

**PUBLIC OPINION**  
Florida State University

POS 5237  
Fall, 2012  
Office Hours, Friday  
9:00 – 11:00 a.m. or by appointment

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Public opinion is an essential ingredient for the success of a representative democracy. For the people to govern themselves (through their representatives), they must possess some degree of knowledge about the issues of the day and the performance of the government that represents them. Yet early empirical research on mass beliefs questioned the existence of an informed, rational public, and raised considerable doubts over the prospects for creating a more “deliberative democracy.” Research over the last twenty years, which has been greatly informed by cognitive and social psychology, has greatly enhanced our understanding of the origins, manifestations, and consequences of public opinion. Today, though the public still exhibits low levels of political knowledge, we have a much better understanding of how citizens put the knowledge they do possess to good use. Nevertheless, the question remains, “Can public opinion play the role we expect of it in a democracy?”

This research seminar is designed to introduce the student to the contemporary study of public opinion. Though potential topics for this course are vast, we will concentrate our attention on four main questions: 1) What is public opinion, and what are the methodological issues that confront our study of it? 2) What are the forces affecting the formation of public opinion? 3) What is the distribution of opinion on major issues and towards government? and 4) What are the consequences of public opinion in modern politics? Students will be expected to develop a strong theoretical understanding of public opinion and convey this understanding through class participation, written assignments, and independent research. *Indeed, students should plan to devote substantial time outside of class to the conduct of research and production of a research paper.*

**REQUIREMENTS:**

The main requirements for this seminar are simple—READ, THINK ANALYTICALLY, and DISCUSS! This is a graduate seminar, which means that our meetings will be governed by the insights that you draw from the readings and your individual scholarship. You should prepare for each class as though you will be responsible for leading and stimulating the discussion. You should be willing to share your critical insights with the group, offer significant questions for seminar discussion, and engage your colleagues (and me) in scholarly debate. Your *full* participation in the seminar is fundamental to its success.

**EVALUATION:**

Evaluation of your seminar performance will be based upon a research paper, a presentation of your research, ten (10) weekly précis, and your class participation:

The *research paper* accounts for 40% of your seminar grade and should be a 20-30 page work of original research, conforming to the *APSA Style Manual*, and of potentially publishable quality. The topic and methodological approach of the paper is your choice, but it would be wise to make these decisions in consultation with me. A two-page research proposal is due in class during Week 6. Beginning in Week

7, we will spend the first few minutes of class time discussing your progress. **Papers are due: December 5, 2012.**

Formal *presentations of your research* (a 10-15 minute presentation, such as those given at a professional conference) will be given during the final class meeting (**December 5, 2012**). Your presentation is worth 10% of your seminar grade. You will be evaluated on your personal presentational style, graphical presentation of the problem, theory, hypotheses and results, and, most of all, clarity.

Students will prepare a 2-to-3-page (assuming it is typed and double-spaced) *précis* on an assigned reading for 10 of the 15 weeks for which we meet. The choice of weeks is the student's. These *précis* will summarize the main argument of a reading, sketch the model, and summarize the approach of its key proofs. *Précis* are to be turned in at the class meeting for which readings are assigned. They will be graded for conciseness as well as for evident effort and success in understanding the assigned reading. Your ten *précis* will comprise 30% of your course grade.

Finally, *seminar participation* will account for 20% of your grade.

### **Grade Scale:**

All grades will be assigned based on the following criteria as evaluated by the instructor:

A to A+ (Excellent): Student demonstrates exceptional mastery of the material by offering novel and insightful comments about the readings and demonstrates the ability to integrate ideas from multiple readings.

B+ to A- (Good): Student demonstrates normal mastery of the material by offering cogently argued points that accurately reflect the content of the reading, but did not necessarily demonstrate novel insights or integrate the readings with other material.

B- to B (Fair): Student was able to articulate clearly the main arguments and evidence of the assigned research but did not argue beyond basic reiteration of main points.

C+ or lower (Poor): Student did not participate, or the student's writing or participation reflected a general lack of knowledge about the readings.

Students will be given a 0 for participation if absent from class without being previously excused.

Incompletes are only granted in the case of a non-academic, documented emergency or illness.

