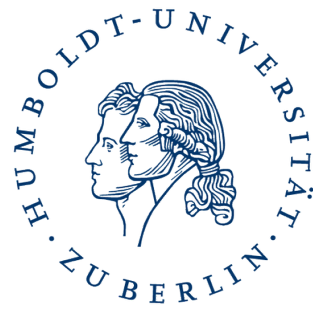


Political Polarization

Syllabus



Tim Wappenhans

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Department of Social Sciences
Chair of Comparative Political Behavior

Summer 2023

Admin

🕒 Thu 10:00 – 14:00
📍 Universitätsstr. 3b, Room 001

👤 Tim Wappenhans
✉ tim.wappenhans@hu-berlin.de

Moodle: moodle.hu-berlin.de
Course Number: [REDACTED]
Password: [REDACTED]

Universitätsstr. 3b, Room 404
Office Hour: via mail

Goal

This is an advanced class on political polarization. We will examine contemporary literature that identifies different dimensions of political polarization, theoretical considerations and empirical analysis about its causes, mechanisms, ramifications, as well as potential antidotes. The focus of the literature rests on the US and Europe. Polarization is a topic with far reaching ramifications for society and we will discuss those. However, as a quantitative researcher I strongly believe that this discussion must be informed by evidence. I

assume that you are comfortable engaging with quantitative research that is increasingly focused on causally identifying effects. That is, you should have completed the methods section of our BA program or a similar one that gives you basic knowledge of statistical models and design based thinking. If you haven't, you are still very welcome but I expect that you are willing to learn about those concepts as we go. After completing the course, you will be equipped with the knowledge to criticize existing research, find lacunae in the literature, and follow your own research agenda.

Requirements

Again, I want to stress that we will engage with quantitative research in every session. Your final paper will also be based on data analysis so please keep this in mind. You will earn a total of 10 Credit Points (CP) in this course. That is the result of 250 hours of work which is distributed across these requirements:

1. **Active Participation**

This is the backbone of our course. Without your engagement the whole thing will be dreadfully boring and uninspiring. This puts the spotlight on you. I expect you to come prepared to class. That means you should read the literature and get an idea about what you understand and what you don't. The next two points should help you in this regard.

(2 CP)

2. **Reading**

Each week, we have three contemporaneous articles from high quality from political science or general interest journals. Further Readings are not required but help paint a more holistic picture. I recommend skimming them as well. Engage with the literature before our sessions. Be critical and question the logic of the argument brought forward as well as the data and analysis provided. There is some notes on how to effectively read in the end of this document called **How to read a paper**. You can find PDFs or links to the material on moodle.

(2 CP)

3. **Critical Questions**

Every week, I want you to post a *concise* and *thought through* question about each mandatory text. Don't be lazy. Try to explain what it is that troubles you. If you want to criticize something articulate what exactly doesn't add up for you. Where are the flaws in the theory? Why doesn't the mechanism seem plausible? It may seem convenient to hide behind methodological technicalities. Don't do this. For example, if you have concerns regarding the sample stemming from a single country, it doesn't suffice to critique the sampling strategy in and of itself. If you want to see the analysis again in a different context, explain why we should expect different results. Don't talk about not understanding what a triangular kernel is. Knowing this will probably not advance your understanding of the paper. The authors will usually explain their method and what they try to achieve with it. You can criticize their design without knowing all the nuts and bolts.

Furthermore

- keep it short, this should not exceed 3 sentences per text
- you can skip two weeks without explanation

- you can find a forum for each session on moodle
- deadline is Wednesday noon.

(0.5 CP)

4. Presentations and Moderation 🗣️

For one session, you will be part of a moderating group. You can find a pad on moodle to organize. Every session is divide into two parts for which the moderating group is responsible.

Part I

For one session, you will start the seminar by giving a brief(!) presentation. Give a brief summary of the articles and a discussion of where the course stands, based on the Critical Questions. There really is no need to go through every table and every graph. Focus on the important ones that tell the story of the papers. The presentations should open an informed discussion about the week's topic. Don't exceed 10 minutes for presenting each paper.

