

**POLS 8790**  
**Public Opinion, American Political Institutions**  
**& Democratic Processes**

Professor Stephen Nicholson

Office: 309D Baldwin

Office Hours: T/TR 4:00 - 5:00 & by appointment

Fall 2021

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Course Website: eLC

***Course Description***

The class will explore public attitudes towards democratic institutions, processes, and principles with a primary focus on the United States. The consent of the governed is essential to a properly functioning democracy so understanding public evaluations (e.g., trust, confidence, legitimacy perceptions) of government and political processes provides insight into the health of a democracy. With the U.S. public expressing low trust and confidence in political institutions such an examination is timely. It is my hope the course provides you with an overview of the major topics that make up the field, but each week only includes a small sample so the readings here are meant to be introductory. Some of the topics we will cover include support for democratic principles and civil liberties; trust in government; perceptions of the legitimacy of elections; approval of the president, Congress, and Supreme Court; trust in the police and criminal justice system; and trust in the media.

Each week will focus on a topic that animates current academic debates. The goal is to understand the larger controversy and the role played by each of the readings. We will not only critically evaluate each reading, focusing on theoretical and empirical limitations, but at the same time attempt to understand how a reading has advanced scholarly understanding. As the semester progresses, students should situate readings within a larger context, drawing connections between readings from previous weeks. The distinctions between each week's readings are not as certain as they appear in the syllabus so thinking about how readings relate to each other across weeks is essential to understanding the field. In addition to understanding the readings and their contributions, I want students to think about how to advance research in the field by proposing new questions and ideas and how to study them.

***Readings***

Hibbing, John and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 1996. *Congress as Public Enemy*. Cambridge University Press.

Hibbing, John and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 2002. *Stealth Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

In addition, we will read many journal articles, many of which will be available on JSTOR. If not available electronically, I will make readings available on eLC or via email.

### ***Requirements and Expectations***

Students will be assessed according to their knowledge of the course materials and their ability to analyze, explain, and apply their knowledge to new and different contexts. Students are expected to attend the seminar and do all the readings. The assigned materials should be read in advance of that week's topic. Do not come to class unprepared. I expect you to have outlined each reading and have thought of critiques, criticisms, and extensions. Since the class is a seminar (not a lecture-based class), what you get out of the class will depend on what you put into it.

The class requirements include participation, a weekly (or every other week depending on class size) presentation of an assigned reading, written questions about each reading, hypothesis papers, and a research paper.

The hypothesis paper should not exceed a page and requires you to develop an original hypothesis based on the readings for that week. For example, your hypothesis might help resolve a controversy in the literature by proposing a novel test or help advance research by proposing a new (most likely borrowed) independent variable. Regardless, most of the assignment should focus on motivating the hypothesis. In total, you are required to turn in 7 hypothesis papers. You may choose which week's readings you would like to engage but at least three must be turned in before the middle of October (10/18) to prevent back-loading. If you want to write on a given topic, you must turn in your paper the week we cover it. For instance, if you wish to write a hypothesis paper about presidential approval it must be turned in on the Monday we cover the topic.

The research paper should run anywhere from 15 to 25 pages depending on the type of project you undertake. The research paper may be a research design if it requires original data collection that is not possible to complete before the end of the semester. If your project makes use of readily available data (e.g., the ANES), the paper should include basic statistical analyses.

Student grades will be assigned on following:

Class participation/presentations:	35%
Hypothesis papers (7):	25%
Research paper:	40%

I will assign grades according to the following scale:

A = 94 and above	B- = 80-83	D+ = 67 -69
A- = 90-93	C+ = 77-79	D = 64-66
B+ = 87-89	C = 74-76	D- = 60-63
B = 84-86	C- = 70-73	F = Below 60

### ***Academic Honesty***

You are expected to adhere to the UGA Student Honor Code: "I will be academically honest in all of my academic work and will not tolerate academic dishonesty of others."