**Texts:** The following texts have been ordered through the Florida State University Bookstore and are *required* for this course:

Althaus, Scott. 2003. *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Delli Carpini, Michael X., and Scott Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Ellis, Christopher, and James A. Stimson. 2012. *Ideology in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Some additional readings may be suggested during the course of the semester and will be provided on Blackboard

## **POLICY ON ACADEMIC HONESTY**

The Florida State University Academic Honor Policy outlines the University's expectations for the integrity of students' academic work, the procedures for resolving alleged violations of those expectations, and the rights and responsibilities of students and faculty members throughout the process. Students are responsible for reading the Academic Honor Policy and for living up to their pledge to "be honest and truthful and... [to] strive for personal and institutional integrity at Florida State University" (Academic Honor Policy).

## **STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES**

Students with disabilities needing academic accommodation should: (1) register with and provide documentation to the Student Disability Resource Center; (2) bring a letter to the instructor indicating the need for accommodation and what type. This should be done during the first week of class. For more information about services available to FSU students with disabilities, contact the Student Disability Resource Center, 874 Tradition Way, 108 Student Services Building, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306-4167, 850-644-9566 (voice) or 850-644-8504 (TDD), via email [sdrc@admin.fsu.edu](mailto:sdrc@admin.fsu.edu), or on the web at <http://www.disabilitycenter.fsu.edu/>

## **OFFICE HOURS AND AVAILABILITY**

If at any time you feel confused by the material or simply want to discuss your academic progress, please feel free to seek my help during office hours or by appointment. My formal office hours are Fridays from 9:00 to 11:00 a.m. If you need to contact me outside of office hours, email is probably the best way to do so. I check my email regularly and will respond as quickly as possible.

## **COURSE SCHEDULE**

### **Week 1: Public Opinion and Democracy**

#### *Required:*

Bartels, Larry M. 2003. "Democracy with Attitudes." In *Electoral Democracy*, eds. Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Converse, Philip E. 1987. "Changing Conceptions of Public Opinion in the Political Process." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51 (Supplement): 12-24.

Herbst, Susan. 1993. *Numbered Voices: How Opinion Polling Has Shaped American Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 3.

Key, V. O. 1961. *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. New York: Knopf. Pp. 3-18.

Lippmann, Walter. 1922. *Public Opinion*. New York: MacMillan. Chapters 1, 3, and 4.

Verba, Sidney. 1996. "The Citizen as Respondent: Sample Surveys and American Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 90 (March): 1-7.

#### *Recommended:*

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

Blumer, Herbert. 1948. "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling." *American Sociological Review* 13 (October): 542-554.

Converse, Philip E. 1996. "The Advent of Polling and Political Representation." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 29 (December): 649-657.

Fishkin, James S. 1995. *The Voice of the People*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Shapiro, Robert Y. 2011. "Public Opinion and American Democracy." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 75 (5): 982-1017.

### **Week 2: Survey Research I**

#### *Required:*

American Association for Public Opinion Research. 2010. *Code of Professional Ethics & Practices*.

<[http://www.aapor.org/AM/Template.cfm?Section=AAPOR\\_Code\\_of\\_Ethics&Template=/CM/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=4248](http://www.aapor.org/AM/Template.cfm?Section=AAPOR_Code_of_Ethics&Template=/CM/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=4248)>

Lohr, Sharon L. 2010. *Sampling: Design and Analysis*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Boston, MA: Brooks/Cengage Publishing. Chapters 1-2.

Rivers, Douglas. 2009. "Second Thoughts about Internet Surveys." *Pollster.com*  
[http://www.pollster.com/blogs/doug\\_rivers.php?nr=1](http://www.pollster.com/blogs/doug_rivers.php?nr=1)

Tourangeau, Roger, Lance J. Rips, and Kenneth Rasinski. 2000. *The Psychology of Survey Response*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2.

Weisberg, Herbert F. 2005. *The Total Survey Error Approach: A Guide to the New Science of Survey Research*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-3.