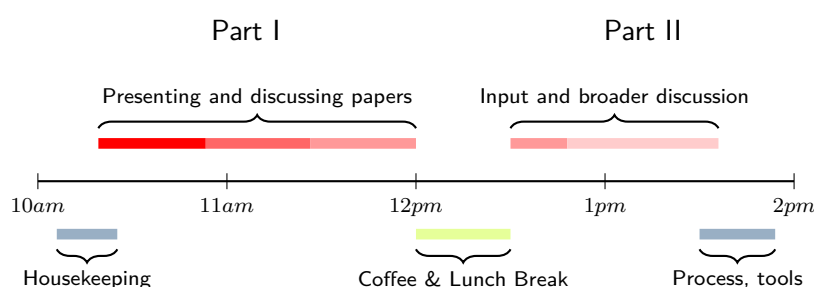
Part II

After a break, we will still talk about what we have learned substantively from the scientific papers but we will put it into a broader perspective. For this, the moderating group will present a short piece of non-academic input. I'm thinking about showing a YouTube video (a TED Talk, some late night talk show monologue etc.). You could also hand out a short news paper article that the class should read or design some group work. You really can get creative.

I want every moderating group to briefly check in with me after class the week before their presentation and tell me about their plans for their session.

(1 CP)

This is what I imagine our sessions to look like:



During Part II, we also have the opportunity to talk about everything you want to talk about regarding your own scientific process. We can talk about identification strategies, how to set up an experiment, but also what tools to use to produce scientific texts (for example \LaTeX). This is really up for discussion and we can see what you need as we go along.

5. Research Proposal 🗣️

For our last session (July 20 2023), we will have a little conference where you will present a research proposal for your final paper. Giving and getting feedback is an elementary part of academia. It's also a pretty fun part...usually. Either way, it

will help your process tremendously. I really want you to start early thinking about your final paper. I know there is a lot of things happening during the semester. But the earlier you start brainstorming ideas and testing the waters in our discussions, the more rewarding the final result will be. We will continue to talk about potential avenues for your own research during the course of the seminar.

In this proposal

- state your **research question**
- briefly describe your **theory and mechanism**
- as well as some **falsifiable expectations**
- what **data** you could use
- and what **empirical strategy** you could apply to test your expectations

The proposal should be around a page long. Please upload your research proposal as a PDF by Wednesday July 19 2023.

(0.5 CP)

6. Final Paper

The final part of this course is a paper of **40,000 characters**, not counting spaces. This paper is what your final grade will be based on. After completing the course, we will have seen where the literature on political polarization stands. This truly is an emerging field and there are many questions that remain unanswered. Your final term paper will engage with one of those unanswered questions empirically.

This is an undergrad course and there will be limitations to what you can do. Don't worry about that. Rather, be transparent about potential pitfalls and shortcomings. There are some notes on how to write a good paper in the end of this document called **How to write a paper** but in short, I expect you to

- find a concise **research question**
- motivated by discussing the current state of the **political science literature** (that is, peer reviewed journal articles and scientific books)
- develop an argument that comes from the **theory**
- and articulate precise, **falsifiable expectations**¹
- find **data** to **test** these expectations
- and tell me **why it matters** substantively

Please also send your R script or Stata Do-File for replication.

Whatever typesetting software you use, convert your file to PDF before uploading it to moodle. Deadline is September 30 2023.

(3CP)

¹One great hypothesis will do, two or three is also ok, especially when concerned with heterogeneity or testing mechanisms but don't try to test everything.

Course Plan

Intro

Welcome 20.04.2023

getting to know the group · presentation of the course topics and outline · presentation of requirements · intro to the debate on political polarization · primer: quantitative research

Literature

- Iyengar, S., Lelkes, Y., Levendusky, M., Malhotra, N., and Westwood, S. J. (2019). The Origins and Consequences of Affective Polarization in the United States. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 22(1):129–146
- Finkel, E. J., Bail, C. A., Cikara, M., Ditto, P. H., Iyengar, S., Klar, S., Mason, L., McGrath, M. C., Nyhan, B., Rand, D. G., Skitka, L. J., Tucker, J. A., Van Bavel, J. J., Wang, C. S., and Druckman, J. N. (2020). Political sectarianism in America. *Science*, 370(6516):533–536
- McCarty, N. (2019). *Polarization: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY, Chapter 2

What Polarization?