A Culture of Honesty, the University's policy and procedures for handling cases of suspected dishonesty, can be found at [www.uga.edu/ovpi](http://www.uga.edu/ovpi). If you are unclear what constitutes plagiarism, please consult the instructor.

### ***Prohibition on Recording Classes***

In the absence of written authorization from the UGA Disability Resource Center, students may not make a visual or audio recording of any aspect of this course. Students who have a recording accommodation agree in writing that they:

- Will use the records only for personal academic use during the specific course.
- Understand that faculty members have copyright interest in their class lectures and that they agree not to infringe on this right in any way.
- Understand that the faculty member and students in the class have privacy rights and agree not to violate those rights by using recordings for any reason other than their own personal study.
- Will not release, digitally upload, broadcast, transcribe, or otherwise share all or any part of the recordings. They also agree that they will not profit financially and will not allow others to benefit personally or financially from lecture recordings or other course materials.
- Will erase/delete all recordings at the end of the semester.
- Understand that violation of these terms may subject them to discipline under the Student Code of Conduct or subject them to liability under copyright laws.”

### ***Preferred Names and Pronouns***

Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, culture, religion, politics, sexual orientation, gender, gender variance, and nationalities. Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name. I am eager to address you by your preferred name and/or gender pronoun. Please advise me of this preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records.

### ***Face coverings***

Following guidance from the University System of Georgia, face coverings are recommended for all individuals while inside campus facilities.

### ***Mental Health and Wellness Resources***

- If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit <https://sco.uga.edu/>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.
- UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>).
- If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.
- Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.

## **Weekly Schedule**

### **8/23. Introductions and course overview**

### **8/30. Support for Democracy**

Bartels, Larry M. 2020. "Ethnic antagonism erodes Republicans' commitment to democracy." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 117(37): 22752-22759.

Graham, Matthew H., and Milan W. Svobik. 2020. "Democracy in America? Partisanship, Polarization, and the Robustness of Support for Democracy in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 114(2): 392-409.

Broockman, David et al., "Does Affective Polarization Undermine Democratic Norms or Accountability? Maybe Not." Working paper.

Clayton, Amanda, Jennifer M. Piscopo, and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2019. "All Male Panels? Representation and Democratic Legitimacy." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(1):113–29.

Hayes, Matthew, and Matthew V. Hibbing. 2017. "The Symbolic Benefits of Descriptive and Substantive Representation." *Political Behavior* 39(1): 31–50.

Esaiasson, Peter, Mikael Persson, Mikael Gilljam, and Torun Lindholm. 2019. "Reconsidering the Role of Procedures for Decision Acceptance." *British Journal of Political Science* 49(1): 291–314.

### **Recommended:**

Chong, Dennis; McClosky, Herbert & Zaller, John. 1983. "Patterns of Support for Democratic and Capitalist Values in the United States." *British Journal of Political Science* 13(4):401–440.

Finkel, Eli J., Christopher A. Bail, Mina Cikara, Peter H. Ditto, Shanto Iyengar, Samara Klar, Lilliana Mason, Mary C. McGrath, Brendan Nyhan, David G. Rand, Linda J. Skitka, Joshua A. Tucker, Jay J. Van Bavel, Cynthia S. Wang, and James N. Druckman. 2020. Political sectarianism in America." *Science* 30 Oct 2020: 533-536.

Werner, Hannah, Sofie Marien. 2020. "Process vs. Outcome? How to Evaluate the Effects of Participatory Processes on Legitimacy Perceptions." *British Journal of Political Science* Early view, 1-8.

Esaiasson, P., Mikael Gilliam, and Mikael Persson. 2012. "Which decision-making arrangements generate the strongest legitimacy beliefs? Evidence from a randomised field experiment." *European Journal of Political Research* 51: 785-808.

Norris, Pippa. 2011. *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### **9/6. Holiday—Labor Day (no class)**

### **9/13. Legitimacy of Elections**

Aldrich, John, Jason Reifler, and Michael C. Munger. 2014. "Sophisticated and Myopic? Citizen Preferences for Electoral College Reform." *Public Choice* 158 (3/4): 541-58.

