

POLITICAL ATTITUDES & BEHAVIOR

PSCI 5031.001/7031.001
FALL 2006
M 1:00-3:30 P.M.
116 KETCHUM
WEBCT.COLORADO.EDU

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HOURS: M & W 11 A.M - 12 P.M.
& BY APPOINTMENT

This course concerns the joy and magic that is the study of political behavior and public opinion. In many ways, public opinion is the currency of a representative democracy. It is the expression of what people expect, desire, and think of their government. And it is what politicians follow, influence, and are held accountable to. Throughout the course, we will consider the structure and dynamics of public opinion, analyzing both what influences it, as well as how it shapes other aspects of politics and public life.

We will start by briefly considering the measurement of public opinion. Next, we will explore the roots of public preferences and how people form opinions. We will then consider the expression of public opinion, the causes and consequences of public sentiments such as presidential approval, trust in government, and tolerance. Next, we will consider the factors within one's political environment that influence and shape public opinion, including the effects of social pressures, the news media, and campaigns. Finally, we will consider the expression of public opinion – in vote choice, political participation, and patterns of representation.

READING ASSIGNMENTS

Most of the course readings include book chapters and journal articles, available on e-reserves or online journals. Three books have also been assigned and are available at the University Bookstore.

- Asher, Herbert. 2004. *Polling and the Public: What Every Citizen Should Know*. 6th edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Erikson, Robert S., Michael B. Mackuen, and James A. Stimson. 2002. *The Macro Polity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mutz, Diana. 2006. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative Versus Participatory Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

For those who need additional background reading, a good undergraduate public opinion textbook is:

- Erikson, Robert S., and Kent L. Tedin. 2006. *American Public Opinion: Its Origin, Contents, and Impact*. 7th edition (updated). New York: Longman.

REQUIREMENTS

PARTICIPATION (worth 20% of your final grade)

It is essential that you not only attend class, but also actively engage in class discussions. For two of the weeks, you will also be responsible for leading class discussion.

SIX SHORT PAPERS (each worth 5% of your final grade)

Throughout the course, you will be responsible for six short papers in response to a week's readings. These response papers should be two to three pages in length, and turned in before we discuss that week's set of readings. Papers should not be summaries of the readings, but instead add some novel insights to the points raised in the readings. For instance, you might critique the theory or methods of the research, discussing the implications of these limitations for the authors' findings. You might extend points raised in

the readings, suggesting questions we might ask if we pushed these arguments further. You might also synthesize readings on a topic with other theories covered in this class or other courses. Or you could discuss points of conflict between the readings, and discuss how to resolve these disagreements.

ASSIGNMENTS RELATED TO RESEARCH PAPER *(worth 10% of your final grade)*

Part of the course will be devoted to developing the methodological skills necessarily to conduct basic analysis of survey data. We will spend time at the beginning of the semester exploring the different kinds of survey data that are available as well as the tools you will need to analyze this data. Throughout the semester, there will be a variety of short assignments related to the development of your research paper. In the beginning of the semester, you will be responsible for some homework assignments related to basic survey analysis. Later in the semester, you will turn in memos describing your research question, hypotheses, and literature review.

RESEARCH PAPER *(worth 40% of your final grade)*

The final project for this class will be to develop a research paper that tests an interesting question about public opinion or political behavior. This paper will resemble the format of the kinds of academic papers read in class – including development of a research question, a review of relevant literature, theory, tests of these explanations, and interpretation of what you find. The paper should be 15-25 pages in length. Additional guidelines will be detailed in a separate handout.

SPECIAL ACCOMMODATIONS

If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please submit to me a letter from Disability Services in a timely manner so that your needs may be addressed. You can contact the Disability Services office for more information at www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices.

SOME IMPORTANT COMMENTS ON ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

- Plagiarism and other academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. If you are not familiar with the rules of citing sources in written work or what constitutes plagiarism, you should contact me or refer to the University Honor Code at www.colorado.edu/academics/honorcode. Academic dishonesty will result in an F in the course and referral to the Honor Court for additional non-academic sanctions.
- All papers are expected to be original work, not previously or simultaneously handed in for credit in another course (unless prior approval of all instructors involved is obtained).

CLASS SCHEDULE

OVERVIEW OF THE FIELD

I. INTRODUCTION TO SURVEYS

Working with survey data. Hypothesis testing.

Monday, August 28.

Monday, September 4 Class does not meet – Labor Day.