Ideological Polarization 27.04.2023

ideological polarization of elites · ideological polarization of voters in the US · ideological polarization of voters in Germany

Literature

- McCarty, N. (2019). *Polarization: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY, Chapter 3
- Fiorina, M. P. and Abrams, S. J. (2008). Political Polarization in the American Public. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11(1):563–588
- Munzert, S. and Bauer, P. C. (2013). Political Depolarization in German Public Opinion, 1980–2010. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 1(1):67–89

Further Readings

- Gentzkow, M., Shapiro, J. M., and Taddy, M. (2019). Measuring Group Differences in High-Dimensional Choices: Method and Application to Congressional Speech. *Econometrica*, 87(4):1307–1340
- Lelkes, Y. (2016). Mass Polarization: Manifestations and Measurements. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 80(S1):392–410

Affective Polarization 04.05.2023*concept of affective polarization · measured in US · measured in Europe***Literature**

- Iyengar, S. and Westwood, S. J. (2015). Fear and Loathing across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(3):690–707
- Reiljan, A. (2020). ‘Fear and loathing across party lines’ (also) in Europe: Affective polarisation in European party systems. *European Journal of Political Research*, 59(2):376–396
- Westwood, S. J., Iyengar, S., Walgrave, S., Leonisio, R., Miller, L., and Strijbis, O. (2018). The tie that divides: Cross-national evidence of the primacy of partyism. *European Journal of Political Research*, 57(2):333–354

Further Readings

- Gidron, N., Adams, J., and Horne, W. (2020). American Affective Polarization in Comparative Perspective. *Elements in American Politics*
- Boxell, L., Gentzkow, M., and Shapiro, J. M. (2022). Cross-Country Trends in Affective Polarization. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, pages 1–60

Explanations

Ideology 11.05.2023*effect of elite ideological polarization · policy disagreement over identity · multiparty context***Literature**

- Rogowski, J. C. and Sutherland, J. L. (2016). How Ideology Fuels Affective Polarization. *Political Behavior*, 38(2):485–508
- Orr, L. V. and Huber, G. A. (2020). The Policy Basis of Measured Partisan Animosity in the United States. *American Journal of Political Science*, 64(3):569–586
- Hartevelde, E. (2021). Fragmented foes: Affective polarization in the multiparty context of the Netherlands. *Electoral Studies*, 71:102332

Further Readings

- Costa, M. (2021). Ideology, Not Affect: What Americans Want from Political Representation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(2):342–358
- Hobolt, S., Leeper, T. J., and Tilley, J. (2020). Divided by the vote: affective polarization in the wake of the Brexit referendum. *British Journal of Political Science*

— **Attention, no class 18.05.2023** —
Public holiday

Identity **25.05.2023**
group-based explanations · social identity theory · partisan sorting

Literature

- Iyengar, S., Sood, G., and Lelkes, Y. (2012). Affect, Not Ideology: A Social Identity Perspective on Polarization. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 76(3):405–431
- Mason, L. (2015). “I Disrespectfully Agree”: The Differential Effects of Partisan Sorting on Social and Issue Polarization. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(1):128–145
- Dias, N. and Lelkes, Y. (2022). The Nature of Affective Polarization: Disentangling Policy Disagreement from Partisan Identity. *American Journal of Political Science*, 66(3):775–790

Further Readings

- Huddy, L., Mason, L., and Aarøe, L. (2015). Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity. *American Political Science Review*, 109(1):1–17
- Barber, M. and Pope, J. C. (2019). Does Party Trump Ideology? Disentangling Party and Ideology in America. *American Political Science Review*, 113(1):38–54

Media **01.06.2023**
local newspapers · internet access · opposing news subscription · cross-cutting social media exposure