Bowler, Shaun, and Todd Donovan. 2002. "Democracy, Institutions and Attitudes about Citizen Influence on Government." *British Journal of Political Science* 32 (2): 371–390.

Dahlberg, Stefan, and Sören Holmberg. 2013. "Democracy and Bureaucracy: How Their Quality Matters for Popular Satisfaction." *West European Politics* 37 (3): 515–537.

Pippa Norris, Holly Ann Garnett, and Max Grömping. 2020. "The paranoid style of American elections: explaining perceptions of electoral integrity in an age of populism." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 30(1): 105-125.

Enders, Adam M., Joseph E. Uscinski, Casey A. Klofstad, Kamal Premaratne, Michelle I. Seelig, Stefan Wuchty, Manohar N. Murthi, and John R. Funchion. "The 2020 presidential election and beliefs about fraud: Continuity or change?" *Electoral Studies*

Rogowski, Jon C. and Sophie A. Schuit. 2018. "Electoral Institutions and Democratic Legitimacy." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 82(2):343–365.

### **Recommended:**

Bowler, Shaun and Todd Donovan. 2007. "Reasoning about institutional change: Winners, losers, and support for electoral reforms." *British Journal of Political Science* 37, 455–76.

Karp, Jeffrey A. 2007. "Reforming the Electoral College and Support for Proportional Outcomes." *Representation* 43(4):239-250.

### **9/20. Trust in Government (the output perspective)**

Miller, Arthur H. 1974. "Political Issues and Trust in Government: 1964–1970." *American Political Science Review* 68(3): 951–72.

Citrin, Jack. 1974. "Comment: The Political Relevance of Trust in Government." *American Political Science Review* 68(3): 973–88.

Miller, Arthur H. 1974. "Rejoinder to 'comment' by Jack Citrin: Political Discontent or Ritualism?" *American Political Science Review* 68 (3): 989–1001.

Cook, Timothy E. and Paul Gronke. 2005. "The skeptical American: Revisiting the meanings of trust in government and confidence in institutions." *Journal of Politics* 67(3):784-803.

Hetherington, Marc J., and Thomas J. Rudolph. 2008. "Priming, Performance, and the Dynamics of Political Trust." *Journal of Politics* 70: 498-512.

Avery, J. M. 2006. "The Sources and Consequences of Political Mistrust among African Americans." *American Politics Research* 34(5):653–82.

Intawan, Chanita and Stephen P. Nicholson. 2018. "My Trust in Government is Implicit: Automatic Trust in Government and System Support." *Journal of Politics* 80(2):601-614.

#### **Recommended:**

Chanley Virginia.A., Thomas .J. Rudolph, and Wendy M. Rahn. 2000. "The origins and consequences of public trust in government: A time series analysis." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 64(3):239-256.

Dalton, Russell J. 2005. "The Social Transformation of Trust in Government." *International Review of Sociology*, 15:1, 133-154.

*Easton, D. (1965). A framework for political analysis. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.*

Keele, Luke. 2007. "Social Capital and the Dynamics of Trust in Government." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (2): 241–54.

McDermott, Monika L., and David R. Jones. "Gender, Sex, and Trust in Government." *Politics & Gender*, 2020, 1–24.

Mondak, Jeffery J., and Halperin, Karen D. 2008. "A Framework for the Study of Personality and Political Behavior." *British Journal of Political Science* 38 (2): 335–62.

Rothstein, Bo, and Stolle, Deitlind. 2008. "The State and Social Capital: An Institutional Theory of Generalized Trust." *Comparative Politics* 40 (4): 441–59.

Wals S.C., Rudolph Thomas J. 2019. "Lost in acculturation? premigratory exposure to democracy and immigrants' political trust in the United States." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 31(1):70-92.

#### 9/27. **Trust in Government (the process perspective)**

Hibbing, John R. and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 2002. *Stealth democracy: Americans' beliefs about how government should work*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-6.

Mutz, Diana C., and Byron Reeves. 2005. "The New Videomalaise: Effects of Televised Incivility on Political Trust." *American Political Science Review* 99: 1-16.

