# Core Course 1.0.2.A – Advanced Political Behavior: The Causes and Consequences of Public Opinion Formation

Fall 2018

# **Content description:**

Political scientists (as civil servants or consultants) offer advice to national and local politicians including the general public. To accomplish this task effectively, political scientists must have an adequate understanding of the nuts and bolts of citizens' opinions and reactions. In particular, under what circumstances do ordinary citizens respond negatively or positively to government policies? How do ordinary citizens cope with important information about policy issues – are they objective or deeply partisan? Are ordinary citizens responsible voters concerned with the well-being of the nation or simply focused on their own narrow interests? To what extent can interethnic relations be improved?

These important questions clearly show that understanding how citizens respond to events and form opinions is fundamental to understanding contemporary politics. Fortunately, our knowledge about these issues is extensive. Political scientists use a variety of different theories and explanations to understand mass behavior, from work focused on stable influences such as citizens' biological and psychological dispositions and their location in the social structure to dynamic factors such as key messages from the mass media and political elites.

This core course provides a comprehensive, updated overview of the literature from the major approaches and the classic works to standing debates on perennial topics like voting and tolerance, to current controversies such as the relative weight of current experiences, past socialization and biology in influencing opinion formation. This means that the course covers and combines major insights from leading disciplines, among these political sociology, political psychology, social psychology and evolutionary biology. Hence, the course goes far beyond any simple notion of 'economic man'. Rather, Aristotle's complex notion of human beings as political animals is more adequate.

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The insights and approaches of the course have great relevance both outside and inside Academia. For students contemplating careers in the public or private sectors, the course offers essential insights into key factors defining the social environment in which any politically oriented organization operates: public opinion, electoral behavior and intergroup relations. Such insights are key to providing solid advice on everything from the content of new laws to the timing of information campaigns targeting the public. In the shorter run, the course gives participants an ideal vantage point from which to pursue more specialized questions and interests in other seminars and/or in their MA thesis (speciale), but it is also relevant for those who are primarily interested in an overview of the field.

The course is structured in three blocks. First, we cover five major approaches to the study of public opinion and political behavior: The biological approach, the sociological approach, the psychological approach, the rational choice/economic approach, and the communication approach. Readings for this block will be a combination of classic studies and more recent critiques and/or updates. In the second block, we address topics that both in the past and more recently have attracted attention. The list of topics includes ethnic and political tolerance, voting behavior, support for the welfare state, effects of social networks and the nature of political ideology. In the final block, we delve into current debates about such topics as the relative weight of socialization and biology for attitude formation, the role of self-interest and experiences in political attitudes, the extent to which citizens are competent for democracy, the effects of ethnic diversity and the relationship between affect and reason in political behavior. Throughout each of the blocks, we will discuss potential topics for the final synopses as well as the strengths and weaknesses of empirical analyses of political behavior

A substantial number of the classes will be taught in Danish, if the enrolled students' language proficiencies allow it. The exam, however, will be held in English for everyone.

# Learning objectives:

After completion of the course, students should be able to:

- Systematically explain the contents of classical and modern theories about the causes and consequences of public opinion.
- Critically evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of classical and modern theories about public opinion.

- Critically evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of empirical analyses of the causes and consequences of public opinion.
- Critically evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of different types of research designs aimed at examining research questions about the causes and consequences of public opinion.
- Independently identify gaps in existing knowledge about the causes and consequences of public opinion.
- Independently develop and clearly present a theoretically grounded research question applying classical and/or modern theories about public opinion that advances our knowledge about the topic.
- Independently develop and clearly present a research design addressing a research question about the causes and consequences of public opinion.

# **Course organization:**

The course runs for 15 weeks with two weekly classes of three hours each. Students must read the assigned texts prior to each class so that focus in the class can be on discussion and elaboration of the contents of the assigned readings as well as related materials. The classes combine presentations by students and teachers as well as group work and other activities aimed at furthering student participation and engagement with the subjects discussed.