2. ABOUT POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Overview of the field. Measuring public opinion.

Monday, September 11

- Kinder, Donald R. 2004. "Pale Democracy: Opinion and Action in Postwar America." In Edward D. Mansfield and Richard Sisson, eds., *The Evolution of Political Knowledge*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- Asher, Herbert. 2004. *Polling and the Public: What Every Citizen Should Know*. 6th edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Other resources:

- Krosnick, Jon. 1999. "Survey Research." *Annual Review of Psychology* 50: 537-67.
- Converse, Jean M., and Stanley Presser. 1986. *Survey Questions: Handcrafting the Standardized Questionnaire*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Achen, Christopher H. 1975. "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response." *American Political Science Review* 69:1218-31.
- Feldman, Stanley. 1995. "Answering Survey Questions: The Measurement and Meaning of Public Opinion." In Milton Lodge and Kathleen M. McGraw, eds. *Political Judgment: Structure and Process*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

THE INGREDIENTS OF PUBLIC OPINION

3. THE ROOTS OF OPINIONS

Genes. Values. Political information. Self-interest. Socialization.

Monday, September 18

- Alford, John R., Carolyn L. Funk, and John R. Hibbing. 2005. "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" *American Political Science Review* 99:153-167.
- Feldman, Stanley. 1988. "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: The Role of Core Beliefs and Values." *American Journal of Political Science* 32:416-440.
- Sears, David O., Richard R. Lau, Tom R. Tyler, and Harris M. Allen. 1980. "Self-Interest vs. Symbolic Politics in Policy Attitudes and Voting." *American Political Science Review* 74:670-684.
- Delli Carpini, Michael X., and Scott Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 2 and Chapter 6.
- Sears, David O., and Nicholas A. Valentino. 1997. "Politics Matters: Political Events as Catalysts for Preadult Socialization." *American Political Science Review* 91:45-65.

Other resources:

- Funk, Carolyn L. 2000. "The Dual Influence of Self-Interest and Societal Interest in Public Opinion." *Political Research Quarterly* 53:37-62.
- Sears, David O., and Sheri Levy. 2003. "Childhood and Adult Political Development." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

4. PARTISANSHIP AND IDEOLOGY

Party identification. Ideological constraint. Attitude stability and instability.

Monday, September 25

- Converse, Philip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In David Apter, ed. *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: The Free Press.
- Jacoby, William G. 2002. "Liberal-Conservative Thinking in the American Electorate." In Michael X. Delli Carpini, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Y. Shapiro, eds., *Research in Micropolitics: Political Decision-Making, Deliberation and Participation*. Volume 6. Greenwich: JAI Press.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley. Chapters 6 and 7.
- Weisberg, Herbert F., and Steven H. Greene. 2003. "The Political Psychology of Party Identification." In Michael B. MacKuen and George Rabinowitz, eds., *Electoral Democracy*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Erikson, Robert S., Michael MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 2002. *The Macro Polity*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 4 and 5.

Other resources:

- Feldman, Stanley. 2003. "Values, Ideology, and the Structure of Political Attitudes." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Conover, Pamela Johnston, and Stanley Feldman. 1981. "The Origins and Meaning of Liberal-Conservative Self-Identifications." *American Journal of Political Science* 25:617-645.
- Green, Donald Philip, Bradley Palmquist and Eric Shickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Bartels, Larry. 2000. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 35-50.

5. POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING

Political information processing. Motivated reasoning. Heuristics. Emotion.

Monday, October 2

- Zaller, John R., and Stanley Feldman. 1992. "A Simple Theory of the Survey Response: Answering Questions Versus Revealing Preferences." *American Journal of Political Science* 36:579-616.
- Lodge, Milton, Marco R. Steenbergen, and Shawn Brau. 1995. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation." *American Political Science Review* 89:309-326.
- Kuklinski, James H., and Paul J. Quirk. 2000. "Reconsidering the Rational Public: Cognition, Heuristics, and Mass Opinion." In Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Samuel L. Popkin, eds., *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Taber, Charles, and Milton Lodge. 2006. "Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3):755-769.
- Basinger, Scott J., and Howard Lavine. 2005. "Ambivalence, Information, and Electoral Choice." *American Political Science Review* 99:169-184.
- Marcus, George E., and Michael B. MacKuen. 1993. "Anxiety, Enthusiasm, and the Vote: The Emotional Underpinnings of Learning and Involvement During Presidential Campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 87(3):672-685.

Other resources:

- Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lau, Richard R., and David P. Redlawsk. 2006. *How Voters Decide: Information Processing in Election Campaigns*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lau, Richard R., and David P. Redlawsk. 2001. "Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making." *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 951-971.
- Marcus, George E., W. Russell Neuman, and Michael B. MacKuen. 2000. *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

THE EXPRESSION OF PUBLIC OPINION

6. COLLECTIVE OPINION AND MACRO POLITICS

Opinion dynamics at the macro level. Presidential approval. Economy.