Gregg G. Van Ryzin. 2011. "Outcomes, Process, and Trust of Civil Servants." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 21(4):745–760.

Tyler, Tom R. 2001. "The psychology of public dissatisfaction with government. In *What is it about government that Americans dislike?*, eds., John R. Hibbing and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, 227–42. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

#### 10/4. **Consequences of Political (Mis)Trust**

Hetherington, Marc J. 1998. "The Political Relevance of Political Trust." *American Political Science Review* 92(4): 791–808.

Dyck, Joshua., Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz, and Michael Coates. 2018. "Political Distrust and Support for the Insurgent Candidacies of Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders in the 2016 Primary." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 51(2) 351-357.

Doyle, D. 2011. "The Legacy of Political Institutions: Explaining Contemporary Populism in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 44(11):1447–73.

Hetherington, Marc J., and Huser, Jason A. 2012. "How Trust Matters: The Changing Political Relevance of Political Trust." *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (2):312-325.

Scholz, John T., and Lubell, Mark. 1998. "Trust and Taxpaying: Testing the Heuristic Approach to Collective Action." *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (2): 398–417.

Rudolph, Thomas J., Evans, Jillian. 2005. "Political Trust, Ideology, and Public Support for Government Spending." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 660–71.

### **Recommended:**

Hetherington, Marc J. 1999. "The Effect of Political Trust on the Presidential Vote, 1968–96." *American Political Science Review* 93 (2): 311–26.

Hetherington, Marc J. 2005. *Why trust matters: Declining political trust and the demise of American liberalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hetherington, Marc J., and Globetti, Suzanne. 2002. "Political Trust and Racial Policy Preferences." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (2): 253–75.

Macdonald D. 2020. "Trust in Government and the American Public's Responsiveness to Rising Inequality." *Political Research Quarterly* 73(4):790-804.

### **10/11. Presidential Approval**

Mueller, John E. 1970. "Presidential Popularity from Truman to Johnson." *The American Political Science Review* 64(1): 18-34.

Kernell, Samuel. 1978. "Explaining presidential popularity: How Ad Hoc Theorizing, Misplaced Emphasis, and Insufficient Care in Measuring One's Variables Refuted Common Sense and Led Conventional Wisdom Down the Path of Anomalies." *American Political Science Review* 72: 506-22.

Krosnick, Jon A., & Donald R. Kinder. 1990. "Altering the foundations of support for the president through priming." *American Political Science Review* 84(2):497–512.

Donovan, Kathleen, Paul M. Kellstedt, Ellen M. Key and Matthew J. Lebo. 2020. "Motivated Reasoning, Public Opinion, and Presidential Approval." *Political Behavior* 42: 1201–1221.

Newman, Brian. and Otto, A. 2021. "Polls and Elections: The Economy and Events Still Matter (At Least a Little): Partisans' Presidential Approval in the Trump Era." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psq.12686>

Busby, Ethan C., James N. Druckman, and Alexandria Fredendall. 2017. "The Political Relevance of Irrelevant Events." *Journal of Politics* 79(1):346-350.

### **Recommended:**

Brody, Richard A. 1991. *Assessing the President: The media, elite opinion, and public support*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Druckman, James N. and Justin W. Holmes. 2004. "Does Presidential Rhetoric Matter? Priming and Presidential Approval." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34: 755-778.

Healy, Andrew J., Neil Malhotra, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. 2010. "Irrelevant Events Affect Voters' Evaluation of Government Performance." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107(29): pp. 12804-12809.

Kam, Cindy D. and Jennifer M. Ramos. 2008. "Joining and Leaving the Rally: Understanding the Surge and Decline in Presidential Approval Following 9/11." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72(4):619-650.

Miller, J. M., & Krosnick, J. A. 2000. "News media impact on the ingredients of presidential evaluations: Politically knowledgeable citizens are guided by a trusted source." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(2): 301-315.

