

Political Science G8210y: Colloquium/Seminar on Public Opinion and Political Behavior
Spring 2008: Tuesday 2:10-4 P.M. (G8210Y08.doc)

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Office Hours: Monday 11-12 Noon
and by appointment most days

PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR RESEARCH

This course will examine research on public opinion, political behavior, and politics. It will cover the theoretical and empirical aspects of political attitudes, opinion change, voter choice, and political participation, including their causes and consequences. The course will focus on individual and aggregate level political behavior in the United States, but students are welcome to examine other countries or do comparative analysis in fulfilling the course requirements. Since students have access to data available on-line through the Columbia Library and Electronic Data Service and World Wide Web, the course will encourage students to explore information related to the course that is available through Columbia and at an increasing number of sites in the United States and worldwide.

In addition to attending all the class sessions and doing the assigned class presentations, the requirements for the course are: (1) a 3-5 page review of a research article concerned with public opinion or political behavior that may be related to the student's research paper topic (10% of course grade, due February 12th); (2) a 5-8 page essay or brief research paper evaluating a set of at least three readings that may be related to the student's research topic, discussing some of the important but unanswered questions that they raise or offering some research related to the readings (20%, due March 4th); (3) an approximately 15-25 page (or longer) research paper (50%) which is due on May 9th and for which a 3-page proposal must be submitted for approval no later than March 11th; and (4) class presentations and participation (20%). Data sets, including National Election Study data, NORC General Social Survey data, and recent U.S. exit poll data are available through all the CUIT computer labs on campus. Others are available through the Electronic Data Service (EDS), whose consultants are available in Lehman Library. Further information about the paper requirements and their due dates will be provided. All papers must be typed and double-spaced; students are responsible for keeping copies of all papers submitted.

The course is structured by topic areas for which there are assigned and recommended readings. Students will be assigned to teams that will present and evaluate specific research articles that are listed below. Beginning with the third or fourth class meeting, each session will begin with 1-2 teams of students presenting and evaluating two articles. One student (the "presenter") in each team will present the article, followed by the second student (the "discussant") in each team who will offer commentary and a critique of the article. The instructor will offer further comments and lead a class discussion. The students on each team should work together to in putting together the presentation by the first student and the discussion

by the second. The teams may consult with each other as well. Students should arrange with the instructor by the Thursday before their presentations the use of an overhead or computer projector and/or any copies of materials to be distributed.

All the required readings (and much of the supplemental recommended reading) should be available on reserve in Lehman Library. Additional copies may also be available in the stacks of Lehman or Butler Libraries. Most of the journal articles are available on-line through JSTOR or other electronic sources. If there are difficulties in obtaining the readings, the instructor should be notified at once. A few additional readings may be added to the list along the way. Several books have been ordered by the Columbia University Bookstore. The books are separated into two groups by priority (other books are listed as recommended below):

First group (priority reading):

Carroll J. Glynn, Susan Herbst, Garrett J. O'Keefe, Robert Y. Shapiro, and Mark Lindeman, Public Opinion. Second edition
Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy
Robert S. Erikson and Kent L. Tedin, American Public Opinion. Updated seventh edition.
Herbert Asher, Polling and the Public. Seventh edition
Russell Dalton, Citizen Politics. Fourth edition
George Marcus, Russell Neuman, and Michael MacKuen, Affective Intelligence, and Political Judgment
Paul Abramson, John Aldrich, and David Rohde, Change and Continuity in the 2004 and 2006 Elections
Steven Rosenstone and Mark Hansen, Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy
Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro, The Rational Public
Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady, Voice and Equality
John R. Zaller, The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion

Second group:

Lawrence Jacobs and Robert Shapiro, Politicians Don't Pander
Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg, Controversies in Voting Behavior. Fourth edition
(note: the articles in this volume ["Ch."s] are reprints of articles in journals where they may also be found).
Nancy Burns, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba, The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation
Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson, The Macro Polity
Michael X. Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters
William Flanigan and Nancy Zingale, Political Behavior and the American Electorate. Eleventh edition
Scott Althaus, Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics
Herbert F. Weissberg, The Total Survey Error Approach
Morris P. Fiorina with Samuel J. Abrams and Jeremy C. Pope, Culture War? Second edition.

COURSE OUTLINE AND REQUIRED READINGS (The "*" and "***" ("classics") are recommended/supplemental readings. Students are not expected to have time to read most of them; they should pick and choose based on their research and other interests; the instructor will discuss some of these in class, and written assignments may draw on some of them; political science doctoral students should examine many of them, especially the "***" readings.)
APSR=American Political Science Review

I. Introduction, Overview, and Sources of Data/Evidence: Public Opinion, Political Behavior, and Democracy. Assignment of presenters and discussants. (Week 1; see readings for Week 2)

II. The Measurement of Public Opinion and Political Behavior; Methods of Research. Finalizing presenters and discussants. (Weeks 2)

