

PS 355 Public Opinion

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This class is a graduate seminar introduction to the study of public opinion. The scope of the readings in this class should bring you current with academic research in public opinion. We will examine such topics as the meaning of public opinion, forces affecting the formation of public opinion, the distribution of opinion on major issues, and the consequences of public opinion in modern politics.

The grading for this class will be based on two short papers (5-10 pages, 20% each), a longer paper (15-20 pages, 40%), and class participation (20%). The short papers should synthesize an argument from a single week's readings. The short papers should not be literature reviews, but criticisms of central themes in the readings. Appropriate short paper topics might examine the implications of the research approaches for the conclusions drawn by the different readings, point out central problems that the readings fail to address, extend the implications of one reading into the conclusions of another, and so forth. Brehm will be glad to assist with selection of these topics.

The final assignment takes one of two forms: either a research design proposal *or* a full-fledged research project. This research design should identify an unstudied problem in public opinion, explain why this problem deserves attention, and argue for a research program to explore this problem. The scope of the research problem should be something that one might complete as a dissertation. The research project should identify an interesting problem in the study of public opinion, examine primary or secondary data (but *not* tertiary analyses of such data), and draw meaningful conclusions. See Brehm for help on either of these.

The following books are on order in the Seminary Coop:

Alvarez and Brehm, *Hard Choices, Easy Answers*
Sniderman, Brody, and Tetlock, *Reasoning and Choice* [on back-order]
Zaller, *Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*
Erikson, MacKuen, and Stimson. *The Macro Polity*

Suggested readings are also on order:

Erikson, Luttbeg and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*
Schuman, Steeh and Bobo, *Racial Attitudes in America*
McClosky and Zaller, *The American Ethos* [out of print]

The bulk of the readings for this class are articles. The articles will be in folders (by weeks) in my office, and in the grad lounge.

8 January Introduction (Week 1)

15 January Definitions and Measurement (Week 2)

- VO Key, *Public Opinion and American Democracy*, Chapter 1, pp. 3-18
- Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion*, Ch 1, pp 3-20
- Kurt Back, "Metaphors for Public Opinion," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 52:278-288, 1988,
- Murray Edelman, *Symbolic Uses of Politics*, Ch. 1.
- Zaller, Ch. 2-3 (4)
- Sniderman, Brody, and Tetlock (SBT), Ch. 1-2, 6

- Lee, Taeku. *Mobilizing Public Opinion*. Chapter on problems with surveys.
- Herbst, Susan. 2001. Public opinion infrastructures: Meanings, measures, media *Political Communication* 18 (4): 451-464.
- Brehm, *The Phantom Respondents*, Ch. 3
- Erikson, Luttbeg, and Tedin (ELT), Ch. 2
- Krosnick, Jon. "The causes of no-opinion responses to attitude measures in surveys: They are rarely what they appear to be." In R.M. Groves, D.A. Groves, D.A. Dillman, J.L. Eltinge, and R.J.A. Little (Eds.) *Survey nonresponse* New York: Wiley
- Tourangeau, Roger, Lance J. Rips, and Kenneth Rasinski. 2001. *The Psychology of Survey Response*, 2001.

22 January Ideology (Week 3)

- Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David Apter (ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*, pp 206-261
- Kinder, "Diversity and complexity in American public opinion," In Ada Finifter (ed.) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, pp. 391-401, 1983
- Achen, "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response," *American Political Science Review*, 1975, 1218-1231
- SBT, Ch. 8-10
- Zaller, Ch. 7
- Conover and Feldman, "Origins and Meaning of Liberal/Conservative Self-Identifications," *American Journal of Political Science*, 1981, 617-645.
- Dawson, Michael C. 2001. *Black Visions*, Ch 2.
- Alvarez and Brehm, Ch 2.

- Luttbeg and Gant, "The Failure of Liberal/Conservative Ideology as a Cognitive Structure," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1985, 80-93.
- E, L & T, Ch 4.
- Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M. and Susan DeBoef. 2001. "Macropartisanship and macroideology in the sophisticated electorate." *Journal of Politics*. 63 (1): 232-248.

- Wlezien, Christopher, Carman C. 2001. "Ideological placements and political judgments of government institutions." *POQ* 65 (4): 550-561
- Schiffer AJ. 2001. "I'm not that liberal: Explaining conservative democratic identification." *Political Behavior*. 22 (4): 293-310
- Bartels, LM. 2002. "Beyond the running tally: Partisan bias in political perceptions." *Political Behavior* 24 (2): 117-150
- Huckfeldt R, Levine J, Morgan W, et al. "Accessibility and the political utility of partisan and ideological orientations." *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (3): 888-911