Literature

- Ellger, F., Hilbig, H., Riaz, S., and Tillmann, P. (2021). Local Newspaper Decline and Political Polarization - Evidence from a Multi-Party Setting
- Lelkes, Y., Sood, G., and Iyengar, S. (2017). The Hostile Audience: The Effect of Access to Broadband Internet on Partisan Affect. *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(1):5–20
- Levy, R. (2021). Social Media, News Consumption, and Polarization: Evidence from a Field Experiment. *American Economic Review*, 111(3):831–870
- Bail, C. A., Argyle, L. P., Brown, T. W., Bumpus, J. P., Chen, H., Hunzaker, M. B. F., Lee, J., Mann, M., Merhout, F., and Volfovsky, A. (2018). Exposure to opposing views on social media can increase political polarization. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115(37):9216–9221

Further Readings

- Allcott, H., Braghieri, L., Eichmeyer, S., and Gentzkow, M. (2020). The Welfare Effects of Social Media. *American Economic Review*, 110(3):629–676
- Boxell, L., Gentzkow, M., and Shapiro, J. M. (2017). Greater Internet use is not associated with faster growth in political polarization among US demographic groups. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114(40):10612–10617

The Radical Right08.06.2023

radical right representation and ideological polarization · radical right exceptionalism in affective polarization · normalization of the radical right

Literature

- Bischof, D. and Wagner, M. (2019). Do Voters Polarize When Radical Parties Enter Parliament? *American Journal of Political Science*, pages 1–19
- Harteveld, E., Mendoza, P., and Rooduijn, M. (2022). Affective Polarization and the Populist Radical Right: Creating the Hating? *Government and Opposition*, 57(4):703–727
- Valentim, V. (2021). Parliamentary Representation and the Normalization of Radical Right Support. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(14):2475–2511

Further Readings

- Reiljan, A. and Ryan, A. (2021). Ideological Tripolarization, Partisan Tribalism and Institutional Trust: The Foundations of Affective Polarization in the Swedish Multiparty System. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 44(2):195–219
- Widmann, T. (2021). How Emotional Are Populists Really? Factors Explaining Emotional Appeals in the Communication of Political Parties. *Political Psychology*, 42(1):163–181

Consequences

Norms15.06.2023

dehumanization of outpartisans · democratic norms · democratic accountability

Literature

- Martherus, J. L., Martinez, A. G., Piff, P. K., and Theodoridis, A. G. (2021). Party Animals? Extreme Partisan Polarization and Dehumanization. *Political Behavior*, 43(2):517–540
- Kingzette, J., Druckman, J. N., Klar, S., Krupnikov, Y., Levendusky, M., and Ryan, J. B. (2021). How Affective Polarization Undermines Support for Democratic Norms. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 85(2):663–677

- Broockman, D. E., Kalla, J. L., and Westwood, S. J. (2022). Does Affective Polarization Undermine Democratic Norms or Accountability? Maybe Not. *American Journal of Political Science*

Further Readings

- Whitt, S., Yanus, A. B., McDonald, B., Graeber, J., Setzler, M., Ballingrud, G., and Kifer, M. (2021). Tribalism in America: Behavioral Experiments on Affective Polarization in the Trump Era. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 8(3):247–259
- Kalmoe, N. P. and Mason, L. (2022). *Radical American Partisanship: Mapping Violent Hostility, Its Causes, and the Consequences for Democracy*. Chicago Studies in American Politics. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL, Ch. 4
- Westwood, S. J., Grimmer, J., Tyler, M., and Nall, C. (2022). Current research overstates American support for political violence. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 119(12)

— **Attention, no class 22.06.2023** —
 2023 European Political Science Association Conference

Behavior **29.06.2023**
polarization and the pandemic · sharing of fake news · political segregation

Literature

- Stoetzer, L. F., Munzert, S., Lowe, W., Çalı, B., Gohdes, A. R., Helbling, M., Maxwell, R., and Traummüller, R. (2023). Affective partisan polarization and moral dilemmas during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 11(2):429–436
- Druckman, J. N., Klar, S., Krupnikov, Y., Levendusky, M., and Ryan, J. B. (2021). Affective polarization, local contexts and public opinion in America. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 5(1):28–38
- Osmundsen, M., Bor, A., Vahlstrup, P. B., Bechmann, A., and Petersen, M. B. (2021). Partisan Polarization Is the Primary Psychological Motivation behind Political Fake News Sharing on Twitter. *American Political Science Review*, 115(3):999–1015
- Brown, J. R. and Enos, R. D. (2021). The measurement of partisan sorting for 180 million voters. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 5(8):998–1008
- Chen, M. K. and Rohla, R. (2018). The effect of partisanship and political advertising on close family ties. *Science*, 360(6392):1020–1024