Erikson and Tedin, American Public Opinion (7th), Ch. 1-2, Appendix
Glynn, et al., Public Opinion, Ch.1-3
Asher, Polling and the Public, Ch.2-8
Dalton, Citizen Politics, Ch.1, Appendix A and Appendix B
Page and Shapiro, The Rational Public, Preface, Ch.1-2
Begin reading Zaller, The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion, Ch.1-7

- *H. Weisberg, The Total Survey Error Approach, read/skim Ch.1-15
- *Flanagan and Zingale, Appendix
- *Iyengar and Kinder, News That Matters, Ch.1-2
- *Niemi and Weisberg, Controversies in Voting Behavior. Fourth edition. Ch. 1
- *Lupia and McCubbins, The Democratic Dilemma, Ch.6,7.
- *P. Conover, I. Crewe, and D. Searing, "The Nature of Citizenship in the United States and Great Britain: Empirical Comments on Theoretical Themes." Journal of Politics 53 (August 1991): 800-832. (Focus groups)
- *Michael X. Delli Carpini and Bruce Williams, "The Method is the Message: Focus Groups as a Means of Social, Psychological, and Political Inquiry. In Michael X. Delli Carpini, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Y. Shapiro (eds), Research in Micropolitics. Volume 4: New Directions in Political Psychology. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1994. Pp.57-85.
- *J. Hochschild, What's Fair (see her intensive interview methodology).
- *Terence Ball, "The Feminist and His Father: A True Detective Story." Ch.3 in Shively, The Research Process in Political Science.
- *L. Jacobs and R. Shapiro, "Public Opinion and the New Social History: Some Lessons for the Study of Public Opinion and Democratic Policy-making." Social Science History 13 (Spring 1989): 1-24.
- *David Sears et al., Social Psychology, 6th (or 5th) ed. Ch.2
- *Charles Backstrom and Gerald Hursch-Cesar, Survey Research, 2nd, ed., skim
- *Shively, The Craft of Political Research, 3rd edition, skim, esp. Ch.1-6

- **P. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in D. Apter (ed.), Ideology and Discontent
- **P. Converse, "Attitudes and Nonattitudes," in E. Tufte (ed.), The Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems.
- **Christopher Achen, "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response," APSR 69 (1975): 1218-1231.

III. Democratic Theory and Public Opinion (Week 3-4)

(Week 3) No Class on February 5th, "Super Tuesday." Rescheduling later in the week, TBA.

Discussion of the current primary elections, current politics, public opinion, polling, and American democracy.

Required reading: Larry M Bartels, "Candidate Choice and the Dynamics of the Presidential Nominating Process." American Journal of Political Science 31 (February 1987): 1-30.
(For further reading: Larry Bartels, Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice, esp. Ch. 12).

(Week 4)

First of Article Presentations and Discussion:

- M. Gilens, "Inequality and Democratic Responsiveness," Public Opinion Quarterly, Special Issue, 69 (5) (2005): 778-796.
- J. Griffin and B Newman, "Are Voters Better Represented?" Journal of Politics 67 (November 2005): 1206-1227.

Dalton, Citizen Politics, Ch.1,11

Glynn, et al., Public Opinion, Ch.1,2, 9,11

Erikson and Tedin, American Public Opinion (7th), Ch.1, 10-11.

Asher, Ch.1-2, 9

Page and Shapiro, The Rational Public, Preface, Ch.1-2

Jacobs and Shapiro, Politicians Don't Pander, Ch.1-2

Page and Shapiro, "The Effect of Public Opinion on Policy," APSR 77 (March 1983): 175-190.

Stimson, MacKuen, and Erikson, "Dynamic Representation," APSR 89 (September 1995): 543-565

T. Risse-Kappen, "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, an Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies." World Politics 43 (July 1991): 479-512.

L. Jacobs, "The Recoil Effect: Public Opinion and Policy-Making," Comparative Politics (January 1992)

*Iyengar and Kinder, News That Matters, Ch.1

- *Lupia and McCubbins, The Democratic Dilemma, Ch.1
- *Erikson, MacKuen, and Stimson, The Macro Polity, Ch.8,9.
- *Manza, Cook, and Page, Navigating Public Opinion, Several chapters, esp. Ch.1-5,18.
- *George Marcus and Russell Hanson, eds., Reconsidering the Democratic Public, several essays of interest
- **V.O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, Ch.1,21
- **Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, Voting, Ch.14
- *Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, "Public Opinion and the Classical Tradition," 43 Public Opinion Quarterly (1979): 143-156.
- *S. Lukes, Power: A Radical View.
- *B. Ginsberg, The Captive Public (skim)
- *C. Marsh, "Do Polls Affect What People Think." In Turner and Martin, eds., Surveying Subjective Phenomena, Vol. 2
- *P. Powlick, "The Attitudinal Bases for Responsiveness to Public Opinion among American Foreign Policy Officials. Journal of Conflict Resolution 35 (Dec. 1991): 611-641.
- *B. Russett, Controlling the Sword: The Democratic Governance of National Security (skim)
- *R. Eichenberg, Public Opinion and National Security in Western Europe (skim)
- *F. Cook and E. Barrett, Support for the American Welfare State, skim
- *R. Shapiro and J. Young, "Public Opinion and the Welfare State: The United States in Comparative Perspective." Political Science Quarterly 104 (Spring 1989): 59-89.
- *L. Jacobs, "Institutions and Culture: Health Policy in the U.S. and Britain." World Politics (January 1992)
- *Shapiro and Jacobs, "The Relationship Between Public Opinion and Public Policy: A Review." In S. Long, ed., Political Behavior Annual, Vol. 2, pp.149-79.