29 January Origins: Self-interest (Week 4)

- Downs, Ch 11-12, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, 1957, pp 207-259, .
- Kramer, "Short-Term Fluctuations in U.S. Voting Behavior, 1896-1964," *APSR*, 1971.
- Kinder and Kiewiet, "Sociotropic Politics: The American Case," 1981, *British Journal of Political Science*.
- Kramer, "The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate- versus Individual-Level Findings on Economics and Elections, and Sociotropic Voting," *APSR* 1983.
- Chong, Dennis, Jack Citrin, and Patricia Conley. 2001. "When self-interest matters." *Political Psychology* 22 (3): 541-570
- Sears, David and Carolyn Funk.
- Alvarez and Brehm, Ch. 3
- Markus. "The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on the Presidential Vote," *American Journal of Political Science*, 1988, 137-154.
- Caplan, Bryan 2002. "Sociotropes, Systematic Bias, and Political Failure: Reflections on the Survey of Americans and Economists on the Economy." 83 (2):416-35.
- Citrin, Jack and Donald P. Green. 1997. "Public opinion toward immigration reform: The role of economic motivations." 59 (3):858-82.
- Gomez, Brad T. and Wilson, J. Matthew. 2001. "Political Sophistication and Economic Voting in the American Electorate: A Theory of Heterogeneous Attribution." *American Journal of Political Science*, 45 (4):899-915
- Radcliff, Benjamin. 1994. "Reward without punishment: Economic conditions and the vote. *Political Research Quarterly* 47(3):721-32.
- Krause, George A. 1997. "Voters, information heterogeneity, and the dynamics of aggregate economic expectations. *American Journal of Political Science* 41:(4):1170-1202.
- Funk, Carolyn L. and Garcia-Monet, Patricia A. 1997. "The relationship between personal and national concerns in public perceptions about the economy." *Political Research Quarterly*, 50:(2):317-43.

5 February Origins: Media (Week 5)

- Iyengar, Peters and Kinder, "Experimental demonstration of the not-so-minimal consequences of television news," *American Political Science Review*, 1982

- Iyengar, S. "Television news and citizens' explanations of national affairs," *APSR*, 81:815-831
- Bartels, L. "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure" *APSR*
- Erbring, L, E Goldenberg, and A Miller. "Front Page News and Real World Cues: A New Look at Agenda Setting by the Media" *AJPS*
- MacKuen, M. "Exposure to Information, Belief Integration, and Individual Responsiveness to Agenda Change" *APSR*
- Goidel, Robert K. and Todd G. Shields. 1997. "Priming theory and RAS models," *American Politics Quarterly*, 25(3):287-319.
- Mutz, Diana and Joe Soss. 1997. "Reading public opinion," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61(3):431-52.
- Dalton, Russell J., Paul Beck, and Robert Huckfeldt. 1998. "Partisan cues and the media: information flows in the 1992 presidential election," *APSR* 92(1):111-128.

5 February Origins: Values (Week 5)

- Alvarez and Brehm, Ch 4.
- SBT, Ch. 7
- Brehm, John and Wendy Rahn, "Individual Level Evidence for the Causes and Consequences of Social Capital," *AJPS*.
- Gilens, Martin 2001. "Political Ignorance and Collective Policy Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 95(2):379-96
- Dawson, Michael C. 1994. *Behind the Mule*, Ch. 3, 6.
- Putnam, Making Democracy Work, Ch. 6
- Putnam, "Bowling Alone."
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1971. "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies," *APSR*, 1971.
- Althaus, Scott L. 1998. "Information effects in collective preferences." *American Political Science Review*, 92(3):545-58.
- Schaffner, Brian F.; Streb, Matthew J. 2002. "The partisan heuristic in low-information elections." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 66(4):559-81
- McDermott, Monika L. 1998. "Race and gender cues in low-information elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 51(4):895-18
- Shamir, Jacob; Shamir, Michal 1997. "Pluralistic ignorance across issues and over time." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 61(2):227-50

FIRST THOUGHT PIECE DUE NO LATER THAN 12 FEB!!!

12 February Manifestations: Attitudes towards racial policy (Week 6)

- Kinder & Sears, "Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racism versus racial threats to the good life," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40: 414-431, 1981
- SBT, Ch. 12-13
- McConahay, "Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale," in *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism*,

- Gaertner and Dovidio, “The aversive form of racism,” in *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism*.
- Kinder and Sanders, “Mimicking political debate with survey questions.” Chapter 5, *Divided by Color*
- Alvarez and Brehm, Ch 6.
- Schuman, Steeh & Bobo, Ch 1, 3, 5
- Kinder, Donald R. 2001. “Exploring the Racial Divide: Blacks, Whites, and Opinion on National Policy.” *American Journal of Political Science* 45(2):439-
- Oliver, J. Eric; Mendelberg, Tali 2000. “Reconsidering the environmental determinants of white racial attitudes.” *American Journal of Political Science* 44(3):574-90
- Mendelberg, Tali 1997. “Executing hortons.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 6(1):134-57
- Federico, Christopher M.; Sidanius, Jim 2002. “Sophistication and the antecedents of whites’ racial policy attitudes.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 66(2):145-56/
- Gay C, Tate K. 1998. “Doubly bound: The impact of gender and race on the politics of black women.” *Political Psychology* 19 (1): 169-184
- Dawson, Black Visions or Behind the Mule, chapters ?
- Sears et al., eds. (2002) *Racialized Politics*. Chapters by Sears et. al, Kinder & Mendelberg, Bobo, Sidanius, Sniderman, Schumann, Dawson.
- Crandall CS, Eshleman A 2003. “A justification-suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice.” *Psychological Bulletin* 129 (3): 414-446
- Berinsky, Adam 2002. “Political Context and the Survey Response: The Dynamics of Racial Policy Opinion. *Journal of Politics* 64(2):567-84
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- Tate K 2003. “Black opinion on the legitimacy of racial redistricting and minority-majority districts.” *APSR* 97 (1): 45-56