# **Course plan and readings:**

## Week 36

Class 1, Thursday. September 6<sup>th</sup>: Introduction to the Course and the Field of Political Behaviour

- Dahl, Robert (1961). 'The Behavioral Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest'. *American Political Science Review*, 55, 4, 763-72.
- Huddy, Leonie, Sears, David O., Levy, Jack S. (2013). The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology. 2nd Edition. Oxford and New York. Oxford University Press. Chapter 1, pp. 1-19.
- Bartels, Larry. 2003. "Democracy with Attitudes." In Electoral Democracy, ed. Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 48-56 + 67-75.

Class 1, Monday, September 10th: The Sociological Approach I: Interests

- Lipset, Seymour M. (1959). 'Democracy and Working-Class Authoritarianism'. *American Sociological Review*, 24, 4, 482-501.
- Lipset, Seymour M. (1959/1981). *Political Man*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 230-78.
- Berelson, Bernard R.; Lazarsfeld, Paul F. and McPhee, William N. (1954). *Voting*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 54-76.

Class 2, Thursday, September 13<sup>th</sup>: The Sociological Approach II: Primary and Secondary Socialization

- Jennings, M. Kent; Stoker, Laura and Bowers, Jake (2009). "Politics Across Generations: Family Transmission Reexamined". *Journal of Politics*, 71(3): 782-99.
- Jens Peter Frølund Thomsen and Mark Olsen (2016). "Re-examining Socialization Theory: How Does Democracy Influence the Impact of Education on Anti-Foreigner Sentiment?" *British Journal of Political Science* (early view), 1-24.

Class 1, Monday, September 17th: The Economic Approach I: Redistributive attitudes

- Elster, J. (1994). On the Nature and Scope of Rational Choice Explanation. In: "Readings in the philosophy of social science", pp. 311-323.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. An Economic Theory of Democracy. Boston: Addison-Wesley: Ch. 1, p. 3-10; Ch. 3, p. 36-40; Ch. 13, p. 238-259
- Iversen, T., & Soskice, D. (2001). An asset theory of social policy preferences. American Political Science Review, 95(4), 875-893.
- Ansell, B. (2014). The political economy of ownership: Housing markets and the welfare state. American Political Science Review, 108(2), 383-402.

Class 2, Thursday, September 20th: The Economic Approach II: Voting behavior

- Hall, A. B. (2015). What happens when extremists win primaries? American Political Science Review, 109(1), 18-42. 24
- Erikson, R. S., & Stoker, L. (2011). Caught in the draft: The effects of Vietnam draft lottery status on political attitudes. American Political Science Review, 105(2), 221-237.
- Nadeau, R., & Lewis-Beck, M. S. (2001). National economic voting in US presidential elections. Journal of Politics, 63(1), 159-181.
- Healy, A., & Malhotra, N. (2010). Random events, economic losses, and retrospective voting: Implications for democratic competence. Quarterly Journal of Political Science, 5(2), 193-208.

Class 1, Monday, September 24<sup>th</sup>: Political Cognition, I: Information Processing

- Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press: Chapter 2, "Information, Predispositions, and Opinion," p. 6-9; Chapter 3, "How Citizens Acquire Information and Convert it into Public Opinion", p. 40-52.
- Lodge, Milton, Marco R Steenbergen, and Shawn Brau. 1995. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation." *American Political Science Review* 89(2): 309–24.
- Steenbergen, Marco R., and Milton Lodge. 2003. "Process Matters: Cognitive Models of Candidate Evaluation." In *Electoral Democracy*, eds. Michael B. MacKuen and George Rabinowitz. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 125–157.
- Kam, Cindy D. 2005. "Who Toes the Party Line? Cues, Values, and Individual Differences." *Political Behavior* 27(2): 163–82.
- Danckert, Bolette, Peter Thisted Dinesen, and Kim Mannemar Sønderskov. 2017. "Reacting to Neighborhood Cues? Political Sophistication Moderates the Effect of Exposure to Immigrants." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 81(1): 37–53.