Mondak, Jeffery J. 1993. "Source Cues and Policy Approval: The Cognitive Dynamics of Public Support for the Reagan Agenda." *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 186-212.

Mueller, John. 1973. *War, presidents and public opinion*. New York: Wiley.

Newman, B. 2004. "The Polls: Presidential Traits and Job Approval: Some Aggregate-Level Evidence." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34: 437-448.

Newport, Frank and Lydia Saad. 2021. "Review: Presidential Job Approval." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 85(1):223-241

Nicholson, Stephen P., Gary M. Segura, and Nathan D. Woods. 2002. "Presidential Approval and the Mixed Blessing of Divided Government." *Journal of Politics* 64(3):701-720.

Ostrom, C. W., Jr., & Simon, D. M. 1985. Promise and performance: A dynamic model of presidential popularity. *American Political Science Review* 79: 334-358.

Zaller, John R. 1998. "Monica Lewinsky's contribution to political science." *Politics and Political Science* 31: 182-189.

### **10/18. Supreme Court Approval & Legitimacy**

Caldeira, Gregory A., and James L. Gibson. 1992. "The Etiology of Public Support for the Supreme Court." *American Journal of Political Science* 36(3):635-664.

Gibson, James L., Gregory A. Caldeira, and Lester Kenyatta Spence. 2005. "Why Do People Accept Public Policies They Oppose? Testing Legitimacy Theory with a Survey-Based Experiment." *Political Research Quarterly* 58(2):187-201.

Baird, Vanessa A. 2001. "Building Institutional Legitimacy: The Role of Procedural Justice." *Political Research Quarterly* 54 (June): 333-54.

Ramirez, Mark D. 2008. "Procedural Perceptions and Support for the U.S. Supreme Court." *Political Psychology* 29(5):675-698.

Bartels, Brandon L. and Christopher D. Johnston. 2013. "On the Ideological Foundations of Supreme Court Legitimacy in the American Public." *American Journal of Political Science* 57:184-199.

Scherer, Nancy and Brett Curry. 2010. "Does Descriptive Race Representation Enhance Institutional Legitimacy? The Case of the U.S. Courts." *The Journal of Politics* 72(1): 90-104.

**Recommended:**

Baird, Vanessa A., and Amy Gangl. 2006. "Shattering the Myth of Legality: The Impact of the Media's Framing of Supreme Court Procedures on Perceptions of Fairness." *Political Psychology* 27:597-614.

Gibson, James L., Gregory A. Caldeira, and Vanessa Baird. 1998. "On the Legitimacy of National High Courts." *American Political Science Review* 92 (2): 343-358.

Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2009. *Citizens, Courts, and Confirmations: Positivity Theory and the Judgments of the American People*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2015. "Is the U.S. Supreme Court's Legitimacy Grounded in Performance Satisfaction and Ideology?" *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (1): 162-174.

Gibson, James L., Gregory A. Caldeira, and Lester Kenyatta Spence. 2003. "The Supreme Court and the U.S. Presidential Election of 2000: Wounds, Self-Inflicted or Otherwise?" *British Journal of Political Science* 33(4): 535-556.

Hansford, Thomas G., Chanita Intawan, and Stephen P. Nicholson. 2018. "Snap Judgment: Implicit Perceptions of a (Political) Court." *Political Behavior* 40:127-147.

Hansford, Thomas G. and Chelsea Coe. 2019. "Linguistic Complexity, Information Processing, and Public Acceptance of Supreme Court Decisions." *Political Psychology* 40(2):395-412.

Hoekstra, Valerie J. 2000. "The Supreme Court and Local Public Opinion." *American Political Science Review* 94: 89-100.

Malhotra, Neil and Stephen A. Jessee. 2014. "Ideological Proximity and Support for The Supreme Court." *Political Behavior* 36:817-846.

Mondak, Jeffery J. 1990. "Perceived Legitimacy of Supreme Court Decisions: Three Functions of Source Credibility." *Political Behavior* 12:363-384.

