

Political Science 686
Seminar on Public Opinion

Fall 2003
Wed. 2:00-4:00
Location 1145 NS

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Office Hours: Monday 2-4	Thursday 1:30-3:30
Or by appointment	

Description

This course is intended to introduce some of the basic literature and issues in the public opinion literature. Our larger purpose will be to gain an understanding of the relationship between public opinion and democracy. More specifically, we will focus on such topics as the nature of mass attitudes, the importance of ideology, the relative effects of self-interest versus group-interests versus symbolic interests on mass attitudes, the impact of news media on public opinion, and the importance of election campaigns.

Although most class meetings will involve some lecture, our primary emphasis will be on discussion. The purpose of the lecture will be to introduce students to new materials, and to bring them up-to-date on more recent research. The purpose of the discussion will be to exchange and test ideas on the persuasiveness of the readings.

Requirements & Reading

The requirements of the seminar are as follows:

- (1) Class participation.
- (2) Weekly short reaction papers. They should be no longer than one typed, single-spaced page each, and should be reflections on or critiques of the assigned readings. The following is a list of different approaches you might take: juxtapose and comment on alternative explanations or approaches to a substantive topic; criticize the methodologies used and propose other strategies of research; criticize the conceptualization or measurement of a particular construct; analyze the implications of a set of findings; suggest new questions and hypotheses for research; or develop similarities or contrasts with themes covered in previous weeks. The papers do not need to cover all of the readings for a week, but they should contain an argument and not merely a summary or description of the readings. Please email these papers as attachments to us no later than noon on the Tuesday before the scheduled Wednesday session. These essays will serve as the starting point for group discussion.

(3) Three short (3-5 page) papers summarizing and critically analyzing some question arising out of a set of readings.

(4) A 20-page term paper due at the end of the semester. The term paper may be either a review & critique of a particular literature (e.g. political sophistication, social capital, campaign effects, etc.) or a research report on some relevant topic. In the latter case, we expect the paper to include a brief literature review as well as some set of hypotheses to be explored. In other words, the research proposal would include all the elements of a published article, except for the results section. Whichever route you pursue, you need to have your topic pre-approved.

Core readings are listed first under each section heading, with suggested readings marked by three asterisks (***)). All core readings are on reserve at the undergraduate Research Library (and many are available on-line at <http://www.jstor.org/jstor/>). We have also ordered the books listed below for those of you interested in owning your own copies. These books can be purchased at Ulrich's, Michigan Book and Supply, or the Michigan Union Bookstore

Campbell, Andrea L. 2003. *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren Miller and Donald Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley.

Hutchings, Vincent L. 2003. *Public Opinion and Democratic Accountability: How Citizens Learn About Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Iyengar, S., and Donald R. Kinder. 1987. *News That Matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lee, Taeku. 2002. *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1. Introduction (Sept 3)

2. The Meaning of Public Opinion (Sept 10)

Lippman, Walter. [1922] 1997. *Public Opinion*. New York: Free Press Paperbacks. Chapter 1 (p. 3-17).

Bryce, James. 1916. "The Nature of Public Opinion." Reprinted in *Public Opinion and Propaganda*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1954. Katz, D., Dorwin Cartwright, Samuel Eldersveld, and Alfred McClung Lee (eds.). p. 3-11.

Key, V. O., Jr. [1961] 1967. *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. New York: Knopf. p. 3-18.

Blumer, Herbert. 1948. Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling. *American Sociological Review* 13:542-554. Reprinted in *Public Opinion and Propaganda*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1954. Katz, D., Dorwin Cartwright, Samuel Eldersveld, and Alfred McClung Lee (eds.). p. 70-78.

Lane, Robert. 1962. *Political Ideology*. New York: The Free Press. p. 1-11.

Converse, Philip E. 1987. "Changing Conceptions Of Public Opinion In The Political Process." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51 [Supplement]: 12-24.

Erikson, Robert S. and Kent L. Tedin. 2001. *American Public Opinion*. NY: Longman. Chapter 2 (p. 23-50).