Class 2, Thursday, September 27th: Political Cognition, II: The Role of Affect and Emotions

- Marcus, George E, and Michael B Mackuen. 1993. "Anxiety, Enthusiasm, and the Vote: The Emotional Underpinnings of Learning and Involvement During Presidential Campaigns." *The American Political Science Review* 87(3): 672–85. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2938743.
- Brader, Ted, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Elizabeth Suhay. 2008. "What Triggers Public Opposition to Immigration? Anxiety, Group Cues, and Immigration Threat." *American Journal* of Political Science 52(4): 959–76.
- MacKuen, Michael, Jennifer Wolak, Luke Keele, and George E. Marcus. 2010. "Civic Engagements: Resolute Partisanship or Reflective Deliberation." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(2): 440–54.
- Brader, Ted, and George E. Marcus. 2013. "Emotion and Political Psychology." In *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, eds. Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 165–185.
- Gadarian, Shana Kushner, and Bethany L. Albertson. 2014. "Anxiety, Immigration, and the Search for Information." *Political Psychology* 35(2): 133–152.

Class 1, Monday, October 1<sup>st</sup>: The Social Psychological Approach: Social Identity Theory

- Tajfel, Henri. 1971. "Experiments in Intergroup Discrimination." Scientific American: 96–102. <u>http://www.lucs.lu.se/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/tajfel-experiments-in-intergroup-discrimination-1970.pdf</u>
- Turner, John C., Penelope J. Oakes, S. Alexander Haslam, and Craig McCarty. 1994. "Self and Collective: Cognition and Social Context." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20(5): 454–63.
- Sides, John, and Jack Citrin. 2007. "European Opinion about Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests, and Information." *British Journal of Political Sciencen* 37(3): 477–502.
- Spears, Russell. 2011. "Group Identities: The Social Identity Perspective." In *Handbook of Identity Theory and Research*, 201-214 [Available online via the library.]
- Michelitch, Kristin. 2015. "Does Electoral Competition Exacerbate Interethnic or Interpartisan Economic Discrimination? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Market Price Bargaining." *American Political Science Review* 109(1): 43–61.

Class 2, Thursday, October 4th. The Communication Approach: Framing and Priming

- Iyengar, S. and D. R. Kinder 1987 *News That Matters*. The University of Chicago Press: London. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-5) & 7 (pp. 63-72).
- Nelson, T., Clawson, R., and Oxley, Z. 1997. Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and Its Effect on Tolerance. *The American Political Science Review*, *91*(3), 567-583.
- Chong, D. and Druckman, J.N., 2007. Framing theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *10*, pp.103-126.
- Lenz, G.S., 2009. Learning and opinion change, not priming: Reconsidering the priming hypothesis. *American Journal of Political Science*, *53*(4), pp.821-837.
- Leeper, T. and Slothuus 2018 Can Citizens be Framed? Working paper.

Class 1, Monday, October 8th: The Biological Approach I: The Origins of Politics

- Scott-Phillips, T. C., Dickins, T. E., & West, S. A. (2011). Evolutionary theory and the ultimate–proximate distinction in the human behavioral sciences. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6(1), 38-47.
- Boyd, R. & Silk, J. (2003). *How Humans Evolved*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., pp. 373-392.
- Sell, A., Tooby, J., & Cosmides, L. (2009). Formidability and the logic of human anger. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *106*(35), 15073-15078.
- Trivers, R. L. (1971). The evolution of reciprocal altruism. *Quarterly review of biology*, 35-57.
- Boehm, C. (2000). Conflict and the evolution of social control. *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, *7*(1-2), 79-101.

Class 2, Thursday, October 11<sup>th</sup>: The Biological Approach II: Evolved thinking.