Nelson, Michael J., and James L. Gibson. 2019. "How Does Hyper-Politicized Rhetoric Affect the U.S. Supreme Court's Legitimacy." *The Journal of Politics* 81(4): 1512-1516.

Nicholson, Stephen P. and Robert M. Howard. 2003. "Framing Support for the Supreme Court in the Aftermath of Bush v. Gore." *Journal of Politics* 65(3):676-695.

Nicholson, Stephen P., and Thomas G. Hansford. 2014. "Partisans in Robes: Party Cues and Public Acceptance of Supreme Court Decisions." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(3):620-636.

Pedraza, Francisco I. and Joseph Daniel Ura. 2021. "Latinos' Knowledge of the Supreme Court." *Journal of Law and Courts* 9(1):27-48

Ura, Joseph Daniel. 2014. "Backlash and Legitimation: Macro Political Responses to Supreme Court Decisions." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(1): 110-126.

Zink, James R., James F. Spriggs, II, and John T. Scott. 2009. "Courting the Public: The Influence of Decision Attributes on Individuals' Views of Court Opinions." *Journal of Politics* 71(3):909-925.

### 10/25. **Congressional Approval**

Hibbing, John R. and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 1996. *Congress as public enemy*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-6

Durr, Robert H., John B. Gilmour, and Christina Wolbrecht. 1997. "Explaining Congressional Approval." *American Journal of Political Science* 41(1): 175-207.

Ramirez, Mark D. 2009. "The Dynamics of Partisan Conflict on Congressional Approval." *American Journal of Political Science* 53:681-694.

Harbridge, Laurel and Neil Malhotra. 2011. "Electoral incentives and partisan conflict in Congress: Evidence from survey experiments." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3):494–510

Fowler, Derek. J., Jennifer L. Merolla, and Abbylin H. Sellers. 2014. "Descriptive Representation and Evaluations of Government." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 2(1):66–89.

### **Recommended:**

Dancey, Logan, and Geoffrey Sheagley. 2016. "Inferences Made Easy: Partisan Voting in Congress, Voter Awareness, and Senator Approval." *American Politics Research* 44(5): 844–74.

Jones, David R. 2015. "Declining Trust in Congress: Effects of Polarization and Consequences for Democracy." *Forum* 13(3):375–94.

Parker, Suzanne L. and Glenn R. Parker. 1993. "Why Do We Trust Our Congressman?" *The Journal of Politics* 55(2):442-453.

Ramirez, Mark D. 2013. "The Policy Origins of Congressional Approval." *The Journal of Politics* 75(1):198-209.

Richardson, Lilliard E., David M. Konisky, and Jeffrey Milyo. 2012. "Public Approval of U.S. State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 37: 99-116.

### **11/1. Trust in State Government**

Cole, Richard L., John Kincaid. 2000. "Public Opinion and American Federalism: Perspectives on Taxes, Spending, and Trust—An ACIR Update." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 30(1):189–201.

Cooper, C.A., Knotts, H.G. and Brennan, K.M. 2008. "The Importance of Trust in Government for Public Administration: The Case of Zoning." *Public Administration Review* 68: 459-468.

Tolbert, Caroline J. and Karen Mossberger. 2006. "The Effects of E-Government on Trust and Confidence in Government." *Public Administration Review* 66: 354-369.

Dyck Josh J. 2010. "Political Distrust and Conservative Voting in Ballot Measure Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 63(3):612-626.

Wolak, Jennifer, and Christine Kelleher Palus. 2010. "The Dynamics of Public Confidence in U.S. State and Local Government." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 10(4):421–45.

Wolak, Jennifer. 2020. "Why Do People Trust Their State Government?" *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 20(3): 313–29.

**Recommended:**

Dyck, Josh J. 2009. "Initiated Distrust: Direct Democracy and Trust in Government." *American Politics Research* 37(4):539-568.

Kelleher, C. A., Wolak, J. 2007. "Explaining public confidence in the branches of state government." *Political Research Quarterly* 60: 707-721.

Wolak, Jennifer. "Feelings of Political Efficacy in the Fifty States." *Political Behavior* 40: 763–784.