Yeager, David S., Jon Krosnick, LinChiat Chang, Harold S. Javitz, Matthew S. Levendusky, Alberto Simpser, and Rui Wang. 2011. "Comparing the Accuracy of RDD Telephone Surveys and Internet Surveys Conducted with Probability and Non-Probability Samples." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 75 (Winter): 709-747.

*Recommended:*

Aldrich, John H., and Kathleen M. McGraw. 2012. *Improving Public Opinion Surveys: Interdisciplinary Innovation and the American National Election Studies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hill, Seth, James Lo, Lynn Vavreck, and John Zaller. 2007. "The Opt-in Internet Panel: Survey Mode, Sampling Methodology, and the Implications for Political Research." Unpublished Manuscript, UCLA.

Groves, Robert, Floyd J. Fowler, Jr., Mick P. Couper, James M. Lepkowski, Eleanor Singer, and Roger Tourangeau. 2009. *Survey Methodology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Lacy, Dean. 2001. "A Theory of Nonseparable Preferences in Survey Responses." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (April): 239-258

Pasek, Josh, and Jon A. Krosnick. 2009. "Optimizing Survey Questionnaire Design in Political Science: Insights from Psychology." In *Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*, ed. Jan E. Leighley. New York: Oxford University Press.

Groves, Robert M., Floyd J. Fowler, Jr., Mick P. Couper, James M. Lepkowski, Eleanor Singer, and Roger Tourangeau. 2004. *Survey Methodology*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Weisberg, Herbert F., Jon A. Krosnick, and Bruce D. Bowen. 1996. *An Introduction to Survey Research, Polling, and Data Analysis*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

### Week 3: Survey Research II

#### Required:

- Berinsky, Adam J. 1999. "The Two Faces of Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (January): 224-38.
- Berinsky, Adam J. 2006. "American Public Opinion in the 1930s and 1940s: The Analysis of Quota-Controlled Sample Survey Data." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 70 (Winter): 499-529.
- Lax, Jeffrey R., and Justin H. Phillips. 2009. "How Should We Estimate Public Opinion in the States?" *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (January): 107-21.
- King, Gary, James Honaker, Anne Joseph, and Kenneth Scheve. 2001. "Analyzing Incomplete Political Science Data: An Alternative Algorithm for Multiple Imputation." *American Political Science Review* 95 (March): 49-69.
- King, Gary, Christopher J. L. Murray, Joshua A. Salomon, and Ajay Tandon. 2004. "Enhancing the Validity and Cross-Cultural Comparability of Measurement in Survey Research." *American Political Science Review* 98 (February): 191-207.
- Kuklinski, James H., Michael D. Cobb, and Martin Gilens. 1997. "Racial Attitudes and the 'New South.'" *Journal of Politics* 59 (May): 323-349.

#### Recommended:

- Baltagi, Badi H. 2008. *Econometric Analysis of Panel Data*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Baron, Reuben M., and David A. Kenny. 1986. "The Moderator-Mediator Variable Distinction in Social Psychological Research: Conceptual, Strategic, and Statistical Considerations." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 51 (6): 1173-1182.
- Blair, Graeme, and Kosuke Imai. 2012. "Statistical Analysis of List Experiments." *Political Analysis* 20 (Winter): 47-77.
- Bollen, Kenneth. 1989. *Structural Equations with Latent Variables*. New York: Wiley.
- Brehm, John. 1993. *The Phantom Respondents*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Gelman, Andrew, and Jennifer Hill. 2007. *Data Analysis Using Regression and Multilevel/Hierarchical Models*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Green, Donald P., Shang E. Ha, and John G. Bullock. 2010. "Enough Already about 'Black Box' Experiments: Studying Mediation is More Difficult than Most Scholars Suppose." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 628 (March): 200-208.

- Mutz, Diana C. 2011. *Population-Based Survey Experiments*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rubin, Donald B. 2004. *Multiple Imputation for Nonresponse in Surveys*. New York: Wiley.
- Sherman, Robert P. 2000. "Tests of Certain Types of Ignorable Nonresponse in Surveys Subject to Item Nonresponse." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (April): 356-68.