IV. Public Opinion, Civil Liberties and Rights, Political Stability, and Some Political History (Week 5)

Article Presentations and Discussion:

- James Gibson, "Political Intolerance and Political Repression During the McCarthy Red Scare," APSR 82 (June 1988): 511-529.
- P. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in D. Apter (ed.), Ideology and Discontent. Reprinted in the journal Critical Review 18 (2006), No.1-3.

Erikson and Tedin, Ch.6

Dalton, Ch.5, 12

Page and Shapiro, Ch.3-6 and pp.313-320.

Abramson, et al., Change and Continuity in the 2004 Elections, Ch.1-3

Zaller, Ch.1-7

*Flanigan and Zingale, Political Behavior of the American Electorate, Ch.1

*Edward Carmines and Paul M. Sniderman, "The Structure of Racial Attitudes:,,," in Wilcox

- and Norrander, Understanding Public Opinion, Second edition.
- *Clyde Wilcox and Barbara Norrander, "Of Moods and Morals: The Dynamics of Opinion on Abortion and Gay Rights," in Wilcox and Norrander.
 - *Wendy M. Rahn and Thomas J. Rudolph, "Trust in Local Government," in Wilcox and Norrander.
 - *John R. Hibbing, "The Public's Craving for Unselfish Government," in Wilcox and Norrander.
 - *William Mishler and Richard Rose, "Public Support for Post-Communist Transitions in....," in Wilcox and Norrander.
 - *Hibbing and Theiss-Morse, Stealth Democracy, skim
 - *Nie, Verba, and Petrocik, The Changing American Voter., Ch.1-6
 - *Robert S. Erikson, "The 2000 Presidential Election in Historical Perspective." Political Science Quarterly 116 (Spring 2001): 29-52.
 - *Gary C. Jacobson, "A House and Senate Divided: The Clinton Legacy and the Congressional Elections of 2000," Political Science Quarterly 116 (Spring 2001): 5-27.
 - *John Mueller, "American Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in a New Era: Eleven Proposition," in Wilcox and Norrander.
 - **James Stimson, Public Opinion in America: Moods, Cycles, and Swings
 - *Dawson, Behind the Mule, Ch.1-2

V. Theories and Approaches to the Study of Public Opinion and Voting

A. Sociological Approaches: Socialization (Home, School, Workplace) and Other Group-Related Influences (Week 6)

Article Presentations and Discussion:

- P. Conover, "The Influence of Group Identification on Political Perception and Evaluation," Journal of Politics 46 (August 1984): 760-785.
- H. Brady and P. Sniderman, "Attitude Attribution: A Group Basis for Political Reasoning," APSR 79 (1985):1061-78.

Glynn, et al., Ch.4-6 (especially 5), begin reading Ch.7

Erikson and Tedin, Ch.5,7

Dalton, Ch.8

Abramson, et al., Ch.5

Page and Shapiro, Ch.7

- **Lazarsfeld et al., "Social Differences Between Republicans and Democrats," in The People's Choice, approx. pp.16-27.
- **Berelson et al., Ch.6; skim 3-7, 12
- *Flanigan and Zingale, Ch.5
- *Campbell et al., Ch.11-15

- *R. Axelrod, "Where the Vote Comes From: An Analysis of Electoral Coalitions," APSR 66 (March 1972): 11-20; also APSR 68 (June 1974): 717-720 and APSR 76 (June 1982): 393-396.
- *R. Erikson et al., "Group Components of the Presidential Vote, 1952-1984," Journal of Politics 51 (1989):337-346.
- *Przeworski and Soares, "Theories in Search of a Curve:...", APSR 65 (March 1971):51-68.
- *Virginia Sapiro, "It's the Context, Situation, and Question, Stupid: The Gender Basis of Public Opinion," in Wilcox and Norrander.
- *Allison Calhoun-Brown, "This Side of Jordan: Black Churches and Partisan Political Attitudes," in Wilcox and Norrander.
- *Carole Jean Uhlaner and F. Chris Garcia, "Latino Political Attitudes," in Wilcox and Norrander.
- *Sears, Huddy, and Jervis, Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology. Ch.3,15
- *Dawson, Ch.6, 8-9
- *Milburn, Ch.3
- *D. Sears and C. Funk, "Self-Interest in Americans' Political Opinions," in J. Mansbridge, ed., Beyond Self-Interest.
- **Jennings and Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," APSR 62 (March 1968): 169-184.
- *Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society, Ch.7,8
- *John L. Sullivan, et al., "The Sources of Political Tolerance: A Multivariate Analysis," APSR 75 (1981): 92-106, or Ch.1A (see also 1B) in Shively, The Research Process in Political Science.
- **E. Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," American Sociological Review 28 (Feb. 1963): 69-75.
- *S. Bowles and H. Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America
- **Key, Ch.5,6,8,12-13
- *R. Sigel, Political Learning in Adulthood, skim
- *Sears et al., Social Psychology, 6th (or 5th) ed., Ch.13

B. Psychological and Social Psychological Approaches (Week 7)

Article Presentations and Discussion:

- Larry Bartels, "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996." American Journal of Political Science 44 (January 2000):35-50.
- Richard R. Lau and David P. Redlawsk, "Advantages and Disadvantages of Using Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making," American Journal of Political Science 45 (October 2001): 951-971.