Sears, David O. 1986. "College sophomores in the laboratory: Influences of a narrow data base on psychologists' views of human nature." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 51: 515-30.

*** Tilly, Charles. 1983. "Speaking Your Mind Without Elections, Surveys, Or Social Movements." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 47: 461-489.

*** Lazarsfeld, Paul. 1957. Public opinion and the classical tradition. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 21:39-53.

*** Lippman, Walter. [1922] 1997. *Public Opinion*. New York: Free Press Paperbacks. Chapters 3, and 4.

3. Origins of Public Opinion (Sept 17)

Converse, Philip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In D.E. Apter (Ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: The Free Press. p. 206-261.

Carmines, Edward G., and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race And The Transformation Of American Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch.1 & 5.

Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 3-6.

Lee, Taeku. 2002. *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Ch. 1, 2, & 5.

*** Zaller, John and Stanley Feldman. 1992. "A Simple Theory of the Survey Response." *American Journal of Political Science* 36:579-616.

*** Schumpeter, Joseph. 1942. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row. p. 250-268.

*** Lane, Robert. 1962. *Political Ideology*. New York: The Free Press. Pp. 13-25, 57-81, 346-363.

4. Antecedents and Consequences of Political Information (Sept 24)

Converse, Philip E. 1975. "Public Opinion And Voting Behavior." In F. Greenstein and N. Polsby (eds.) *Handbook of Political Science* (vol. 4) Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley. p. 77-83; 93-98.

Delli Carpini, Michael X., & Keeter, Scott. 1996. *What Americans Know about Politics and Why it Matters*. Yale University Press: New Haven, Ct. Chapter 2.

Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts versus encyclopedias: Information and voting behavior in California Insurance reform elections." *American Political Science Review* 88:63-76.

Lodge, Milton, and Marco Steenbergen. 1995. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation." *American Political Science Review* 89:309-326.

Hutchings, Vincent L. 2003. *Public Opinion and Democratic Accountability: How Citizens Learn About Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 and 3.

Miller, Warren E. and Donald E. Stokes. 1963. "Constituency Influence in Congress." *The American Political Science Review* 57: 45-56.

*** Bennett, Stephen Earl. 1995. "Comparing Americans' Political Information in 1988 and 1992." *Journal of Politics* 57:521-32.

*** Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row. Chapters 11-13.

*** Smith, Eric R. A. N. 1989. *The Unchanging American Voter*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press. Pp. 159-176.

1st Short Paper Due. (No response paper due this week.)

5. The Impact of Aggregation on Mass Preferences (Oct 1)

Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1, 8, and 9 (p. 1-36; 321-382).

MacKuen, Michael, Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1989. "Macropartisanship." *American Political Science Review* 83:1125-1142.

Donald Green; Bradley Palmquist; Eric Schickler. 1998. "Macropartisanship: A Replication and Critique." *The American Political Science Review* 92: 883-899.

Converse, Philip E. 1990. "Popular Representation and the Distribution of Information." In J. Ferejohn and J. Kuklinski (Eds.), *Information and Democratic Processes*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois. Pp. 369-388.

Althaus, Scott L. 1998. "Information Effects in Collective Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 92(2): 545-558.

*** Bartels, Larry M. 1996. "Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 40:194-230.

*** Robert S. Erikson; Michael B. Mackuen; James A. Stimson. 1998. "What Moves Macropartisanship? A Response to Green, Palmquist, and Schickler." *The American Political Science Review* 92: 901-912.

6. Social Capital & Political Participation (Oct 8)

Putnam, Robert. 1995. "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance Of Social Capital In America." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 28:664-683.

Jackman, Robert. W., and Ross A. Miller. 1996. "A Renaissance of Political Culture?" *American Journal of Political Science* 40:632-659.

Campbell, Andrea L. 2003. *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 2, 3, and 7.

Chong, Dennis. 1991. *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1, 2, and 3.

*** Putnam, Robert. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Touchstone: New York, NY. Ch. 1 & 8 (Pp. 15-28; 134-147).