#### **Week 4: The Psychology of Opinion: Overarching Theory**

*Required:*

- Converse, Philip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in the Mass Publics." In *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David E. Apter. New York: Free Press.
- Kinder, Donald R. 1983. "Diversity and Complexity in American Public Opinion." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, ed. Ada W. Finifter. Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association.
- Lavine, Howard. 2002. "On-line versus Memory Based Process Models of Political Evaluation." In *Political Psychology*, ed. Kristen Monroe. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2-5.

*Recommended:*

- Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lane, Robert E. 1962. *Political Ideology: Why the Common Man Believes What He Does*. New York: Free Press.
- Sniderman, Paul. 1993. "The New Look in Public Opinion Research." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*, ed. Ada W. Finifter. Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association.
- Zaller, John, and Stanley Feldman. 1992. "A Simple Theory of the Survey Response: Answering Questions versus Revealing Preferences." *American Journal of Political Science* 36 (August): 579-616.

### **Week 5: The Psychology of Opinion: Innocence of Ideology?**

*Required:*

Conover, Pamela Johnston, and Stanley Feldman. 1981. "The Origins and Meaning of Liberal/Conservative Self-Identifications." *American Journal of Political Science* 25 (November): 617-645.

Ellis, Christopher, and James A. Stimson. 2012. *Ideology in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jost, John T. 2006. "The End of the End of Ideology." *American Psychologist* 61 (October): 651-670.

*Recommended:*

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

Green, Donald Philip. 1988. "On the Dimensionality of Public Sentiment toward Partisan and Ideological Groups." *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (August): 758-780.

Jacoby, William G. 1991. "Ideological Identification and Issue Attitudes." *American Journal of Political Science* 35 (February): 178-205.

Jost, John T., Christopher M. Federico, and Jaime L. Napier. 2009. "Political Ideology: Its Structure, Functions, and Elective Affinities." *Annual Review of Psychology* 60 (January): 307-337.

Jost, John T., Jack Glaser, Arie W. Kruglanski, and Frank J. Sulloway. 2003. "Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition." *Psychological Bulletin* 129 (3): 339-375.

Peffley, Mark A., and Jon Hurwitz. 1985. "A Hierarchical Model of Attitude Constraint." *American Journal of Political Science* 29 (November): 871-890.

### **Week 6: The Psychology of Opinion: Values and Value Conflict**

*Required:*

Alvarez, R. Michael, and John Brehm. 1995. "American Ambivalence Towards Abortion Policy: Development of a Heteroskedastic Probit Model of Competing Values." *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (November): 1055-1082.

Chong, Dennis. 1993. "How People Think, Reason, and Feel about Rights and Liberties." *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (August): 867-99.



- Feldman, Stanley. 1988. "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: The Role of Core Beliefs and Values." *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (May): 416-440.
- Feldman, Stanley, and Marco Steenbergen. 2001. "The Humanitarian Foundations of Public Support for Social Welfare." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (September): 658-677.
- Feldman, Stanley, and John Zaller. 1992. "The Political Culture of Ambivalence." *American Journal of Political Science* 36 (February): 268-307.
- Stoker, Laura. 2001. "Political Value Judgments." In *Citizens and Politics: Perspectives from Political Psychology*, ed. James H. Kuklinski. New York: Cambridge University Press.

*Recommended:*

- Almond, Gabriel A., and Sidney Verba [1963] 1989. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Alvarez, R., Michael, and John Brehm. 2002. *Hard Choices, Easy Answers: Values, Information, and American Public Opinion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- McClosky, Herbert, and John Zaller. 1984. *The American Ethos: Public Attitudes toward Capitalism and Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rokeach, Milton. 1973. *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: Free Press.
- Smith, Rogers. 1993. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions of America." *American Political Science Review* 87 (September): 549-566.

**Week 7: The Psychology of Opinion: Political Knowledge and Sophistication**

*Required:*

- Delli Carpini, Michael X., and Scott Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapters 1-5, skim rest.
- Gomez, Brad T., and J. Matthew Wilson. 2001. "Political Sophistication and Economic Voting in the American Electorate: A Theory of Heterogeneous Attribution." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (October): 899-914.
- Jerit, Jennifer, Jason Barabas, and Toby Bolsen. 2006. "Citizens, Knowledge, and the Information Environment." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (April): 266-282.

