



University of Glasgow | School of Social & Political Sciences

## COMPARATIVE PUBLIC OPINION

### POLITICS 5073

### Course Guide

Spring Term  
2015-16

#### Lecture

Mondays 3-4pm, 1101 ASB

#### Seminars

Mondays 4-5pm, 711 ASB

#### Lecturers:

Dr Philip Habel

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Other times by appointment

\* Except when travelling for research purposes

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Other times by appointment

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## Course Description

The course will examine and analyse public opinion in a comparative context, with particular focus on political attitudes and beliefs in the United States and Europe, but will also explore public opinion in other contexts where possible. Topics will include the conceptualisation and measurement of public opinion, mass-level political and social intolerance, civic culture and social capital, and political trust

## Aims

More specifically, we will seek...

- To explain the process of public opinion formation
- To describe and evaluate how public opinion survey research is conducted, including sampling techniques and survey questionnaire construction
- To evaluate the expression of public opinion through civil and political culture
- To explain particular phenomena like intolerance and distrust among the mass public
- To analyse public opinion data

## Intended Learning Outcomes

By the end of this course students should be able to:

- To recognize the ways in which individuals' political attitudes and beliefs are formed across political contexts
- To explain how individual level opinions are aggregated to form public opinion
- To recognize the utility of survey research, including explanations of sampling and measurement
- To assimilate and summarize public opinion data, including contrasting public preferences within and across varying political cultures
- To break down the various forces shaping and influencing public opinion such as agents of socialization, social capital, peers, the mass media, and elites
- To judge the levels of tolerance, civility, trust, and political sophistication in a given society

## Content

Every week will feature a seminar including discussion on a particular theme. There are *Required* readings for each week that will form the basis of our instruction and discussion, which are listed accordingly. There are also supplementary readings to prepare for the essays, which are listed under *Further Readings*. Please note that the literature on this topic is diverse and expansive---the instructor can help guide and direct you to readings of interests beyond what is listed here, which is admittedly, not terribly exhaustive.

**STUDENTS ARE EXPECTED TO READ IN PREPARATION FOR EACH SEMINAR SESSION.** This course uses active learning, with a high degree of participation in informed intellectual discussion in the seminars. Students must be prepared a) to discuss the substantive content of the assigned readings; b) to analyse the argument in the assigned readings; c) and to answer questions on the readings in the class discussion

## Course Requirements

- **Regular attendance and informed participation in discussion.** A record will be kept of your attendance will be taken
- **Regular reading** of at least all of the Required Readings
- **Two essays (50% each of the course grade)**

## Assessment

**Summative** assessment is based on **two essays** (50% each). The first will be submitted by 19 February at 2 PM. The second will be submitted by 19 April at 2 PM. Each essay is to be between 1800-2000 words in length, inclusive of notes, *but not the bibliography*.

Students who submit an essay that is over the word limit will be penalised: 1 point for being 10-15% over the upper limit (i.e. the penalty begins at 2200 words); 2 points for being 15-20% over the upper limit; 3 points for 20-25%; 4 points for 20-25%; etc. See the Postgraduate Student Handbook for further details about penalties.

For the **essays**, one hard copy must be handed in and one electronic copy submitted through Urkund. Before hard copy submission, you must upload your essay through Urkund (see section below). The title of your essay should be your Student ID number, so as to maintain anonymity.

Essay questions will be posted on Moodle and distributed over email as the semester progresses. Essays will be returned within a few weeks of the due date with comments and markings – albeit not vetted by the external examiner, and hence with only a provisional grade. Comments and marks will be available through Urkund.

**Formative** assessment is based on a brief essay. Students should select two related readings from the course. These should be either from the required or further readings. Students should then critically review and analyse these pieces by comparing and contrasting them. Highlight the strengths as well as the limitations of the research. The review should focus on the research questions, theory, hypotheses/expectations, data, method, and findings of the articles. Note that the two articles, which students choose to review for the formative assessment, may also be incorporated into a summative assessment. The review should be between 400-600 words. Please submit the formative assessment via email, as an attachment, to philip.habel@glasgow.ac.uk no later than 8 February. Comments on the essay will be returned to students one week later.

**Attendance** at sessions should be considered mandatory. Attendance, however, does not count toward the course grade. In terms of oral participation, it is absolutely critical to be engaged, to be able to discuss specific concepts and ideas from the readings and to link them to a class discussion, and to make comments that are thoughtful, provocative/creative, and show engagement with your classmates. Can you link the discussions to the literature? Can you bring up relevant examples from breaking news stories and other timely materials? Do your comments engage with others and advance the discussion? Students will also be able to discuss their essays in advance.