Further Readings

- Huber, G. A. and Malhotra, N. (2017). Political Homophily in Social Relationships: Evidence from Online Dating Behavior. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(1):269–283

- Helbling, M. and Jungkunz, S. (2020). Social divides in the age of globalization. *West European Politics*, 43(6):1187–1210

Wrapping Up

Reducing Affective Polarization 06.07.2023

correcting misperceptions · deliberative measures · perspective taking

Literature

- Druckman, J. N., Klar, S., Krupnikov, Y., Levendusky, M., and Ryan, J. B. (2022). (Mis)estimating Affective Polarization. *The Journal of Politics*, 84(2):1106–1117
- Levendusky, M. S. and Stecula, D. A. (2021). We Need to Talk: How Cross-Party Dialogue Reduces Affective Polarization. *Elements in Experimental Political Science*, Ch. 2 & 3
- Kalla, J. L. and Broockman, D. E. (2022). Voter Outreach Campaigns Can Reduce Affective Polarization among Implementing Political Activists: Evidence from Inside Three Campaigns. *American Political Science Review*, 116(4):1516–1522

Further Readings

- Hartman, R., Blakey, W., Womick, J., Bail, C., Finkel, E. J., Han, H., Sarrouf, J., Schroeder, J., Sheeran, P., Van Bavel, J. J., Willer, R., and Gray, K. (2022). Interventions to reduce partisan animosity. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 6(9):1194–1205
- Adams, J., Bracken, D., Gidron, N., Horne, W., O’Brien, D. Z., and Senk, K. (2023). Can’t We All Just Get Along? How Women MPs Can Ameliorate Affective Polarization in Western Publics. *American Political Science Review*, 117(1):318–324

What do we measure? 13.07.2023

multiparty setting · multi-layered group identities · conceptualization

Literature

- Wagner, M. (2021). Affective polarization in multiparty systems. *Electoral Studies*, 69:102199
- Traber, D., Stoetzer, L. F., and Burri, T. (2023). Group-based public opinion polarisation in multi-party systems. *West European Politics*, 46(4):652–677
- Druckman, J. N. and Levendusky, M. S. (2019). What Do We Measure When We Measure Affective Polarization? *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 83(1):114–122

Further Readings

- Krupnikov, Y. and Ryan, J. B. (2022). *The Other Divide*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Our Mini Conference20.07.2023

presentation of research proposal · drinks in the evening

Furthermore...

There are a couple of books that I recommend checking out:

- McCarty, N. (2019). *Polarization: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY
- Levendusky, M. (2009). *The Partisan Sort: How Liberals Became Democrats and Conservatives Became Republicans*. Chicago Studies in American Politics. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL
- Mason, L. (2018). *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois; London
- Krupnikov, Y. and Ryan, J. B. (2022). *The Other Divide*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Green, D., Palmquist, B., and Schickler, E. (2002). *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. Yale University Press, Yale
- Ellis, C. and Stimson, J. A. (2012). *Ideology in America*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Lee, F. E. (2009). *Beyond Ideology: Politics, Principles, and Partisanship in the U. S. Senate*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL
- Skocpol, T. (2016). *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*. Oxford University Press, New York, updated edition edition
- Gidron, N., Adams, J., and Horne, W. (2020). American Affective Polarization in Comparative Perspective. *Elements in American Politics*
- Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschie, S., and Frey, T. (2008). *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Mudde, C. and Kaltwasser, C. R. (2017). *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY

References

- Adams, J., Bracken, D., Gidron, N., Horne, W., O'brien, D. Z., and Senk, K. (2023). Can't We All Just Get Along? How Women MPs Can Ameliorate Affective Polarization in Western Publics. *American Political Science Review*, 117(1):318–324.
- Allcott, H., Braghieri, L., Eichmeyer, S., and Gentzkow, M. (2020). The Welfare Effects of Social Media. *American Economic Review*, 110(3):629–676.
- Bail, C. A., Argyle, L. P., Brown, T. W., Bumpus, J. P., Chen, H., Hunzaker, M. B. F., Lee, J., Mann, M., Merhout, F., and Volfovsky, A. (2018). Exposure to opposing views on social media can increase political polarization. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115(37):9216–9221.
- Barber, M. and Pope, J. C. (2019). Does Party Trump Ideology? Disentangling Party and Ideology in America. *American Political Science Review*, 113(1):38–54.
- Bischof, D. and Wagner, M. (2019). Do Voters Polarize When Radical Parties Enter Parliament? *American Journal of Political Science*, pages 1–19.
- Boxell, L., Gentzkow, M., and Shapiro, J. M. (2017). Greater Internet use is not associated with faster growth in political polarization among US demographic groups. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114(40):10612–10617.
- Boxell, L., Gentzkow, M., and Shapiro, J. M. (2022). Cross-Country Trends in Affective Polarization. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, pages 1–60.
- Broockman, D. E., Kalla, J. L., and Westwood, S. J. (2022). Does Affective Polarization Undermine Democratic Norms or Accountability? Maybe Not. *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Brown, J. R. and Enos, R. D. (2021). The measurement of partisan sorting for 180 million voters. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 5(8):998–1008.
- Chen, M. K. and Rohla, R. (2018). The effect of partisanship and political advertising on close family ties. *Science*, 360(6392):1020–1024.
- Costa, M. (2021). Ideology, Not Affect: What Americans Want from Political Representation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(2):342–358.
- Dias, N. and Lelkes, Y. (2022). The Nature of Affective Polarization: Disentangling Policy Disagreement from Partisan Identity. *American Journal of Political Science*, 66(3):775–790.
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- Druckman, J. N., Klar, S., Krupnikov, Y., Levendusky, M., and Ryan, J. B. (2022). (Mis)estimating Affective Polarization. *The Journal of Politics*, 84(2):1106–1117.
- Druckman, J. N. and Levendusky, M. S. (2019). What Do We Measure When We Measure Affective Polarization? *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 83(1):114–122.

- Ellger, F., Hilbig, H., Riaz, S., and Tillmann, P. (2021). Local Newspaper Decline and Political Polarization - Evidence from a Multi-Party Setting.
- Ellis, C. and Stimson, J. A. (2012). *Ideology in America*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Finkel, E. J., Bail, C. A., Cikara, M., Ditto, P. H., Iyengar, S., Klar, S., Mason, L., McGrath, M. C., Nyhan, B., Rand, D. G., Skitka, L. J., Tucker, J. A., Van Bavel, J. J., Wang, C. S., and Druckman, J. N. (2020). Political sectarianism in America. *Science*, 370(6516):533–536.
- Fiorina, M. P. and Abrams, S. J. (2008). Political Polarization in the American Public. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11(1):563–588.
- Gentzkow, M., Shapiro, J. M., and Taddy, M. (2019). Measuring Group Differences in High-Dimensional Choices: Method and Application to Congressional Speech. *Econometrica*, 87(4):1307–1340.
- Gidron, N., Adams, J., and Horne, W. (2020). American Affective Polarization in Comparative Perspective. *Elements in American Politics*.
- Green, D., Palmquist, B., and Schickler, E. (2002). *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. Yale University Press, Yale.
- Harteveld, E. (2021). Fragmented foes: Affective polarization in the multiparty context of the Netherlands. *Electoral Studies*, 71:102332.
- Harteveld, E., Mendoza, P., and Rooduijn, M. (2022). Affective Polarization and the Populist Radical Right: Creating the Hating? *Government and Opposition*, 57(4):703–727.
- Hartman, R., Blakey, W., Womick, J., Bail, C., Finkel, E. J., Han, H., Sarrouf, J., Schroeder, J., Sheeran, P., Van Bavel, J. J., Willer, R., and Gray, K. (2022). Interventions to reduce partisan animosity. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 6(9):1194–1205.
- Helbling, M. and Jungkunz, S. (2020). Social divides in the age of globalization. *West European Politics*, 43(6):1187–1210.
- Hobolt, S., Leeper, T. J., and Tilley, J. (2020). Divided by the vote: affective polarization in the wake of the Brexit referendum. *British Journal of Political Science*.
- Huber, G. A. and Malhotra, N. (2017). Political Homophily in Social Relationships: Evidence from Online Dating Behavior. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(1):269–283.
- Huddy, L., Mason, L., and Aarøe, L. (2015). Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity. *American Political Science Review*, 109(1):1–17.
- Iyengar, S., Lelkes, Y., Levendusky, M., Malhotra, N., and Westwood, S. J. (2019). The Origins and Consequences of Affective Polarization in the United States. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 22(1):129–146.
- Iyengar, S., Sood, G., and Lelkes, Y. (2012). Affect, Not Ideology: A Social Identity Perspective on Polarization. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 76(3):405–431.
- Iyengar, S. and Westwood, S. J. (2015). Fear and Loathing across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(3):690–707.