Neuman, W. Russell. 1981. "Differentiation and Integration: Two Dimensions of Political Thinking." *American Journal of Sociology* 86 (May): 1236–68.

*Recommended:*

Barabas, Jason, and Jennifer Jerit. 2008. "Estimating the Causal Effects of Media Coverage on Policy-Specific Knowledge." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (January): 73-89.

Kuklinski, James H., Paul J. Quirk, Jennifer Jerit, David Schweider, and Robert F. Rich. 2003. "Misinformation and the Currency of Democratic Citizenship." *American Journal of Political Science* 62 (August): 790-816.

Luskin, Robert C. 1987. "Measuring Political Sophistication." *American Journal of Political Science* 31 (November): 856-899.

Mondak, Jeffrey J. 2001. "Developing Valid Knowledge Scales." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (January): 224-238.

Mondak, Jeffrey J., and Mary R. Anderson. 2004. "The Knowledge Gap: A Reexamination of Gender-Based Differences in Political Knowledge." *Journal of Politics* 66 (May): 492-512.

Prior, Marcus, and Arthur Lupia. 2008. "Money, Time, and Political Knowledge: Distinguishing Quick Recall and Political Learning Skills." *American Journal of Political Science* 62 (August): 790-816.

**Week 8: The Psychology of Opinion: Motivated Reasoning and Heuristics**

*Required:*

Gaines, Brian J., James H. Kuklinski, Paul J. Quirk, Buddy Peyton, and Jay Verkuilen. 2007. "Same Facts, Different Interpretations: Partisan Motivation and Opinion on Iraq." *Journal of Politics* 69 (November): 957-974.

Kahneman, Daniel. 2003. "A Perspective on Judgment and Choice: Mapping Bounded Rationality." *American Psychologist* 58 (September): 697-720

Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections." *American Political Science Review* 88 (March): 63-76

- Redlawsk, David. 2002. "Hot Cognition and Cool Considerations? Testing the Effects of Motivated Reasoning on Political Decision Making." *Journal of Politics* 64 (November): 1021-1044.
- Rudolph, Thomas J. 2006. "Triangulating Political Responsibility: The Motivated Formation of Responsibility Judgments." *Political Psychology* 27 (February): 99-122
- Taber, Charles, and Milton Lodge. 2006. "Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (July): 755-769.

*Recommended:*

- Kahneman, Daniel, Paul Slovic, and Amos Tversky, eds. 1982. *Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kahneman, Daniel, and Amos Tversky, eds. 2000. *Choices, Values and Frames*. New York: Cambridge University Press and the Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lau, Richard, and David P. Redlawsk. 2006. *How Voters Decide: Information Processing During Election Campaigns*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Popkin, Samuel L. 1991. *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Elections*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Sniderman, Paul, Richard A. Brody, and Philip E. Tetlock. 1991. *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

**Week 9: Framing, Priming, and Media**

*Required:*

- Chong, Dennis, and James N. Druckman. 2007. "Framing Public Opinion in Competitive Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 101 (November): 637-56.
- Druckman, James N. 2004. "Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)relevance of Framing Effects." *American Political Science Review* 98 (November): 671-86.
- Iyengar, Shanto, Mark D. Peters, and Donald R. Kinder. 1982. "Experimental Consequences of the 'Not-So-Minimal' Consequences of Television News Programs." *American Political Science Review* 76 (December): 848-58.
- Jacoby, William G. 2000. "Issue Framing and Public Opinion on Government Spending." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (October): 750-767.

- Krosnick, Jon A., and Howard Schuman. 1988. "Attitude Intensity, Importance, and Certainty and Susceptibility to Response Effects." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 54 (June): 940-52
- Miller, Joanne M., and Jon A. Krosnick. 2000. "News Media Impact on the Ingredients of Presidential Evaluations." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (April): 301-315.
- Scheufele, Dietram A., and David Tewksbury. 2007. "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models." *Journal of Communication* 57 (March): 9-20.