- Petersen, M. B. (2015). Evolutionary Political Psychology: On the Origin and Structure of Heuristics and Biases in Politics. *Political Psychology*, *36*(S1), 45-78.
- Pietraszewski, D., Curry, O. S., Petersen, M. B., Cosmides, L., & Tooby, J. (2015). Constituents of political cognition: Race, party politics, and the alliance detection system. *Cognition*, *140*, 24-39.
- Petersen, M. B., & Aarøe, L. (2013). Politics in the mind's eye: Imagination as a link between social and political cognition. *American Political Science Review*, *107*(02), 275-293.
- Kuklinski, J. & Quirk, P. (2000). Reconsidering the Rational Public. In A. Lupia, M. McCubbins & S. Popkin (Eds.), *Elements of Reason*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 153-182.

Week 42:

NO CLASS

Class 1, Monday, October 22<sup>nd</sup>: Nature, Nuture and the power of Personalities

- Carney, D. R., Jost, J. T., Gosling, S. D., & Potter, J. (2008). The secret lives of liberals and conservatives: Personality profiles, interaction styles, and the things they leave behind. Political Psychology, 29(6), 807-840.
- Oxley, D. R., Smith, K. B., Alford, J. R., Hibbing, M. V., Miller, J. L., Scalora, M., ... & Hibbing, J. R. (2008). Political attitudes vary with physiological traits. Science, 321(5896), 1667-1670.
- Dodd, M. D., Balzer, A., Jacobs, C. M., Gruszczynski, M. W., Smith, K. B., & Hibbing, J. R. (2012). The political left rolls with the good and the political right confronts the bad: connecting physiology and cognition to preferences. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences, 367(1589), 640-649.
- Alford, J. R., Funk, C. L., & Hibbing, J. R. (2005). Are political orientations genetically transmitted? American Political Science Review, 99(02), 153-167.
- Hibbing, J. R. (2013). Ten misconceptions concerning neurobiology and politics. Perspectives on Politics, 11(02), 475-489.
- Petersen, M. B., & Aarøe, L. (2015). Birth weight and social trust in adulthood: Evidence for early calibration of social cognition. *Psychological science*, *26*(11), 1681-1692.

Class 2, Thursday, October 25<sup>th</sup>: Information, Constraint, and Citizen Competence

- Converse, Philip E. 2006 [1964]. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." *Critical Review* 18(1-3): Selections: p. 3-26; p. 29-34; p. 44-52
- Kuklinski, James H., and Paul J. Quirk, 2001. Conceptual Foundations of Citizen Competence. *Political Behavior* 23 (3): 285-311.
- Goren, Paul. 2001. "Core Principles and Policy Reasoning in Mass Publics: A Test of Two Theories." *British Journal of Political Science* 31(1): 159–75.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Jonathan Rodden, and James M Snyder. 2008. "The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 102(2): 215–29.
- Petersen, Michael Bang, Rune Slothuus, and Lise Togeby. 2010. "Political Parties and Value Consistency in Public Opinion Formation." *Public Opinion Quarterly* Vol. 74(No. 3): 530–47.

Class 1, Monday, October 29th: Shortcuts to the Rescue?

- Downs, Anthony. 1957. An Economic Theory of Democracy. Boston: Addison-Wesley: Ch. 12, "How Rational Citizens Reduce Information Costs," p. 220-237
- Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections." *The American Political Science Review* 88(1): 63–72.
- Lau, Richard R., and David Redlawsk. 2001. "Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making." *American Journal of Political Science* 45(4): 951–69.
- Arceneaux, Kevin, and Robin Kolodny. 2009. "Educating the Least Informed: Group Endorsements in a Grassroots Campaign." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(4): 755–68.
- Boudreau, Cheryl. 2013. "Gresham's Law of Political Communication: How Citizens Respond to Conflicting Information." *Political Communication* 30: 191–210.