Monday, October 9

- Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 2002. *The Macro Polity*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 2, and 3.
- 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.
- MacKuen, Michael B. 2002. "Political Psychology and the Micro-Macro Gap in Politics." In James H. Kuklinski, ed. *Thinking about Political Psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Other resources:

- Althaus, Scott L. 2003. *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics: Opinion Surveys and the Will of the People*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gronke, Paul, and Brian Newman. 2003. "FDR To Clinton, Mueller to ?: A Field Essay on Presidential Approval." *Political Research Quarterly* 56(4): 501-512.
- Page, Benjamin, and Robert Shapiro. 1994. *The Rational Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Stimson, James A. 1998. *Public Opinion in America: Moods, Cycles, and Swings*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

7. TRUST IN GOVERNMENT

Trust in government. Legitimacy. Institutional confidence.

Monday, October 16

- Miller, Arthur H. 1974. "Political Issues and Trust in Government: 1964-1970." *American Political Science Review* 68: 951-972.
- Citrin, Jack. 1974. "Comment: The Political Relevance of Trust in Government." *American Political Science Review* 68: 973-988.

- Hetherington, Marc J. 1998. "The Political Relevance of Political Trust." *American Political Science Review* 92:791-808.
- Hibbing, John R., and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 2001. "Process Preferences and American Politics: What the People Want Government to Be." *American Political Science Review* 95: 145-153.
- Tyler, Tom R. 2001. "The Psychology of Public Dissatisfaction with Government." In John R. Hibbing and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, eds. *What is it About Government that Americans Dislike?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Other resources:

- Hetherington, Marc J. 2004. *Why Trust Matters: Declining Political Trust and the Demise of American Liberalism*. Princeton University Press.
- Hibbing, John R., and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 1995. *Congress as Public Enemy: Public Attitudes toward American Political Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hibbing, John R., and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 2002. *Stealth Democracy: Americans' Beliefs about How Government Should Work*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

8. TOLERANCE AND ATTITUDES ABOUT RACE

Democratic norms and values. Tolerance and intolerance. Race.

Monday, October 23

- Sullivan, John L., George E. Marcus, Stanley Feldman, and James E. Piereson. 1981. "The Sources of Political Tolerance: A Multivariate Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 75(1):92-106.
- Gibson, James L. 2006. "Enigmas of Intolerance: Fifty Years after Stouffer's Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties." *Perspectives on Politics* 4:21-34.
- Berinsky, Adam J. 1999. "The Two Faces of Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science* 43: 1209-1230.
- Oliver, J. Eric, and Janelle Wong. 2003. "Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(4):567-582.
- Feldman, Stanley, and Leonie Huddy. 2005. "Racial Resentment and White Opposition to Race-Conscious Programs: Principles or Prejudice?" *American Journal of Political Science* 49:168-183.

Other resources:

- Mondak, Jeffery J., and Mitchell S. Sanders. 2003. "Tolerance and Intolerance, 1976-1998." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(3):492-502.
- Gibson, James L., and Amanda Gouws. 2003. *Overcoming Intolerance in South Africa: Experiments in Democratic Persuasion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sniderman, Paul M., and Edward G. Carmines. 1997. *Reaching Beyond Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Nicholas Winter. 2001. "Exploring the Racial Divide: Blacks, Whites, and Opinion on National Policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 45:439-456.

INFLUENCES ON PUBLIC OPINION

9. SOCIAL INFLUENCES

Deliberation. Interpersonal communication. Social networks and their consequences.

Monday, October 30

- Barabas, Jason. 2004. "How Deliberation Affects Policy Opinions." *American Political Science Review* 98:687-701.
- Beck, Paul Allen, Russell J. Dalton, Steven Greene, and Robert Huckfeldt. 2002. "The Social Calculus of Voting: Interpersonal, Media, and Organizational Influences on Presidential Choices." *American Political Science Review* 96:57-73.
- Mutz, Diana. 2006. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative Versus Participatory Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Other resources

- Mendelberg, Tali. 2002. "The Deliberative Citizen: Theory and Evidence." *Research in Micropolitics: Political Decision-Making, Deliberation, and Participation* 6:151-193.
- Sanders, Lynn M. 1997. "Against Deliberation." *Political Theory* 25(3):347-376.
- Sunstein, Cass R. 2002. "On a Danger of Deliberative Democracy." *Daedalus* 131(4): 120-124.
- Walsh, Katherine Cramer. 2004. *Talking about Politics: Informal Groups and Social Identity in American Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

10. MEDIA EFFECTS

Priming. Framing. Agenda-setting. Learning from the news media.