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- There are a couple of books I recommend checking out:

Political Polarization

Additional Material

How to read a paper

This is a checklist that might help you reading a journal article. It's mostly taken Macartan Humphrey's advice verbatim ([macartan.github.io](https://github.com/macartan)).

When reading a scientific paper, I usually follow these steps:

- **Skim**

First skim over the reading to get a sense of the themes it covers. Focus on the abstract where the authors lay out the goals of their work.

Before reading further, actually write down what **questions** you hope the article will be able to answer. Really do this. You will read very differently when you are on the lookout for answers.

Next, read

- **Introduction and conclusion**

This is normally enough to get a sense of the big picture. By now you should know what the main claims are going to be. Ask yourself: Are the claims in the text surprising? Do you believe them? Can you think of examples of cases that do not seem consistent with the logic of the argument? Is the reading answering the questions you hoped it would answer? If not, is it answering more or less interesting questions than you had thought of?

Then

- **Predict**

Next ask yourself: What types of evidence or arguments would you need to see in order to be convinced of the results? For an empirical paper try to think of the sort of data you might want to get.

Now

- **Read the heart**

Only now read through the whole text, checking as you go through how the arguments used support the claims of the author. You hardly ever really every single word.

Instead go straight to the tables and figures, assessing the evidence. Cross check in the main text for interpretation and other issues. Do not rely on the authors interpretation of tables.

How to write a paper

This is a checklist that might help you write your final paper. It's mostly taken Macartan Humphrey's advice verbatim ([macartan.github.io](https://github.com/macartan)). When writing your first larger paper it can help to take a journal article you found especially convincing for guidance. Another great strategy to increase the quality of your writing is to organize writing groups. Get together and read each other's work. This helps you catch annoying mistakes like typos but also serves as a vital check: do others understand what you are trying to say?

Structure

1. Front Matter

- Table of contents:
Have a table of contents. Go two or at most three levels deep (so sections and subsections, but generally not subsubsections). Use informative section headers so that readers can figure out the logical structure of the thesis from the table of contents. Have your table of contents generated automatically and have it hyperlink to sections. Number all sections. In \LaTeX using `\section{}`; in R markdown using `#`, `##`; in Word using "Heading 1" "Heading 2" styles – and setting the number to be of the form 1, 1.1, 1.12, 1.2, 2 etc. These all can be used to generate automatic table of contents. No handcrafting of numbering or of Tables of Contents.
- Abstract: You can have a short abstract (250-300 words). Abstracts should give (1) brief motivation (2) overview of strategy (3) main findings. People often use an abstract to report what they did but the most important purpose is to report what you found. Remember findings can be positive and negative — if you find that the data simply does not support some intuitively plausible or commonly believed proposition that is big news; don't bury that.