Dalton, Ch. 7, 9

Abramson, et al., Ch.1-3,6-10

Glynn, et al., Ch.4-6

Erikson and Tedin, Ch.3

Zaller, Ch.1-7

Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen, Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment

*Flanagan and Zingale, Ch.3-4, 8

*Richard R. Lau and David P. Redlawsk, How Voters Decide: Information Processing during Election Campaigns, 1-11

*Gary C. Jacobson, "Polarized Politics and the 2004 Congressional and Presidential Elections." Political Science Quarterly 120 (Summer 2005): 199-218.

*Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich, and David W. Rohde, "The 2004 Presidential Election: The Emergence of a Permanent Majority?" Political Science Quarterly 120 (Spring 2005): 33-57.

*James E. Campbell, "Why Bush Won the Presidential Election of 2004: Incumbency, Ideology, Terrorism, and Turnout." Political Science Quarterly 120 (Summer 2005): 219-41.

*Robert S. Erikson, "The 2000 Presidential Election in Historical Perspective." Political Science Quarterly 116 (Spring 2001): 29-52.

*Gary C. Jacobson, "A House and Senate Divided: The Clinton Legacy and the Congressional Elections of 2000," Political Science Quarterly 116 (Spring 2001): 5-27.

*Allyson L. Holbrook, et al., "Attitudes toward Presidential Candidates and Political Parties: Initial Optimism, Inertial First Impressions, and a Focus on Flaws," American Journal of Political Science 45 (October 2001): 930-950.

*Sears, Huddy, and Jervis, Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, Ch.1-7, 12, 13,16,17

*Milburn, Persuasion and Politics, Ch.1,4-8

*Dawson, Ch.3-4

*David Sears et al., Social Psychology, 6th (or 5th) ed., Ch.1, 3-7,12,14,18

*Deborah Larson, Origins of Containment: A Psychological Explanation, Ch.1-2

*S. Fiske and S. Taylor, Social Cognition (skim)

*R. Lau, R. Smith, and S. Fiske, "Political Beliefs, Policy Interpretations, and Political Persuasion." Journal of Politics 53 (Aug. 1991): 644-675.

Social Psychology

*Stimson, Tides of Consent, Chapter 2, 6

Party Identification and Partisan Change

*Warren Miller, "Party Identification, Realignment, and Party Voting: Back to Basics," APSR 85 (June 1991): 557-568.

*Martin Wattenberg, "The Building of a Republican Regional Base in the South," Public Opinion Quarterly 55 (Fall 1991): 424-431.

*Warren Miller, "Generational Changes and Party Identification," Political Behavior 14, 3

(1992): 233-360), 19-23.

- *Paul Abramson, "Generational Change and the Decline of Party Identification in America," APSR 70 (June 1976):469-478.
- *R. Niemi and K. Jennings, "Issues and Inheritance in the formation of Party Identification," American Journal of Political Science 35 (November 1991): 970-988.
- *D. Green and B. Palmquist, "Of Artifacts and Partisan Instability," American Journal of Political Science 34 (August 1990): 872-902.
- *Courtney Brown, "Mass Dynamics of U.S. Presidential Competitions, 1928-1936," APSR 82 (December 1988): 1153-1181.
- *Helmut Norputh, "Under Way and Here to Stay: Party Realignment in the 1980s?" Public Opinion Quarterly 51 (Fall 1987): 376-391.

**Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy Ch.11-12,

*Popkin, The Reasoning Voter, Ch.3-5

*Erikson, et al, The Macro Polity, Ch.4,5

*Dawson, Ch.5

*Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler, Partisan Hearts & Minds, skim

*Page, Choices and Echoes, Ch. 4

*M. MacKuen, R. Erikson, and J. Stimson, "Macro-partisanship," APSR 83 (1989): 1125-42.

*Carmines and Stimson, Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics, skim

*Campbell et al., Ch.5-6

*Converse, "The Concept of a Normal Vote," and "Classification of Presidential Elections," in Campbell et al., Elections and the Political Order.

*Niemi and Weisberg, fourth edition, Ch.21-23

*Fiorina, Retrospective Voting Ch.5

C. Economic Rationality, Candidates, and Campaigns (Week 8)

Presentation and Discussion:

Gregory Markus, "The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on the Presidential Vote: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis," American Journal of Political Science 32 (February 1988): 137-154.

Scott Keeter, "The Illusion of Intimacy: Television and the Role of Candidate Personal Qualities in Voter Choice," Public Opinion Quarterly 51 (Fall 1987): 344-358.