The Moodle page and Postgraduate Student Handbook should be consulted for further information about submission of assessed/non-assessed work, Urkund, marking conventions, penalties, extensions and other matters.

## Guide to essay marking

Grade	Mark	Description
A1 A2 A3 A4 A5	22 21 20 19 18	<b>Excellent performance is characterised by most but necessarily all of the following:</b> Clear, comprehensive answer that displays sound critical thinking and insights Relevant evidence and readings from the course, and perhaps beyond, are cited accurately with very few errors. All key points are addressed fully Originality, creativity, and independent judgement are present
B1 B2 B3	17 16 15	<b>Very good performance is characterised by most but not necessarily all of the following:</b> Clear answer that fully addresses the key points Sound reasoning that displays a good understanding of the subject matter Relevant evidence and course readings are used with few errors Less critical thinking, originality, and insight than in an excellent performance
C1 C2 C3	14 13 12	<b>Good performance is characterised by most but not necessarily all of the following:</b> Answer displays a basic understanding of the subject matter Evidence of reading from course materials, but some points may not be fully relevant Little in the way of an argument or critical thinking Some errors may be present
D1 D2 D3	11 10 9	<b>Satisfactory performance is characterised by most but not necessarily all of the following:</b> Only a modest understanding of the subject matter is displayed Modest evidence of reading from course materials, with the inclusion of a few relevant points Many errors may be present
E1 E2 E3	8 7 6	<b>Weak performance is characterised by most but not necessarily all of the following:</b> Failure to answer question, though there may be an answer to a similar question Little evidence of any understanding of the subject matter is displayed Significant errors may be present
F1 F2 F3	5 4 3	<b>Poor performance is characterised by most but not necessarily all of the following:</b> Failure to answer question directly Very little evidence of any understanding of the subject matter is displayed Many significant errors are likely to be present
G1 G2	2 1	<b>Very poor performance is characterised by most of the following:</b> Failure to answer question No evidence of any understanding of the subject matter is displayed
H	0	<b>Absence of positive qualities</b>

## Plagiarism and Urkund

Please refer to the Postgraduate Student Handbook and <http://www.gla.ac.uk/plagiarism/> for information about plagiarism.

In all Politics courses, you are required to upload your essay to Urkund before handing in one hard copy. Urkund is intended to support students in their avoidance of plagiarism and to support staff in its detection and prevention. Note that uploading to Urkund does NOT replace the hard-copy submission; if you do not submit the hard copy on time, your essay will be considered late and will be penalised (see the Postgraduate Student Handbook for details about penalties). Please also note that the version of the essay which is submitted to Urkund must correspond exactly to the submitted hard copy.

Information about Urkund, how to upload your work, and how to interpret your Urkund reports is available in the Postgraduate Student Handbook and in the Politics Moodle portal. Please read this material thoroughly before submission.

**All essays submitted over Urkund should use your Student ID as the title.** This is to preserve anonymity for the marking.

## Extensions

In exceptional circumstances, students may need to apply to defer their coursework deadline (or to have late penalties lifted). Extensions are to be granted only if the officer responsible for granting the extension is satisfied that the 'candidate submitting the application has been prevented by circumstances beyond his or her control from submitting the relevant work on time' (University Calendar 16.28). Extension requests will be considered only when a medical or personal problem that stands in the way of timely submission can be convincingly demonstrated. Essay deadline congestion or computer problems will NOT be considered. Again refer to the Postgraduate Student Handbook for further details.

## Readings and Session Notes

The readings for each seminar are listed in the following pages. There are typically four to five required readings per week which you **MUST** read before the seminar. The readings are listed in the order the instructor recommends reading them. The required readings will form the basis of our sessions and discussion, although at times we will pull from material from the further readings section as well.

Material included under Further Readings should be useful for drawing up for your assessments. Together with the required readings, these materials will be vital for good performance. Please note that for any work in progress (an unpublished paper), unless otherwise stated, the copyright remains with the author(s) of the piece.

If you have problems with a hyperlink below, you will find the vast majority of journals articles are available online through our university library. To have access to the full text, you will need to be on campus, or you will need to log into the library with your GUID password. For those off campus, you might need VPN access.

Students should use Moodle for access to course notes and other additional resources, which will be made available as the semester progresses.