2. Introduction

Introductions should give a high level motivation, a brief description of what you will do, a summary of findings, and a clarification of contributions (why what you did matters or how it is innovative). Saying early on what your main findings or claims are is very important. Given the abstract, exec summary, and intro, the reader should have no doubt about where things are going by the time they get into it. Doing this lets readers evaluate your claims more quickly and more directly; it shouldn't be a puzzle for the reader to figure out your conclusion and your key points should not come as a surprise in the last pages.

3. Theory

A good structure for a theory chapter is this:

- Motivate your paper. Why do we care?
- Describe your theory formally. Who are the actors (parties, partisans, voters...)? What guides their behavior, thinking or preferences? What should we be able to observe because of this? Some formal statements of propositions on comparative statics can help make your thinking concise and understandable (Y is higher when X is high).

- End the chapter by turning these comparative statics claims into falsifiable expectations (usually in the form of hypotheses, although there is a change of taste right now). This leads naturally on to subsequent chapters.

4. **Empirics**

In this part, you should tell the reader what your strategy is for testing your theoretical expectations. What are you looking for to find evidence in favor or against a proposition. This strategy is often laid out in earlier chapters (for many people, in the theory chapter) but there should still be a recap here. For a quantitative analysis the standard ordering (whether in one chapter or many) is:

- Describe hypotheses
- Describe measures
- Describe tests
- Describe core results
- Interpret results substantively
- Describe robustness
- Draw overall inferences

Presentation

1. **Writing tools**

I really encourage you to ditch Microsoft Word and put in the effort to learn \LaTeX (this document is created with it 🙌). It's an open source markup language that virtually every quantitative political scientist is using today. The learning curve might be a little steep, but the payoff is tremendous. Plus, there is no shortage of helpful videos, guides and forums.

2. **Style**

Your aim in writing is to communicate your results as faithfully as possible not to communicate your process faithfully (of course you have to be transparent about how you did in your analysis). It's normal to go in circles as you develop your thinking on a topic but you do not have to bring the reader in the same circles. Instead try to think about what presentational structure would make it easiest for readers to understand your work quickly. Never try to make things seem more complicated than they are.

Some things that help the reader follow you

- Signposting
Readers should know why they are reading any given section and any given paragraph with a section. Start off sections with a brief statement of the purpose of the section and end with a quick recap. Organize paragraphs so that each paragraph serves a clear function and readers can tell from the first line what the function is. Many readers won't read a section if they don't know why they need to read it.
- Keep writing tight
Remove unnecessary flab at the beginning of sentences: "In order to" "I am

now going to talk about” “I would argue that” “it should therefore come as no surprise that” etc.

- Formality
Keep the writing formal: No contractions in formal writing (it’s, that’s, should’ve, etc.)
- Present tense when describing things being done in the text
“I rely on data provided by Facebook” not: “For the analysis, I relied on data provided by Facebook”
- Other formatting
Don’t forget page numbers.
Most formatting, like font size and margin size, as well as citation style etc. are up to you, as long as you are consistent. However single or 1.5 spacing is easier on paper; and larger font is easier on the eyes. A good standard is 12 point font, 1.5 spacing, and moderate margins. I recommend using the [APSR citation style](#).

3. Tables

- Put tables and figures in the main body, not at the end.
- Tables and figures should be numbered and captioned. You can do automatic numbering in Word using “captions”, and in \LaTeX using `\caption{}`
- Tables and other output should NOT be presented as Stata output or other raw output. There are many helpers out there for you to create great tables. In Stata, you can use the function `outreg2` which can produce very high quality regression output. In R, there is the `stargazer` package, among others.
- Coefficients should be arranged in rows with comprehensible and consistent variable names standard errors should be shown in parentheses.
- include descriptive statistics like number of observations (N).
- Make sure to say what the dependent variables is.
- Useful also to show how a table result links to a hypothesis.
- Make your tables concise. Don’t put just everything in there. For example you do not have to report the values on all control variables if they are not of interest (often, they really aren’t). Table writing is writing – they should communicate the key information as clearly as possible.

4. Figures

However, I prefer figures over tables and use them whenever possible. Figures can give the same information as tables but in a more immediate way. I usually present main results as figures and refer to more expansive tables in the supplementary material.

Export your figures as PDFs in Stata or R before using them.