Class 2, Thursday, November 1<sup>st</sup>: Aggregation to the Rescue?

- Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press: Ch. 1, "Rational Public Opinion," p. 15-23
- Althaus, Scott L. 1998. "Information Effects in Collective Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 92(3): 545–54.
- Stevenson, Randolph T. 2001. "The Economy and Policy Mood: A Fundamental Dynamic of Democratic Politics?" *American Journal of Political Science* 45(3): 620–33.
- Erikson, Robert S, Michael B Mackuen, and James A Stimson. 2002. *The Macro Polity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Ch. 1, "A Model of the Macro Polity", p. 3-8; Ch. 6, "Public Opinion," p. 193-219, p. 230-235; Ch. 9, "A Governing System," p. 342-351
- Soroka, Stuart N. 2006. "Good News and Bad News: Asymmetric Responses to Economic Information." *The Journal of Politics* 68(2): 372–83.

## Week 45:

Class 1, Monday, November 5<sup>th</sup>: The Structure of Political Predispositions

- Sniderman, P. M., & Bullock, J. (2004). A consistency theory of public opinion and political choice: The hypothesis of menu dependence. *Studies in public opinion: Attitudes, nonattitudes, measurement error, and change*, 337-357.
- Treier, S., & Hillygus, D. S. (2009). The nature of political ideology in the contemporary electorate. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *73*(4), 679-703.
- Duckitt, J., & Sibley, C. G. (2010). Personality, Ideology, Prejudice, and Politics: A Dual-Process Motivational Model. *Journal of Personality*, 78(6), 1861-1894.
- Sniderman, P. M., Petersen, M. B., Slothuus, R., & Stubager, R. (2014). *Paradoxes of liberal democracy: Islam, Western Europe, and the Danish cartoon crisis*. Princeton University Press, pp. 82-116 (pp. 82-99 findes i kompendiet, pp. 100-116 kan lånes på AU Library).
- Johnston, Christopher (2015). *Personality, Uncertainty, and Economic Preferences*. Working paper. Available here: <u>http://sites.duke.edu/chrisjohnston/working-papers/</u>

Class 2, Thursday, November 8th: Party Identification -Unmoved Mover or Sum of Preferences

- Campbell, Angus, Philip E Converse, Warren E Miller, and Donald E Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.: Ch. 6, "The Impact of Party Identification," p. 120-142; Ch. 7, "The Development of Party Identification," p. 146-151 & p. 161-165
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press.: Chapter 5: "Explorations of a Political Theory of Party Identification,"
  p. 84-102
- Thomassen, Jacques, and Martin Rosema. 2009. "Party Identification Revisited." In *Political Parties and Partisanship*, eds. John Bartle and Paolo Belluci. New York: Routledge, 32–59.
- Green, Donald, and Eric Schikler. 2009. "A Spirited Defense of Partisanship Against Its Critics." In *Political Parties and Partisanship: Social Identity and Individual Attitude*, eds. John Bartle and Paolo Belluci. New York: Routledge, 180–99.
- Lupu, Noam. 2012. "Party Brands and Partisanship: Theory with Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Argentina." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 49–64.

Class 1, Monday, November 12th: Testing the Competing Theories of Party Identification

- Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, and Ebonya Washington. 2010. "Party Affiliation, Partisanship, and Political Beliefs: A Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 104(4): 720–42.
- Highton, Benjamin, and Cindy D. Kam. 2011. "The Long-Term Dynamics of Partisanship and Issue Orientations." *The Journal of Politics* 73(1): 202–14.
- Dinas, Elias. 2014. "Does Choice Bring Loyalty? Electoral Participation and the Development of Party Identification." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(2): 449–462.
- Huddy, Leonie, Lilliana Mason, and Lene Aarøe. 2015. "Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity." *American Political Science Review* 109(1): 1–15.