*Recommended:*

- Bartels, Larry M. 1993. "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure." *American Political Science Review* 87 (June): 267-285
- Druckman, James N. 2001. "On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame?" *Journal of Politics* 63 (November): 1041-1066.
- Iyengar, Shanto. 1994. *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Donald Kinder. 1987. *News that Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Krosnick, Jon A., and Donald R. Kinder. 1990. "Altering the Foundations of Support for the President Through Priming." *American Political Science Review* 84 (June): 497-512.
- Nelson, Thomas E., Rosalee A. Clawson, and Zoe M. Oxley. 1997. "Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and Its Effect on Tolerance." *American Political Science Review* 91 (September): 567-83.
- Valentino, Nicholas A., Vincent L. Hutchings, and Ismail K. White. 2002. "Cues that Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes During Campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 96 (March): 75-90.

**Week 10: Racial Attitudes**

*Required:*

- Bobo, Lawrence. 1983. "White's Opposition to Busing: Symbolic Racism or Realistic Group Conflict?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 45 (December): 1196-1210
- Finkel, Steven E., Thomas Guterbock, and Marian Borg. 1991. "Race of Interviewer Effects in a Pre-election Survey: Virginia 1989." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 55 (Fall): 313-330.

- Gomez, Brad T., and J. Matthew Wilson. 2006. "Rethinking Symbolic Racism: Evidence of Attribution Bias." *Journal of Politics* 68 (August): 611-625.
- Hunt, Matthew O. 1996. "The Individual, Society, or Both? A Comparison of Black, Latino, and White Beliefs About the Causes of Poverty." *Social Forces* 75 (1): 293-322.
- Payne, B. Keity, Jon A. Krosnick, Josh Pasek, Yphtach Lelkes, Omair Akhtar, and Trevor Tompson. 2009. "Implicit and Explicit Prejudice in the 2008 American Presidential Election." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 46 (March): 367-374.
- Tajfel, Henri. 1982. "Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations." *Annual Review of Psychology* 33: 1-39.
- Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2006. "Beyond Welfare: Framing and the Racialization of White Opinions on Social Security." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (April): 400-20.

*Recommended:*

- Gibson, James L. 1988. "Political Intolerance and Political Repression during the McCarthy Red Scare." *American Political Science Review* 82 (June): 511-530.
- Gilens, Martin. 1999. *Why Americans Hate Welfare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. 1944. *An American Dilemma*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Sears, David O. 1988. "Symbolic Racism." In *Eliminating Racism: Profiles in Controversy*, eds. Phyllis A Katz and Dalmas A. Taylor. New York: Plenum Press.
- Sears, David O., and Donald R. Kinder. 1971. "Racial Tensions and Voting in Los Angeles." In *Los Angeles: Viability and Prospects for Metropolitan Leadership*, ed. Werner Z. Hirsch. New York: Praeger.
- Sears, David O., Jim Sidanius, and Lawrence Bobo. 2000. *Racialized Politics: The Debate about Racism in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sigelman, Lee, and Susan Welch. 1991. *Black Americans' Views of Racial Inequality: The Dream Deferred*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Sniderman, Paul M., and Edward Carmines. 1997. *Reaching Beyond Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Sniderman, Paul M., with Michael G. Hagen. 1985. *Race and Inequality: A Study in American Values*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.

Sniderman, Paul M., and Thomas Piazza. 1993. *The Scar of Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press/Belknap Press.

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 (March): 92-106.

Tarman, Christopher, and David O. Sears. 2005. "The Conceptualization and Measurement of Symbolic Racism." *Journal of Politics* 67 (3): 731-61.

### **Week 11: Economics and Interests**

#### *Required:*

Gomez, Brad T., and J. Matthew Wilson. 2001. "Political Sophistication and Economic Voting in the American Electorate: A Theory of Heterogeneous Attribution." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (October): 899-914.

Green, Donald Philip, and Ann Elizabeth Gerken. 1989. "Self-Interest and Public Opinion toward Smoking Restrictions and Cigarette Taxes." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 53 (Spring): 1-16

Hansford, Thomas G., and Brad T. Gomez. 2012. "Reevaluating the Sociotropic Economic Voting Hypothesis." Florida State University. Unpublished Manuscript

Healy, Andrew, and Gabriel S. Lenz. 2012. "Substituting the End for the Whole: Why Voters Respond Primarily to the Election-Year Economy." Unpublished Manuscript  
<<http://dl.dropbox.com/u/7536991/sefw/sefw.pdf>>

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 (February): 137-154.