## Course Overview

Week	Date*	Topic	Lecturer
<b>Block 1: Course Introduction: Conceptualising and Measuring Public Opinion</b>			
1	11 JAN	Thinking about Public Opinion	Habel
2	18 JAN	Measuring Public Opinion	Claassen
3	25 JAN	Innovations in Methods of Public Opinion	Habel
<b>Block 2: Public Opinion and Representation</b>			
4	1 FEB	The Effects of Public Opinion on Public Policy	Claassen
5	8 FEB	Citizen Competence and Its Implications for Democracy	Habel
<b>Block 3: Topics in Public Opinion</b>			
6	15 FEB	Civic Culture	Claassen
7	22 FEB	Euroscepticism	Claassen
8	29 FEB	Media	Habel
9	7 MAR	Racial Prejudice	Habel
10	14 MAR	Political Tolerance	Claassen
11	21 MAR	Reading Week*	

\*Week 11 (21 March) will be our designated Reading Week. However, in the event that one session is postponed for reasons of research travel or other critical work-related activity, then 21 March will be the date of the final session. Thus please leave 21 March available in your diaries.

## Course Topics and Readings

### Course Introduction: Conceptualising Public Opinion

#### Week 1 Introduction: Thinking about Public Opinion

##### Required Readings

Gunnell, John G. 2011. "Democracy and the Concept of Public Opinion" in Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobs, eds. [The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media](#) - **Ebook**

Delli Carpini, Michael X. 2011. "Constructing Public Opinion: A Brief History of Survey Research." in Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobs, eds. [The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media](#) - **Ebook**

Herbst, Susan 2011. "Critical Perspectives on Public Opinion Measurement." in Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobs, eds. [The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media](#) - **Ebook**

John Curtice. 2007. "Comparative Opinion Surveys", in [The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior](#) - **Ebook**

Berelson, Bernard. 1952. "Democratic Theory and Public Opinion." [Public Opinion Quarterly](#), 16(3): 313-330.

##### Further Readings

Erikson, Robert E. and Kent Tedin 2015 American Public Opinion 9<sup>th</sup> Edition Pearson Longman [Chapter 1](#)

Traugott, Michael 2011. "The Accuracy of Opinion Polling and Its Relation to Its Future." in Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobs, eds. [The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media](#) - **Ebook**

Select chapters of interest from the same handbook, namely Section 4 onward.

Tourangeau, Roger and Mirta Galesic. 2008. 'Conceptions of Attitudes and Opinions'. In [The Sage Handbook of Public Opinion Research](#), eds. Donsbach, Wolfgang Traugott, Michael W, London: Sage, pp. 141-54

Aldridge, Alan and Ken Levine 2001. [Surveying the Social World: Principles and Practice in Survey Research](#) Buckingham: Open University Press

##### Discussion Questions

1. What do we mean by public opinion? How do we understand it?
2. How do we measure public opinion?
3. Why did surveys arrive as the default means of assessing public opinion? What are the strengths and weaknesses of this approach?
4. What are the alternatives to measuring public opinion? How should scholars think about assessing public opinion in the digital age? Are there new tools we can use? What strengths and weaknesses would these offer?

## **Week 2: Measuring Public Opinion: Survey Instruments, Sampling**

### **Required Readings**

Gawiser, Sheldon R. and G. Evans Witt. "[20 Questions A Journalist Should Ask About Poll Results](#)" 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. National Council on Public Polls

Hillygus, D. Sunshine. 2011. "The Practice of Survey Research: Changes and Challenges." in Adam J. Berinsky, ed. [New Directions in Public Opinion](#). Routledge

Kasprzyk, Daniel. 2005. "[Measurement Error in Household Surveys: Sources and Measurement](#)" in Household Sample Surveys in Developing and Transition Countries. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Statistics Division. ST/ESA/STAT/SER.F/96

David S. Yeager, Jon A. 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](#)

### **Discussion questions**

1. What are the hallmarks of a high-quality, scientific public opinion survey?
2. Results from even the highest quality surveys can sometimes be misleading. Why?
3. How should a variable be measured using a survey questionnaire? How does this compare with the low quality surveys you typically encounter on the web?
4. What are the advantages of online surveys? What are the challenges?

### **Further Readings**

Weisberg, Herbert F. 2005. [The Total Survey Error Approach](#): Chicago

Berinsky, Adam. 2004. [Silent Voices: Public Opinion and Political Participation in America](#). Princeton University Press, Princeton: NJ.

Engel, Uwe, Ben Jann, Peter Lynn, Annette Scherpenzeel, Patrick Sturgis, eds. 2015. [Improving Survey Methods: Lessons from Recent Research](#). Routledge Press.