19 February Manifestations: Attitudes towards welfare (Week 7)

- Jacoby, William G. 2000. “Issue Framing and Public Opinion on Government Spending.” *American Journal of Political Science* 44(4):750-67.
- MacKuen, Erikson, and Stimson (1996)
- Kuklinski, James H.; Quirk, Paul D.; Jerit, Jennifer; Schwieder, David; Rich, Robert F 2000. “Misinformation and the Currency of Democratic Citizenship.” *Journal of Politics* 62(3):790-16.
- Berinsky, Adam J. 2002. “Silent Voices: Social Welfare Policy Opinions and Political Equality in America.” *AJPS* 46(2):276-87
- Feldman, Stanley; Steenbergen, Marco R. 2001. “The Humanitarian Foundation of Public Support for Social Welfare.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(3):658-77
- Gilens, Martin C. 1999. *Why Americans Hate Welfare*, Ch 4, 8.
- Peffley, Mark and Jon Hurwicz. 1997. “Racial Stereotypes and Attitudes Towards Welfare,” *AJPS*

- Hansen, John Mark 1998. "Individuals, institutions, and public preferences over public finance." *APSR* 92(3):513-32
- Duch RM, Palmer Duch RM, Palmer HD, Anderson CJ. 2000. "Heterogeneity in perceptions of national economic conditions." *AJPS* 44 (4): 635-652
- Nadeau R, Niemi RG, Amato T. 2000. "Elite economic forecasts, economic news, mass economic expectations, and voting intentions in Great Britain." *European Journal of Political Research* 38(1):135-70.
- Nadeau, Richard; Niemi, Richard G 1999. "Elite economic forecasts, economic news, mass economic judgments, and presidential approval." *Journal of Politics* 61(1):109-36

26 February Manifestations: Attitudes toward foreign policy (Week 8)

- Alvarez and Brehm, Ch 9
- Zaller, Ch 11
- Aldrich, John, John Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida. 1989. "Do Presidential Candidates Waltz Before a Blind Audience?" *APSR*
- Peffley, Mark and Jon Hurwicz. 1987. "How are foreign policy attitudes structured: A hierarchical model." *APSR* 81:1099-1120.
- Herrman, Richard K.; Tetlock, Philip E. 1999. "Mass public decisions to go to war: A cognitive-interactionist framework." *American Political Science Review* 93(3):553-72
- Baum, Matthew A. 2002. "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public." *American Political Science Review* 96(1):91-109.
- Witko, Christopher. 2003. "Cold War belligerence and US public opinion toward defense spending." *American Politics Research* 31(4):379-303
- Meernik, James; Ault, Michael. 2001. "Public opinion and support for U.S. Presidents' foreign policies" *American Politics Research*, 29(4):352-71
- Klarevas, L 2002. "The "Essential Domino" of Military Operations: American Public Opinion and the Use of Force." *International Studies Perspectives* 3(4):417-37
- Page, Benjamin I.; Barabas, Jason. 2000. "Foreign Policy Gaps between Citizens and Leaders." *International Studies Quarterly* 44(3):340-65.
- Isaacs, Maxine. 1998. "Two different worlds: The relationship between elite and mass opinion on American foreign policy." *Political Communication*, 15(3):323-45
- Cunningham, Jennifer; Moore, Michael K. 1997. "Elite and mass foreign policy opinions: Who is leading this parade?" *Social Science Quarterly* 78(3):641-56.
- Chanley, Virginia A. 1999. "U.S. public views of international involvement from 1964 to 1993." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43(1):23-44

SECOND THOUGHT PIECE DUE NO LATER THAN 8 MARCH!!!

8 March Consequences: Participation? (Week 9)

- Zaller, Ch. 10
- Brady, Verba, and Schlozman, “Beyond SES,” *American Political Science Review*, 1995, 89:271-294.
- Ginsberg, “Polling and the Transformation of Public Opinion”
- Huckfeldt, Robert and John Sprague. 1995. *Citizens, Politics, and Social Communication*, Ch 3, 5.
- Berinsky, Adam J 1999. “The two faces of public opinion.” *American Journal of Political Science* 43(4):1209-30

15 March Consequences: Representation? (Week 10)

- Page and Shapiro, “Effects of public opinion on policy,” *American Political Science Review*, 1983:175-90
- Miller and Stokes, “Constituency Influence in Congress,” *American Political Science Review*, 1963, 57:45-56
- Stimson, MacKuen, and Erikson, 2002. *The Macro Polity*.
- Alvarez and Brehm, Ch 8.
- Brehm, *The Phantom Respondents*, Ch. 1

FINAL RESEARCH PROJECT DUE AT CLOSE OF QUARTER!!!