Glynn, et al., Ch.7, review Ch.4

Abramson, et al., Ch.6,7,10,11

Erikson and Tedin, Ch.9

- *Quattrone and Tversky, "Contrasting Rational and Psychological Analyses of Political Choice." APSR 82 (September 1988): 719-736.
- *D. Kahneman, J. Knetsch, and R. Thaler, "The Endowment Effect, Loss Aversion, and Status Quo Bias." Journal of Economic Perspectives 5 (Winter 1991): 193-206

"Rationality": Issue/Policy Voting

- *Sunshine D. Hillygus and Todd G. Shields, "Moral Issues and Voter Decision Making in the 2004 Presidential Election." PS: Political Science & Politics 38 (April 2005): 201-209.
- *Davis, Hinich, and Ordeshook, "An Expository Development of a Mathematical Model of the Electoral Process," APSR 64 (June 1970): 426-448.
- *Michael J. Shapiro, "Rational Political Man: A Synthesis of Economic and Social-Psychological Perspectives," APSR 63 (Dec. 1969): 1106-1119.

"Rationality": Government Performance

- *Stimson, Tides of Consent, Ch.5
- *Gregory Markus, "Political Attitudes in an Election Year," APSR 76 (Sept. 1982): 538-560.

Candidate Personality and Campaigning

- *Flanagan and Zingale, Ch.8
- *Review Popkin, The Reasoning Voter, Ch.6-11
- *Ansolabehere, et al., The Media Game, review Ch.4,8,11
- *Page, Choices and Echoes, Ch. 8-10.
- *Campbell et al., Ch.1-3,16
- *Donald Stokes, "Some Dynamics Elements of Contests for the Presidency," APSR 60 (March 1966):19-28.
- *McGinnis, The Selling of the President 1968,
- *David P. Glass, "Evaluating Presidential Candidates: Who Focuses on their Personal Attributes?" Public Opinion Quarterly 49 (Winter 1985): 517-534.

D. "Rationality": Issue/Policy Voting

Downs, review Ch.1,3-6,8, 11-14

- *Iyengar and Kinder, Ch.11

- *Aldrich, Sullivan, and Borgida, "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz before a Blind Audience?'" APSR 63 (1989): 123-141.
- **Page, Choices and Echoes, Ch.5-6, review 2-4
- *Davis, Hinich, and Ordeshook, "An Expository Development of a Mathematical Model of the Electoral Process," APSR 64 (June 1970): 426-448.
- *Michael J. Shapiro, "Rational Political Man: A Synthesis of Economic and Social-Psychological Perspectives," APSR 63 (Dec. 1969): 1106-1119.
- *Campbell et al., review Ch.3,7
- *Niemi and Weisberg, fourth edition, Ch.8
- *Popkin, Ch.1-5
- **Benjamin Page, Choices and Echoes in Presidential Elections, Ch.1-2
- *Lupia and McCubbins, Ch.2-5,7-9
- **Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action, Ch.1-2.
- *Larry Bartels, Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice Ch.12, skim the rest
- *Jane Mansbridge, ed., Beyond Self-Interest, (skim)
- *Hogarth and Reder, eds., Rational Choice (skim)

VI. The Nature, Structure, and Dynamics of American Public Opinion

Review Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics."

A. Information, Perception, and Properties of Opinion (Week 9)

Presentation and Discussion:

Scott L. Althaus, "Information Effects in Collective Preferences, APSR 92 (September 1998): 545-558),

Martin Gilens, "Political Ignorance and Collective Preferences," American Political Science Review 95 (June 2001): 379-396.

Erikson and Tedin, Ch.3

Glynn, et al., Ch.8, review Ch.6

Downs, review Ch.11-13

Page and Shapiro, review Ch.1-2

*Popkin, review Ch.1-5

*Stimson, Tides of Consent, Ch.2

*Tali Mendelberg, "The Deliberative Citizen: Theory and Evidence." In Michael X. Delli Carpini, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Y. Shapiro (eds), Research in Micropolitics. Volume 6: Political Decision-Making, Deliberation and Participation. New York: JAI/Elsevier, 2002. Pp. 151-193.

*Mark Lindeman, "Opinion Quality and Policy Preferences in Deliberative Research." In

Michael X. Delli Carpini, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Y. Shapiro (eds), Research in Micropolitics. Volume 6: Political Decision-Making, Deliberation and Participation. New York: JAI/Elsevier. 2002, Pp.195-221.

*Gerald Pomper, "From Confusion to Clarity: Issues and American Voters, 1956-68," APSR 66 (June 1972): 415-28.

*Hyman and Sheatsley, "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail," Public Opinion Quarterly 11 (Fall 1947):412-423.

B. Opinion Stability, Ideological Structure and Values, Sources of Political Attitudes and Opinion Change (Weeks 10 and 11)

Presentations and Discussions (Week 10):

S. Feldman and J. Zaller, "The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State," American Journal of Political Science 36 (Feb. 1992): 268-307.