*** Putnam, Robert. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ.

*** Coleman, James S. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge MA. p. 300-321.

7. The Role of Self-Interests in Public Opinion (Oct 15)

Sears, David O., Lau, R. R., Tyler, T. and Allen, A.M., Jr. 1980. "Self-interest versus symbolic politics in policy attitudes and presidential voting." *American Political Science Review* 74:670-684.

Green, Donald P., and J.A. Cowden. 1992. "Who Protests: Self-Interests and White Opposition to Busing." *Journal of Politics* 54:471-496.

Kinder, Donald R., and D. Roderick Kiewiet. 1981. "Sociotropic Voting: The American Case." *British Journal of Political Science* 11: 129-161.

Markus, Gregory B. 1988. "The Impact Of Personal And National Economic Conditions On the Presidential Vote: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* 32: 137-54.

Green, Donald P. and Ian Shapiro. 1994. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 2 and 3.

Citrin, Jack and Donald Green. 1990. "The Self-Interest Motive in American Public Opinion." *Research in Micropolitics* 3: 1-28.

*** Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row. Chapters 1-3. (p. 3-50).

*** Monroe, Kristen Renwick. 1996. *Heart of Altruism: Perceptions of a Common Humanity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

8. The Influence of Group Interests on Public Opinion (Oct 22)

Berelson, Benard R., Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. 1954. *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1, 2, and 10 (p. 3-33; 215-233).

Dawson, Michael. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African American Politics*. Princeton University Press. Ch. 4.

Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 4, 5 & 6

Bobo, Lawrence and Vincent L. Hutchings. 1996. "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context." *American Sociological Review*. (Dec., 1996). p. 951-972.

Brady, Henry E. and Paul M. Sniderman (1985). "Attitude Attribution: A Group Basis for Political Reasoning", *American Political Science Review*, 79: 1061-1078.

Newcomb, Theodore M. 1958. "Attitude Development as a Function of Reference Groups: The Bennington Study." In *Readings in Social Psychology*, eds. Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley. NY: Holt, pp. 265-75.

*** Lipset, Seymour Martin. [1959] 1981. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Baltimore, MD.: The Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 7 (p. 230-278).

*** Converse, Philip E. 1966. "Religion and Politics: The 1960 Election." In *Elections and the Political Order* (ed.) Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren Miller and Donald Stokes. pg. 96-124. Wiley: New York.

*** Conover, Pamela J. 1984. "The Influence of Group Identifications on Political Perception and Evaluation." *The Journal of Politics* 46:760-784.

*** Sullivan, John L., James Piereson, and George E. Marcus. 1992. *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

2nd Short Paper Due. (No response paper due this week.)

9. Political Principles & Values (Oct 29)

Feldman, Stanley. 1988. "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: The Role of Core Beliefs and Values." *American Journal of Political Science* 32:416-440.

Feldman, Stanley and John Zaller. 1992. "The Political Culture of Ambivalence." *American Journal of Political Science* 36:268-307.

Sidanius, Jim, Pam Singh, John J. Hetts, and Chris Federico. 2000. "It's Not Affirmative Action, It's the Blacks: The Continuing Relevance of Race in American Politics." In *Racialized Politics*, eds. David O. Sears, Jim Sidanius, and Lawrence Bobo. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p.191-235.

Sniderman, Paul M., and Gretchen C. Crosby, and William G. Howell. 2000. "The Politics of Race." In *Racialized Politics*, eds. David O. Sears, Jim Sidanius, and Lawrence Bobo. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p.236-279.

McClosky, Herbert and John Zaller. 1984. *The American Ethos: Public Attitudes toward Capitalism and Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 7, (189-233).

Tessler, Mark, Jodi Nachtwey, and Audra Grant. 1999. "Further Tests of the Women and Peace Hypothesis: Evidence from Cross-National Survey Research in the Middle East." *International Studies Quarterly* 43: 519-531.

*** Luker, Kristin. 1984. *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

*** Smith, Rogers. 1993. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Tradition of America." *American Political Science Review* 87:549-566.

10. The Impact of the Social & Political Context (Nov 5)

Jennings, M. K. & Niemi, R. G. 1968. "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child." *American Political Science Review* 62:169-184.

