 5.
- Blais, André. 2007. "Turnout in Elections." In Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 621-635. [BB]
- G. Bingham Powell. 1986. "American Voting Turnout in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 80: 17-43.
- John Aldrich. 1993. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (1): 246-278.
- Mancur Olson. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapter 1 ("A Theory of Groups and Organizations"). [BB]
- Henry E. Brady, Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 89: 271-294.
- Donald P. Green, and Jennifer K. Smith. 2003. "Professionalization of Campaigns and the Secret History of Collective Action Problems." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 15(3): 321-339. [BB]
- Adam J. Berinsky, Nancy Burns, and Michael W. Traugott. 2001. "Who Votes by Mail? A Dynamic Model of the Individual-Level Consequences of Voting-by-Mail Systems." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 65 (2): 178-197.
- Jack Citrin, Eric Schickler, and John Sides. 2001. "What If Everyone Voted? Simulating the Impact of Increased Turnout in Senate Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (1): 75-90.

*Further reading*

- Achen, Christopher. 2006. "Expressive Bayesian Voters, their Turnout Decisions, and Double Probit: Empirical Implications of a Theoretical Model." <http://polmeth.wustl.edu/retrieve.php?id=630>.
- Jonathan Bendor, Daniel Diermeier, and Michael Ting. 2003. "A Behavioral Model of Turnout." *American Political Science Review* 97(2): 261-280.
- Blais, André. 2000. *To Vote or Not to Vote? The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Aaron Edlin, Andrew Gelman, and Noah Kaplan. 2007. "Voting as a Rational Choice: Why and How People Vote to Improve the Well-being of Others." *Rationality and Society* 19 (3): 293-314.
- Timothy J. Feddersen. 2004. "Rational Choice Theory and the Paradox of Not Voting." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18(1): 99-112.
- Fowler, James H. 2006. "Altruism and Turnout." *Journal of Politics* 68 (3): 674-83.
- Fowler, James H., and Christopher T. Dawes. 2008. "Two Genes Predict Voter Turnout." *Journal of Politics* 70(3): 579-594.
- Fowler, James H., Laura A. Baker, and Christopher T. Dawes. 2008. "Genetic Variation in Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 102(2): 233-248.

- Franklin, Mark N. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies Since 1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Warren E. Miller and J. Merrill Shanks. 1996. *The New American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapter 3 (“Voting Turnout in Presidential Elections”).
- Robert Putnam. 2000. *Bowling Alone*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Raymond E. Wolfinger and Steven J. Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press.

### Vote Choice

April 13

- Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1980 [1960]. *The American Voter*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Chapters 6 and 7. [BB]
- Zaller., chapter 10.
- Lewis-Beck et al., chapters 1-4, 6-8, 11-15.

### Further reading

- More of *The American Voter*.
- John H. Aldrich, John L. Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida. 1989. “Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates ‘Waltz Before a Blind Audience?’” *American Political Science Review* 83: 123-141.
- Larry M. Bartels. 2000. “Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996.” *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (1): 35-50.
- Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. 1954. *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Morris P. Fiorina. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Donald R. Kinder, Gordon S. Adams, Paul W. Gronke. 1989. “Economics and Politics in the 1984 American Presidential Election.” *American Journal of Political Science* 33 (2): 491-515.
- Richard R. Lau and David P. Redlawsk. 2006. *How Voters Decide: Information Processing during Election Campaigns*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Warren E. Miller and J. Merrill Shanks. 1996. *The New American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Daron Shaw. 1999. “The Effects of TV Ads and Campaign Appearances on Statewide Presidential Votes, 1988-96.” *American Political Science Review* 93 (2): 345-362.

**Public Opinion and Public Policy****April 20**

- Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. 2004. "Political Representation in Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7: 273-296.
- Bartels, ch. 8-10.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1991. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Build Up." *American Political Science Review* 85(2): 457-474.
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