J. Krosnick, "The Stability of Political Preferences: Comparisons of Symbolic and Nonsymbolic Attitudes," American Journal of Political Science 35 (May 1991): 547-576.

Presentations and Discussions (Week 11):

S. Feldman. "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: The Role of Core Beliefs and Values." American Journal of Political Science 32 (1988): 416-44.

Marc J. Hetherington, "Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization," American Political Science Review 95 (September 2001): 619-631.

Charles S. Taber and Milton Lodge. "Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs." American Journal of Political Science 50 (July 2006): 755-69.

Glynn, et al. review Ch.8

Dalton, Ch.2,5,6,12

Erikson and Tedin, Ch.3

Flanagan and Zingale, Ch.6

Fiorina, Culture War?

Robert Y. Shapiro and Yaeli Bloch-Elkon. "Challenges to Democratic Competence."
Unpublished manuscript. Columbia University and Bar Ilan University, January 2008.

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

*Stimson, Ch.3

*Stanley Feldman and Marco R. Steenbergen, "The Humanitarian Foundations of Public Support for Social Welfare," American Journal of Political Science 45 (July 2001): 658-677.

**P. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in D. Apter (ed.), Ideology and Discontent

- *N. Nie and K. Andersen, "Mass Belief Systems Revisited," Journal of Politics 36 (August 1974): 540-591.
- *Niemi and Weisberg, fourth edition, Ch.6-9
- *Michael X. Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, What American Know About Politics and Why It Matters, skim
- *Erikson, et al, The Macro Polity, Ch.3
- *Scott Althaus, Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics
- **Berelson, et al., pp.215-233
- *Key, Ch.2-4,9-11
- *Bartels, skim Ch.3-7
- *Ronald Inglehart, Culture Shift, Ch.3
- *W. Russell Neuman, The Paradox of Mass Politics, skim
- *George Bishop et al., "Change in the Structure of American Political Attitudes:The Nagging Question of Question Wording," American Journal of Political Science 22 (1978): 250-69.
- *E. Smith, "The Levels of Conceptualization: False Measure of Ideological Sophistication," APSR 74 (Sept. 1980): 685-696.
- **James Stimson, "Belief Systems: Constraint, Complexity, and the 1972 Election," American Journal of Political Science 19 (1975): 393-417, or Chapter 2A (see also 2B) in Shively, The Research Process in Political Science.
- *R. Axelrod, "Schema Theory: An Information Processing Model of Perception and Cognition," APSR 67 (Dec. 1973): 1248-1266.
- *R. Lane, "The Fear of Equality," APSR 53 (March 1959): 35-51 (see also in his Political Ideology and J. Hochschild, What's Fair?)
- *S. Feldman and J. Zaller, "The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State," American Journal of Political Science 36 (Feb. 1992): 268-307.
- *S. Feldman. "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: The Role of Core Beliefs and Values." American Journal of Political Science 32 (1988): 416-44.
- *Hurwitz and Peffley, "How are Foreign Policy Attitude Structured? A Hierarchical Model," APSR 81 (Dec. 1987): 1099-1120.
- *Herbert McClosky and John Zaller, The American Ethos, skim
- *R. Inglehart, Culture Shift, skim
- *R. Inglehart, Modernization and Postmodernization, skim
- *McClosky et al., "Consensus and Ideology," APSR 58 June 1964: 361-382.
- *McClosky et al., "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers," APSR 54 (June 1960): 406-427.
- *Feld and Grofman, "Ideological Consistency as a Collective Phenomenon," APSR 82 (September 1988): 773-788.
- *E. Smith, The Unchanging American Voter, skim

VII. Other Sources of Political Attitudes and Opinion Change : Events, Objective Conditions, Leadership, Manipulation, and the Media (Week 12)

Possible Presentations and Discussions:

- S. Kernell, "Explaining Presidential Popularity," APSR 72 (June 1978): 506-522.
- J. Krosnick and D. Kinder, "Altering the Foundations of Support for the President through Priming," APSR 84 (1990): 497-512.
- S. Iyengar, "Television News and Citizens' Explanations of National Issues. APSR 81 (1987): 815-832. ("framing" effects)
- D. Mutz and B. Reeves, "The New Videomalaise: Effects of Televised Incivility on Political Trust." APSR 99 (February 2005): 1-15.
- Adam J. Berinsky, "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict." Journal of Politics 69 (November 2007): 975-997.
- Martin Gilens, Lynn Vavreck, and Martin Cohen. "The Mass Media and the Public's Assessments of Presidential Candidates, 1952-2000." Journal of Politics 69 (November 2007): 1160-1175.

Erikson and Tedin Ch.4, 8

Glynn, et al., Ch.10

Page and Shapiro, Ch. 3-6, 8-10

Flanagan and Zingale, Ch. 7

Zaller, The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion, Ch.8-12

*Alan Abramowitz and Kyle Saunders, "Ideological Realignment and U.S. Congressional Elections," in Wilcox and Norrander.

*Jacobs and Shapiro, Ch.3-7

*Shanto Iyengar and Markus Prior, "Giving Advertising a Bad Name:..." in Wilcox and Norrander.