Monday, November 6

- Miller, Joanne M., and Jon A. Krosnick. 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: 301-315.
- Druckman, James N. 2004. "Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)relevance of Framing Effects." *American Political Science Review* 98:671-86.
- Kellstedt, Paul M. 2000. "Media Framing and the Dynamics of Racial Policy Preferences." *American Journal of Political Science* 44:245-260.
- Prior, Markus. 2005. "News vs. Entertainment: How Increasing Media Choice Widens Gaps in Political Knowledge and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3):577-592.
- Mutz, Diana, and Byron Reeves. 2005. "The New Videomalaise: Effects of Televised Incivility on Political Trust." *American Political Science Review* 99(1):1-15.

Other sources:

- Neuman, W. Russell, Marion Just, and Ann Crigler. 1992. *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1993. "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure." *American Political Science Review* 87:267-85.
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Donald R. Kinder. 1987. *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

11. CAMPAIGNS

How and when campaigns influence voters. Negative advertising.

Monday, November 13

- 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.
- Finkel, Steven E. 1993. "Reexamining the 'Minimal Effects' Model in Recent Presidential Campaigns." *Journal of Politics* 55:1-21.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Shanto Iyengar, Adam Simon, and Nicholas Valentino. 1994. "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" *American Political Science Review* 88:829-838.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin, and Patrick J. Kenney. 1999. "Do Negative Campaigns Mobilize or Suppress Turnout? Clarifying the Relationship between Negativity and Participation." *American Political Science Review* 93: 877-890.
- Gerber, Alan, and Donald P. Green. 2000. "The Effects of Personal Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 94:653-664.

Other sources:

- Holbrook, Thomas. 1996. *Do Campaigns Matter?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Adam Simon. 2000. "New Perspectives and Evidence on Political Communication and Campaign Effects." *Annual Review of Psychology* 51:149-169.
- Johnston, Richard, Michael G. Hagen, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2004. *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shaw, Daron, 1999. "The Effects of TV Ads and Campaign Appearances on Statewide Presidential Votes, 1988-1996." *American Political Science Review* 93:345-362.
- Goldstein, Ken, and Paul Freedman. 2002. "Campaign Advertising and Voter Turnout: New Evidence for a Stimulation Effect." *Journal of Politics* 64:721-40.

Monday, November 20: Fall break. Class does not meet.

CONSEQUENCES OF PUBLIC OPINION

12. VOTE CHOICE

Models of voter decision-making. Spatial and directional models.

Monday, November 27

- Page, Benjamin I., and Calvin C. Jones. 1979. "Reciprocal Effects of Policy Preferences, Party Loyalties, and the Vote." *American Political Science Review* 73:1071-1089.
- Rahn, Wendy M., John H. Aldrich, Eugene Borgida, and John L. Sullivan. 1990. "A Socio-Cognitive Model of Candidate Appraisal." In John A. Ferejohn and James H. Kuklinski, eds. *Information and Democratic Processes*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Carmines, Edward G., and James A. Stimson. 1980. "The Two Faces of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 74: 78-91.
- Rabinowitz, George, and Stuart Elaine Macdonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 83:93-121.
- Sniderman, Paul M., James M. Glaser, and Robert Griffin. 1991. "Information and Electoral Choice." In Paul M. Sniderman, Richard A. Brody, and Philip E. Tetlock, eds., *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Other resources:

- Miller, Warren E., and J. Merrill Shanks. 1996. *The New American Voter*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Feldman, Stanley, and Pamela Johnston Conover. 1983. "Candidates, Issues, and Voters: The Role of Inference in Political Perception." *Journal of Politics* 45:810-839.

I 3. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Voter turnout. Social capital.

Monday, December 4

- Aldrich, John H. 1993. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(1): 246-278.
- Timpone, Richard J. 1998. "Structure, Behavior, and Voter Turnout in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 92(1):145-158.
- McDonald, Michael P., and Samuel L. Popkin. 2001. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *American Political Science Review* 95(4): 963-974.
- Brady, Henry, Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Participation." *American Political Science Review* 89(2):271-294.
- Putnam, Robert. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6:65-78.

Other resources:

- Franklin, Mark N. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Powell, Jr., G. Bingham. 1986. "American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 80:17-43.
- Rosenstone, Steven J., and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and American Democracy*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

I 4. REPRESENTATION

Macro polity.

Monday, December 11

- Erikson, Robert S., Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 2002. *The Macro Polity* New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 6-11.
- Erikson, Robert S., Gerald C. Wright, and John P. McIver. 1993. *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2-4.
- Wlezien, Christopher. 2004. "Patterns of Representation: Dynamics of Public Preferences and Policy." *Journal of Politics* 66:1-24.

Other resources:

- Wlezien, Christopher. 1995. "The Public as Thermostat: Dynamics of Preferences for Spending." *American Journal of Political Science* 39(4):981-1000.

Friday, December 15 Turn in research paper by noon.