Krosnick, Jon A. and Stanley Presser, S. 2010. "Question and Questionnaire Design", Ch. 9 in [Handbook of Survey Research, 2nd Ed.](#)

Keeter, Scott, Courtney Kennedy, Michael Dimock, Jonathan Best, Peyton Craighill. 2006. "Gauging the Impact of Growing Nonresponse on Estimates from a National RDD Telephone Survey." [Public Opinion Quarterly](#) 70: 759-779

Asher, Herbert. 2012. [Polling and the Public: What Every Citizen Should Know](#) 8<sup>th</sup> Edition Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Keeter Scott, Jocelyn Kiley, Leah Christian, and Michael Dimock. Unpublished Manuscript. "[Perils of Polling in the 2008 Election](#)" Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Hollywood, Florida, May 14-17, 2009

Kellner, Peter. "[A Journalist's Guide to Opinion Polls](#)" British Polling Council.



Rosenfeld, Bryn, Kosuke Imai and Jacob N. Shapiro. Forthcoming. "An Empirical Validation Study of Popular Survey Methodologies for Sensitive Questions" [American Journal of Political Science](#).

### **Week 3: Innovations in Methods of Public Opinion Research**

#### **Required Readings**

Luskin, Robert et al. 2002. "Considered Opinions: Deliberative Polling in Britain." [British Journal of Political Science](#) 32: 455-487.

Fernández-Albertos, Jose and Alexander Kuo. Forthcoming. "Income Perception, Information, and Progressive Taxation: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." [Political Science Research Methods](#).

Gerber, Alan S., Donald P. Green, and Christopher W. Larimer. 2008. "Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment." [American Political Science Review](#) 102: 33-48.

Chong, Dennis and James N. Druckman. 2010. "Dynamic Public Opinion: Communication Effects over Time." [American Political Science Review](#) 104: 663-680.

+ Blair / Imai list experiment

#### **Discussion questions**

1. Several studies rely on experimental methods to measure public opinion. What are the promises and pitfalls of experimental methods?
2. What other innovative methods are employed, and how do these methods give us leverage in understanding ongoing debates and issues in political science and public opinion research?
3. Public opinion research in political science owes a debt to other disciplines such as psychology, economics, and communications. In what ways do you see theories and models from other disciplines integrated into political science? What have been the gains from doing so?

#### **Further Readings**

McDermott, Rose. 2002. "Experimental Methods in Political Science." [Annual Review of Political Science](#) 5: 31-61.

Druckman, James et al (Editors). 2011. [Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science](#). pp.1-101 especially – Ebook.

Druckman, James N, James H. Kuklinski and Lee Sigelman. 2009. "The Unmet Potential of Interdisciplinary Research: Political Psychology Approaches to Voting and Public Opinion" [Political Behavior](#) 31: 485-510.

Nickerson, David W. 2008. "Is Voting Contagious? Evidence from Two Field Experiments." [American Political Science Review](#) 102: 49-57.

Arceneaux, Kevin and David W. Nickerson. 2009. "Who Is Mobilized to Vote? A Re-Analysis of 11 Field Experiments." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 53: 1-16.

Sondheimer, Rachel M. and Donald P. Green. 2010. "Using Experiments to Estimate the Effects of Education on Voter Turnout." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 54: 174-189.

Broockman, David E. and Daniel M. Butler. Forthcoming. "The Causal Effects of Elite Position-Taking on Voter Attitudes: Field Experiments with Elite Communication." [American Journal of Political Science](#).

Paluck, Elizabeth L. and Donald P. Green. 2009. "Deference, Dissent, and Dispute Resolution: An Experimental Intervention Using Mass Media to Change Norms and Behavior in Rwanda." [American Political Science Review](#) 103: 622-644.

Dale, Allison and Aaron Strauss. 2009. "Don't Forget to Vote: Text Message Reminders as a Mobilization Tool." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 53: 787-804.

Rahn, Wendy M. et al. 2002. "Political Psychology and Political Science." In J. H. Kuklinski, ed., *Thinking About Political Psychology*. Cambridge University Press.

Kim, Young Mie and Kelly Garrett. 2012. "Online and Memory-based: Revisiting the Relationship Between Candidate Evaluation Processing Models." [Political Behavior](#) 34: 345-368.

Taber, Charles S., Damon Cann, and Simona Kucsova. 2009. "The Motivated Processing of Political Arguments." [Political Behavior](#) 31: 137-155.