**11/8. Trust in the Police and Criminal Justice System**

Tyler, Tom R., Wakslak, Chery J. 2004. "Profiling and Police Legitimacy: Procedural Justice, Attributions of Motive, and Acceptance of Police Authority." *Criminology* 42:253–82.

Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. A. 2005. "Determinants of public satisfaction with the police." *Police Quarterly* 8(3):279–297.

Levi, Margaret, Audrey Sacks, and Tom Tyler. 2009. "Conceptualizing Legitimacy, Measuring Legitimizing Beliefs." *American Behavioral Scientist* 53(3): 354–75.

Hetey, Rebecca C., Eberhardt, Jennifer L. 2014. "Racial Disparities in Incarceration Increase Acceptance of Punitive Policies." *Psychological Science* 25:1949–54.

Peffley, Mark, Hurwitz, Jon, Mondak, Jeffery. 2017. "Racial Attributions in the Justice System and Support for Punitive Crime Policies." *American Politics Research* 45:1032–58.

Weaver, Vesla M., and Amy E. Lerman. 2010. "Political Consequences of the Carceral State." *American Political Science Review* 104(4): 817–33.

**Recommended:**

Boudreau, C., MacKenzie, S. A., & Simmons, D. J. (2019). "Police violence and public perceptions." *Journal of Politics* 81(3): 1101–1110.

Cohen, E., Gunderson, A., Jackson, K., Zachary, P., Clark, T. S., Glynn, A. N., et al. (2019). "Do officer-involved shootings reduce citizen contact with government?" *Journal of Politics* 81(3): 1111–1123.

Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2018. *Black and Blue: How African Americans Judge the U.S. Legal System*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mullinix KJ, Norris RJ. 2019. "Pulled-Over Rates, Causal Attributions, and Trust in Police." *Political Research Quarterly*. 72(2):420-434.

Peffley, Mark, and Jon Hurwitz. 2010. *Justice in America: The Separate Realities of Blacks and White*. Cambridge Studies in Public Opinion and Political Psychology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Peffley, Mark, Hurwitz, Jon. 2007. "Persuasion and Resistance: Race and the Death Penalty in America." *American Journal of Political Science* 51:996–1012.

Toby Strickler, Ryan & Edward Lawson. 2020. "Racial conservatism, self-monitoring, and perceptions of police violence." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*.

Miles-Johnson. 2013. "Confidence and Trust in Police: How Sexual Identity Difference Shapes Perceptions of Police." *Current Issues in Criminal Justice* 25(2):685-702.

Tankebe, Justice . 2013. "Viewing Things Differently: The Dimensions of Public Perceptions of Police Legitimacy." *Criminology* 51:103–35.

Theobald, Nick A. and Donald P. Haider-Markel. 2009. "Race, Bureaucracy, and Symbolic Representation: Interactions between Citizens and Police." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 19(2):409–426.

Tyler, Tom R. 2004. "Enhancing Police Legitimacy." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 583:84–99.

Tyler, Tom R. 2005. "Policing in Black and White: Ethnic Group Differences in Trust and Confidence in the Police." *Police Quarterly* 8:322–42.

### 11/15. **Trust in the Mass Media**

Benett, S. E., Rhine, S. L., Flickinger, R. L. and Bennett, L. 1999. "Video malaise" revisited: Public trust in the media and government. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 4(4):8–23.

Jones DA. 2004. "Why Americans Don't Trust the Media: A Preliminary Analysis." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 9(2):60-75.

Gronke Paul and Timothy E. Cook. 2007. "Disdaining the Media: The American Public's Changing Attitudes Toward the News." *Political Communication* 24(3):259-281.

Ladd, Jonathan M. 2010. "The Role of Media Distrust in Partisan Voting." *Political Behavior* 32:567–585.

Ladd, Jonathan M. 2010. "The Neglected Power of Elite Opinion Leadership to Produce Antipathy toward the News Media: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *Political Behavior* 32(1): 29–50.

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## **12/6. Class Presentations**