Class 2, Thursday, November 15th: Voting I: Class Voting

- Evans, Geoffrey (2000). 'The Continued Significance of Class Voting'. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3, 401-17.
- Jansen, Giedo; Evans, Geoffrey and de Graaf, Nan Dirk (2013). 'Class voting and Left-Right party positions: A comparative study of 15 Western democracies, 1960-2005'. *Social Science Research*, 42, 2, 376-400.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter; Grande Edgar; Lachat, Romain; Dolezal, Martin; Bornshier, Simon and Frey, Timotheos (2006). 'Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared'. *European Journal of Political Research*, 42, 6, 921-56.

Class 1, Monday, November 19th: Voting II: Issue Voting

- Green, Jane and Hobolt, Sara B. (2008). 'Owning the issue agenda: Party strategies and vote choices in British elections'. *Electoral Studies*, 27, 3, 460-76.
- Bélanger, Éric and Meguid, Bonnie M. (2008). 'Issue salience, issue ownership, and issue-based vote choice'. *Electoral Studies*, 27, 3, 477-91.
- Hanford, Thomas G. and Gomez, Brad T. (2015). 'Reevaluating the sociotropic economic voting hypothesis'. *Electoral Studies*, 39, 1, 15-25.
- Sanders, David; Clarke, Harold D.; Stewart, Marianne C. and Whiteley, Paul (2011). 'Downs, Stokes and the Dynamics of Electoral Choice'. *British Journal of Political Science*, 41, 2, 287-314.

Class 2, Thursday, November 22<sup>nd</sup>: Determinants of Radical Right-Wing Voting

- Cas Mudde (2010). "The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy". *West European Politics* 33(6): 1167–1186.
- Kirill Zhirkov (2014). "Nativist but not Alienated: A Comparative Perspective on the Radical Right Vote in Western Europe". *Party Politics* 20(2) 286–296.
- Eelco Harteveld and Elisabeth Ivarsflaten (2016). "Why Women Avoid the Radical Right: Internalized Norms and Party Reputations". *British Journal of Political Science* (early view): 1-16.
- Linda Boss and Wouter van der Brug (2010). "Public Images of Leaders of Anti-Immigration Parties: Perceptions of Legitimacy and Effectiveness". *Party Politics* 16(6) 777–799.

Class 1, Monday, November 26<sup>th</sup>: Intergroup Contact Effects – Harmony and Disharmony

- Ryan D. Enos (2014). "Causal Effect of Intergroup Contact on Exclusionary Attitudes". *PNAS*, 111(10): 3699-3704.
- Miles Hewstone (2015). "Consequences of Diversity for Social Cohesion and Prejudice: The Missing Dimension of Intergroup Contact" *The Journal of Social Issues* 71(2): 417-438.
- Thomas F. Pettigrew and Linda R. Tropp (2006). "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90(5): 751–783.
- Lene Aarøe, Michael Bang Petersen og Kevin Arceneaux (2017). "The Behavioral Immune System Shapes Political Intuitions: Why and How Individual Differences in Disgust Sensitivity Underlie Opposition to Immigration". *American Political Science Review* 111(2): 277–294.

Class 2, Thursday, Nov. 29th: Retrospective Voting

- Healy, A. J., Persson, M., & Snowberg, E. (2017). Digging into the pocketbook: evidence on economic voting from income registry data matched to a voter survey. American Political Science Review, 111(4), 771-785.
- Bechtel, M. M., & Hainmueller, J. (2011). How lasting is voter gratitude? An analysis of the short-and long-term electoral returns to beneficial policy. American Journal of Political Science, 55(4), 852-868.
- Alt, J., Bueno de Mesquita, E., & Rose, S. (2011). Disentangling accountability and competence in elections: evidence from US term limits. The Journal of Politics, 73(1), 171-186.