Finifter, Ada W. 1974. "The Friendship Group as a Protective Environment for Political Deviants." *American Political Science Review* 68:607-625.

Glaser, James M. 1994. "Back to the Black Belt: Racial Environment and White Racial Attitudes in the South." *Journal of Politics* 56:21-41.

Sapiro, Virginia and Pamela Johnston Conover. 1997. "The Variable Gender Basis of Electoral Politics: Gender and Context in the 1992 US Election." *British Journal of Political Science* 27 (4): 497-523.

Robert Huckfeldt; Eric Plutzer; John Sprague. 1993. "Alternative Contexts of Political Behavior: Churches, Neighborhoods, and Individuals." *The Journal of Politics* 55: 365-381.

Wong, Cara. 2003. "Are 'Pictures in Our Heads' as Good as Maps?" Unpublished manuscript.

*** Oliver, Eric, and Tali Mendelberg. 2000.

*** Key, V.O. 1949. *Southern Politics*. New York: Vintage.

*** Hutchings, Vincent L. 2003. *Public Opinion and Democratic Accountability: How Citizens Learn About Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch. 6.

11. Campaigns and Elections (Nov 12)

Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren Miller and Donald Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley. Chapters 2, 6, 7 & 12.

Gelman, Andrew, and Gary King. 1993. "Why Are American Presidential Election Campaign Polls so Variable When Votes are so Predictable?" *British Journal of Political Science* 23:409-451.

Hutchings, Vincent L. 2003. *Public Opinion and Democratic Accountability: How Citizens Learn About Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch. 4 & 5.

Ansolabehere, Stephen and Shanto Iyengar. 1997. *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink and Polarize the Electorate*. Ch. 4 & 5.

Marcus, George E., W. Russell Neuman, and Michael MacKuen. 2000. *Affective Intelligence and Public Judgment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 5 ("Emotion and Political Behavior") and Chapter 6 ("Emotion and Political Judgment").

*** Popkin, Samuel L. 1991. *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 3 (p.44-71).

*** Bartels, Larry M. 1987. "Candidate Choice And The Dynamics Of The Presidential Nominating Process." *American Journal of Political Science* 31:1-30.

*** Lazarsfeld, Paul, Bernard Berelson, and Helen Gaudet. 1944. *The People's Choice*. New York: Duell, Sloane, and Pearce.

12. Media Effects (Nov 19)

Iyengar, S., and Donald R. Kinder. 1987. *News That Matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 1-3, 7, 9. (p. 1-33; 63-72; 90-97).

Bartels, Larry M. 1993. "Messages received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure." *American Political Science Review* 87:267-285.

Zaller, John. 1996. "The Myth of Massive Media Impact Revived: New Support for a Discredited Idea." In *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*. Diana C. Mutz, Paul M. Sniderman, and Richard A. Brody (eds.). p-17-78.

Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Ch. 6.

Valentino, Nicholas A., Vincent L. Hutchings, Ismail K. White. 2002. "Cues that Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes during Campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 75-90.

Gilens, Martin. 1999. *Why Americans Hate Welfare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 5 and 6.

*** Krosnick, Jon A., and Donald R. Kinder. 1990. "Altering the Foundations of Support for the President through Priming." *American Political Science Review* 84:497-512.

*** Miller, Joanne and Krosnick, Jon. 2000. "News Media Impact on The Ingredients of Presidential Evaluations: Politically Knowledgeable Citizens and Guided by Trusted Sources" *American Journal of Political Science*. 44(2): 301-15.

*** Patterson, Thomas E. 1994. *Out of Order*. New York: Vintage Books. Chapters 2 and 3.

3rd Short Paper Due. (No response paper due this week.)

13. Public Opinion and Democratic Politics (Dec 3)

Key, V. O., Jr. [1961] 1967. *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. New York: Knopf. Ch. 21 (p. 535-558).

Berelson, Bernard. 1950. "Democratic Theory and Public Opinion." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 16:313-330.

Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 10 (p. 383-398).

Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 12, p. 310-332.

Ginsberg, B. 1986. *The Captive Public*. New York: Basic Books. Chapters 3 (p. 59-85).