#### *Recommended:*

Campbell, Andrea Louise. 2002. "Self-Interest, Social Security, and the Distinctive Participation Patterns of Senior Citizens." *American Political Science Review* 96 (September): 565-574.

Duch, Raymond M., Harvey D. Palmer, and Christopher J. Anderson. 2000. "Heterogeneity in Perceptions of National Economic Conditions." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (October): 635-652.

Enns, Peter K., Paul M. Kellstedt, and Gregory E. McAvoy. 2012. "The Consequences of Partisanship in Economic Perceptions." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76 (Summer): 287-310.

Key, V. O., Jr. 1966. *The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting, 1936-1960*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

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

Kramer, Gerald. 1983. "The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate- versus Individual-level Findings on Economics and Elections, and Sociotropic Voting." *American Political Science Review* 77 (March): 92-111.

Sears, David O., Richard R. Lau, Tom Tyler, and A.M. Allen, Jr. 1980. "Self-Interest versus Symbolic Politics in Policy Attitudes and Presidential Voting." *American Political Science Review* 74 (September): 670-684

## **Week 12: Miracle of Aggregation**

### *Required:*

Althaus, Scott. 2003. *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-2.

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### **Week 13: The American Macro Polity**

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Bafumi, Joseph, and Robert Y. Shapiro. 2009. "A New Partisan Voter." *Journal of Politics* 71 (January): 1-24.

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#### *Recommended:*

Abramowitz, Alan I., and Kyle L. Saunders. 1998. "Ideological Realignment in the U.S. Electorate." *Journal of Politics* 60 (August): 634-652.

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### **Week 14: Opinion and Policy Responsiveness**

#### *Required:*

Bartels, Larry M. 1991. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Buildup." *American Political Science Review* 85 (June): 457-474



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- Burstein, Paul. 2005. "Why Estimates of the Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy Are Too High: Empirical and Theoretical Implications." *Social Forces* 84 (4): 2273-2289.
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- Flavin, Patrick, and John D. Griffin. 2009. "Policy, Preferences, and Participation: Government's Impact on Democratic Citizenship." *American Journal of Political Science* 71 (April): 544-559.
- Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 2000. *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
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## **Week 15: Opinion and Foreign Policy**

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- Aldrich, John H., John L. Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida. 1989. "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz Before a Blind Audience?'" *American Political Science Review* 83 (March): 123-141.
- Berinsky, Adam J. 2007. "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 69 (November): 975-997.
- Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Benjamin I. Page. 2005. "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?" *American Political Science Review* 99 (February) 107-123.
- Gelpi, Christopher, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifler. 2005. "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq." *International Security* 30 (Winter): 7-46.
- Hays, Jude C., Sean D. Ehrlich, and Clint Peinhardt. 2005. "Government Spending and Public Support for Trade in the OECD: An Empirical Test of the Embedded Liberalism Thesis." *International Organization* 59 (Spring): 473-94.
- Mansfield, Edward D., and Diana C. Mutz. 2009. "Support for Free Trade: Self-Interest, Sociotropic Politics, and Out-Group Anxiety." *International Organization* 63 (July): 425-457.

### *Recommended:*

- Althaus, Scott L., and Kevin Coe. 2011. "Priming Patriots: Social Identity Processes and the Dynamics of Public Support for War." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 75 (Spring): 65-88.
- Hellwig, Timothy T., Eve M. Ringsmuth, and John R. Freeman. 2008. "The American Public and the Room to Maneuver: Responsibility Attributions and Policy Efficacy in an Era of Globalization." *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (December): 855-880.
- Herrmann, Richard K., Philip E. Tetlock, and Matthew N. Diascro. 2001. "How Americans Think about Trade: Reconciling Conflicts among Money, Power, and Principles." *International Studies Quarterly* 45 (June): 191-218.
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- Maggiotto, Michael A., and Eugene R. Wittkopf. 1981. "American Public Attitudes toward Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly* 25 (December): 601-31.
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