Class 1, Monday, December 3rd: Biases in Retrospective Decision-Making

- Healy, A., & Lenz, G. S. (2014). Substituting the end for the whole: Why voters respond primarily to the election-year economy. American Journal of Political Science, 58(1), 31-47.
- Healy, A. J., Malhotra, N., & Mo, C. H. (2010). Irrelevant events affect voters' evaluations of government performance. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 107(29), 12804-12809.
- Fowler, A., & Montagnes, B. P. (2015). College football, elections, and false-positive results in observational research. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 112(45), 13800-13804.
- Sances, M. W. (2017). Attribution Errors in Federalist Systems: When Voters Punish the President for Local Tax Increases. The Journal of Politics, 79(4), 1286-1301.

Class 2, Thursday, December 6th: Partisan Motivated Reasoning

- Lodge, Milton, and Charles S Taber. 2006. "Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 755–69.
- Lodge, Milton, and Charles S. Taber. 2013. *The Rationalizing Voter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.: p. 17-26
- Taber, Charles S., and Milton Lodge. 2016. "The Illusion of Choice in Democratic Politics? The Unconscious Impact of Motivated Political Reasoning." *Advances in Political Psychology* 37: 61–83.
- Kahan, Dan M. 2013. "Ideology, Motivated Reasoning, and Cognitive Reflection." *Judgement* and Decision Making 8(4): 407–20.
- Druckman, James N., Erick Peterson, and Rune Slothuus. 2013. "How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation." *American Political Science Review* 107(1): 57–79.

Class 1, Monday, December 10<sup>th</sup>: Limits to partisan motivated reasoning?

- Lavine, Howard G., Christopher D. Johnston, and Marco R. Steenbergen. 2012. *The Ambivalent Partisan: How Critical Loyalty Promotes Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: Selections: p. 7-11; p. 27-39; p. 73-80; p. 128-139; p. 159-164
- Klar, Samara. 2014. "Partisanship in a Social Context." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(3): 687–704.
- Parker-Stephen, E., 2013. Tides of disagreement: How reality facilitates (and inhibits) partian public opinion. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(4), pp.1077-1088.
- Bullock, J.G., Gerber, A.S., Hill, S.J. and Huber, G.A., 2013. *Partisan bias in factual beliefs about politics* (No. w19080). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Bisgaard, M., 2015. Bias will find a way: Economic perceptions, attributions of blame, and partisan-motivated reasoning during crisis. *The Journal of Politics*, 77(3), pp.849-860.

Class 2, Thursday, December 13<sup>th</sup>: Immigration as a Threat – But What Type of Threat?

- Herbert Blumer (1958). "Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position". *The Pacific Sociological Review* 1(1): 3-7
- Paul M. Sniderman, Louk Hagendoorn and Markus Prior (2004). "Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities" *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 35-49.
- Sedef Turper, Shanto Iyengar, Kees Aarts & Minna van Gerven (2015). "Who is Less Welcome?: The Impact of Individuating Cues on Attitudes towards Immigrants". *Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41(2): 239-259.
- Lene Aarøe, Michael Bang Petersen og Kevin Arceneaux (2017). "The Behavioral Immune System Shapes Political Intuitions: Why and How Individual Differences in Disgust Sensitivity Underlie Opposition to Immigration". *American Political Science Review* 111(2): 277–294.

Class 1, Monday, December 17th. Out-Group Responses and Attitudes Toward Welfare

- Martin Gilens (1996). "Race Coding and White Opposition to Welfare". *American Political Science Review* 90(3): 593-604.
- Nicholas J.G. Winter (2006). "Beyond Welfare. Framing and the Racialization of White opinion on Social Security". *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 400-420.
- Christian Albrekt Larsen (2011). "Ethnic Heterogeneity and Public Support for Welfare: Is the American Experience Replicated in Britain, Sweden and Denmark?" *Scandinavian Political Studies* 34(4): 332-353.

Class 2, Thursday, December 20th: Presentation and Discussion of Synopses