*Paul R. Brewer, "Public Opinion, Economic Issues, and the Vote:..." in Wilcox and Norrander.

*Kathleen M. McGraw, "Manipulating Public Opinion," in Wilcox and Norrander.

*Martin Gilens and Naomi Murakawa, "Elite Cues and Political Decision-Making." In Michael X. Delli Carpini, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Y. Shapiro (eds), Research in Micropolitics. Volume 6: Political Decision-Making, Deliberation and Participation. New York: JAI/Elsevier, 2002. Pp.15-49

*Page, Shapiro, and Dempsey, "What Moves Public Opinion," APSR 81 (March 1987): 23-43.

*S. Iyengar, "Television News and Citizens' Explanations of National Issues APSR 81 (1987): 815-32 ("framing" effects)

*Ansolabehere, et al., The Media Game, esp. Ch.6-12

*Sears, Huddy, and Jervis, Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, Ch.11

*Erikson, et al, The Macro Polity, Ch.2

*Milburn, Ch. 9

- *Dawson, Ch.7
- *Key, pp.263-287, 449-452, 414-417
- *Bartels, Ch.8-10
- *E. Noelle-Neumann, The Spiral of Silence, skim
- *MacKuen and Coombs, More Than News, esp. Ch.1-7
- *Page, Shapiro, and Dempsey, "What Moves Public Opinion," APSR 81 (March 1987): 23-43.
- *S. Iyengar, Is Anyone Responsible?
- *R. Entman, Democracy Without Citizens, skim
- *M. Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics, Ch.1-2, skim rest
- *D. Wise, The Politics of Lying, skim
- *E. Tufte, Political Control of the Economy skim

VIII. Political Participation and Voter Turnout (Week 13)

Possible Presentations and Discussion:

- L. Bobo and F. Gilliam, Jr., "Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment," APSR 84 (June 1990): 379-393.
- Donald P. Green, Alan S. Gerber, and David W. Nickerson, "Getting Out the Vote in Local Elections: Results from Six Door-to Door Canvassing Experiments." Journal of Politics 65 (4) (November 2003): 1083-1096.
- F. Harris, V. Sinclair Chapman, and B. McKenzie, "Macrodynamics of Black Political Participation in the Post-Civil Rights Era." Journal of Politics 67 (November 2005): 1143-1163.

Abramson, et al., Ch.4
Dalton, Ch.3-4

Rosenstone and Hansen, Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America, Ch.1-8
Burns, Schlozman, and Verba, The Private Roots of Public Action, esp. Ch.1-8

Robert D. Putnam, "Tuning In, Tuning Out..", PS: Political Science and Politics 28 (Dec. 1995): 664-683.

Pippa Norris, "Does Television Erode Social Capital? A Reply to Putnam." PS: Political Science and Politics 29 (September 1996): 474-480.

Downs, Ch.14

*Flanagan and Zingale, Ch.2

*Suzanne Lohman, "The Dynamics of Information Cascades: The Monday Demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-1991." World Politics 47 (1) (October 1994): 42-101.

*Arthur H. Miller, et al., "Group Consciousness and Political Participation," American Journal of Political Science 25 (August 1981): 494-511.

- *E. Hirsch, "Sacrifice for the Cause: Group Processes Recruitment, and Commitment in a Student Social Movement," American Sociological Review 55 (April 1990): 243-254.
- *T. Smith, "Trends in Voluntary Group Membership," American Journal of Political Science 34 (August 1990): 646-661; see also response by Baumgartner and Walker, p.662-670.
- *Riker and Ordeshook, "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting," APSR 62 (March 1968): 25-42.
- *Ferejohn and Fiorina, "The Paradox of Not Voting: A Decision Theoretic Analysis," APSR 68 (June 1974): 525-536.
- *Page and Brody, "Indifference, Alienation, and Rational Decisions: The Effects of Candidate Evaluations on Turnout and the Vote," Public Choice 15 (Summer 1973): 1-17.
- *W .D. Burnham, "The Changing Shape of the American Political Universe," APSR 59 (1965):7-28; or Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics, Ch.4
- *Cassel and Luskin, "Simple Explanations of Turnout Decline," APSR 82 (December 1988): 1321-1330.

- *Henry E. Brady, et al., "Who Bowls: The (Un)Changing Stratification of Participation," in Wilcox and Norrander.
- *Nie et al., Ch.15
- *David K. Park and Carlos Vargas-Ramos, "Paradigms of Minority and Immigrant Political Participation in the United States." In Michael X. Delli Carpini, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Y. Shapiro (eds), Research in Micropolitics. Volume 6: Political Decision-Making, Deliberation and Participation. New York: JAI/Elsevier. 2002. Pp.253-293.
- *Kay Lehman Schlozman, "Citizen Participation in America; What Do We Know? Why Do We Care?" In Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner (eds.), Political Science: The State of the Discipline. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002. Pp. 433-461.
- *Morris P. Fiorina, "Parties, Participation, and Representation in America: Old Theories Face New Realities." In Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner (eds.), Political Science: The State of the Discipline. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002. Pp.511-541.
- *Donald P. Green, Alan S. Gerber, and David W. Nickerson, "Getting Out the Vote in Local Elections: Results from Six Door-to Door Canvassing Experiments." Journal of Politics 65 (4) (November 2003): 1083-1096.
- *Suzanne Lohman, "The Dynamics of Information Cascades: The Monday Demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-1991." World Politics 47 (1) (October 1994): 42-101.
- *Thomas R. Palfrey and Howard Rosenthal, "A Strategic Calculus of Voting." Public Choice 41 (1983): 7-53.
- *Thomas R. Palfrey and Howard Rosenthal, "Voter Participation and Strategic Uncertainty." American Political Science Review 79 (March 1985): 62-78.
- *Niemi and Weisberg, fourth edition, Ch.2-5.
- *Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, Voice and Equality, especially Ch.2-14,16,17
- *Verba and Nie, Participation in America, esp. Ch.2-8,11-12
- *Arthur H. Miller, et al., "Group Consciousness and Political Participation," American Journal of Political Science 25 (August 1981): 494-511.

- *Ethel Klein, Gender Politics, relevant chapters.
- *E. Hirsch, "Sacrifice for the Cause: Group Processes Recruitment, and Commitment in a Student Social Movement," American Sociological Review 55 (April 1990): 243-254.
- *T. Smith, "Trends in Voluntary Group Membership," American Journal of Political Science 34 (August 1990): 646-661; see also response by Baumgartner and Walker, p.662-670.
- **M. Olson, The Logic of Collective Action, Ch. 1-2 review
- *Riker and Ordeshook, "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting," APSR 62 (March 1968): 25-42.
- *Ferejohn and Fiorina, "The Paradox of Not Voting: A Decision Theoretic Analysis," APSR 68 (June 1974): 525-536.
- *Page and Brody, "Indifference, Alienation, and Rational Decisions: The Effects of Candidate Evaluations on Turnout and the Vote," Public Choice 15 (Summer 1973): 1-17.
- *Campbell et al., Ch.4,10
- *F. Piven and R. Cloward, Why Americans Don't Vote
- *W .D. Burnham, "The Changing Shape of the American Political Universe," APSR 59 (1965):7-28; or Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics,Ch.4
- *Cassel and Luskin, "Simple Explanations of Turnout Decline," APSR 82 (December 1988): 1321-1330.

IX. Conclusion. Remaining discussion, wrap-up. Student papers. Synthesis: Democracy in the 21st Century? (Weeks 14)

Possible Presentation and Discussion:

- L. Jacobs and B. Page, "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?" APSR 99 (February 2005): 107-123.

Dalton, Ch.12

Page and Shapiro, Ch.10

Erikson and Tedin Ch.11

Abramson, et al., Ch.11,12

- *G. Langer and J. Cohen, "Voters and Values in the 2004 Election", Public Opinion Quarterly, Special Issue, 69 (5) (2005): 744-759.
- *D. Bergan, A. Gerber, D. Green, and C. Panagopoulos, "Grassroots Mobilization and Voter Turnout," Public Opinion Quarterly, Special Issue, 69 (5) (2005): 760-777.
- *Jacobs and R. Shapiro, Ch.9-10.
- *Special Issue: Polling Politics, Media, and Election Campaigns. Public Opinion Quarterly 65 (5), 2005, several articles
- *J. Gibson and R. Duch, "Elitist Theory and Political Tolerance in Western Europe." Political Behavior 13 (September 1991): 191-212.
- *S. Bennett and D. Resnick, "The Implications of Nonvoting for Democracy in the United States," American Journal of Political Science 34 (August 1990): 771-802.

- *Hibbing and Theiss-More, Stealth Democracy
- *Milburn, Ch.10
- *Lupia and McCubbins, Ch.10
- *D. Kinder and D. Sears, "Public Opinion and Political Action," Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. by G. Lindzey and E. Aronson, Vol. 2, p.659-741.
- *Daniel Yankelovich, Coming to Public Judgment: Making Democracy Work in a Complex World
- *J. Ferejohn, "Information and the Electoral Process," in Ferejohn and Kuklinski, ed., Information and Democratic Processes. See other essays in this vol.
- *Recent analyses of "divided government," such as Gary Cox and Samuel Kernell, eds., The Politics of Divided Government, and M. Fiorina, Divided Government and D. Mayhew, Divided We Govern, second editions.
- *Writings on race and American politics, such as T. Edsall and M. Edsall, Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics; Sniderman and Piazza, The Scar of Race; Kinder and Sanders, Divided by Color; Sniderman and Carmines, Reaching Beyond Race.
- *J. Gibson and R. Duch, "Elitist Theory and Political Tolerance in Western Europe." Political Behavior 13 (September 1991): 191-212.
- *S. Bennett and D. Resnick, "The Implications of Nonvoting for Democracy in the United States," American Journal of Political Science 34 (August 1990): 771-802.
- *Benjamin Barber, Strong Democracy
- *D. Mathews, Politics for the People
- *Ronald Inglehart, Modernization and Postmodernization
- *Sears, Huddy, and Jervis, Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, Ch.18-21