Taber, Charles S. and Milton Lodge. 2006. "Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 50: 755-769.

Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, David Doherty, Conor M. Dowling, and Shang E. Ha. 2010. "Personality and Political Attitudes: Relationships across Issue Domains and Political Contexts." [American Political Science Review](#) 104: 111-133.

Hibbing, Matthew V., Melinda Ritchie, Mary R. Anderson. 2011. "Personality and Political Discussion." [Political Behavior](#) 33: 601-624.

Brooks, Deborah J. 2011. "Testing the Double Standard for Candidate Emotionality: Voter Reactions to the Tears and Anger of Male and Female Politicians." [Journal of Politics](#) 73: 597-615.

Hatemi, Peter et al. 2011. "A Genome-Wide Analysis of Liberal and Conservative Political Attitudes." [Journal of Politics](#) 73: 271-285.

## Block 2: Public Opinion and Representation

### Week 4: The Effects of Public Opinion on Public Policy and Political Outcomes

#### Required Readings

Robert Y. Shapiro. 2011. "Public Opinion and American Democracy" [Public Opinion Quarterly](#)

Gilens, Martin and Benjamin Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interests Groups, and Average Citizens." [Perspectives on Politics](#) 12: 564-581.

Jacobs, Lawrence. 1992. "The Recoil Effect: Public Opinion and Policymaking in the U.S. and Britain." [Comparative Politics](#) 24:199- 217.

Baum, Matthew A. 2013. "The Iraq Coalition of the Willing and (Politically) Able: Party Systems, the Press, and Public Influence on Foreign Policy." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 57:2: 442-58.

## Discussion questions

1. Gilens and Page employ a creative research design to test between models of mass-elite linkages and responsiveness. First, what are the models they test between, and second, what data/method do they employ?
2. The Jacobs papers is now an old one but a bit of a classic in its area. If you were to reflect on changes in the last 30 years, what implications would they have for Jacobs' analysis? In other words, what has changed, and how does it matter for representation?
3. Baum has us thinking about the role of institutions, particularly parties and the media. In part coming back to our first reading, how should we think about opinion policy linkages – do we focus on the aggregation of individual opinions through surveys, or of group activity, or of something else.
4. Public opinion is generally found to be congruent with policy. Why might we be hesitant to conclude therefore that public opinion *causes* policy?

## Further Readings

Urbinati, Nadia, and Mark E. Warren. 2008. "The Concept of Representation in Contemporary Democratic Theory." [Annual Review of Political Science](#) 11: 387-412.

Lax, Jeffrey R. and Justin H. Phillips. 2012. "The Democratic Deficit in the States." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 56(1): 148–166

Wlezien, Christopher, and Stuart N. Soroka. 2012. "Political Institutions and the Opinion-Policy Link." [West European Politics](#) 35: 1407–14032

Winters, Jeffrey A. and Benjamin I. Page. 2009. "Oligarchy in the United States?" [Perspectives on Politics](#)

Page, Benjamin. 1994. "Democratic Responsiveness? Untangling the Links between Public Opinion and Policy" [PS: Political Science and Politics](#) 27: 25-29.

Gilens, Martin. 2012. *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*.

Erikson, Robert S., Michael B. MacKuen and James A. Stimson. [The Macro-Polity](#) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Ebook**

Burstein, Paul. 2005. "Why Estimates of the Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy are Too High: Empirical and Theoretical Implications." [Social Forces](#) 84:2273-2289.

Druckman, James N., and Lawrence R. Jacobs 2006 "Lumpers and Splitters: The Public Opinion Information that Politicians Collect and Use." [Public Opinion Quarterly](#) 70 :453-476.

Grossback, Lawrence J., David A.M. Peterson, and James A. Stimson 2006 [Mandate Politics](#) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press - **Ebook**

Risse-Kappen, Thomas. 1991. "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies." [World Politics](#) 43: 479-513.

Duch, Raymond M. and R. Stevenson. 2005. "Context and the Economic Vote: A Multilevel Analysis." [Political Analysis](#) 13: 387-409.

Peterson, David A. M. 2009. "Campaign Learning and Vote Determinants." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 53: 445-460.

Huber, Gregory A. and Kevin Arceneaux. 2007. "Identifying the Persuasive Effects of Presidential Advertising." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 51: 957-977.

Greene, Kenneth F. 2011. "Campaign Persuasion and Nascent Partisanship in Mexico's New Democracy." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 55: 398-416.

Gerber et al. 2011. "How Large and Long-Lasting Are the Persuasive Effects of Televised Campaign Ads? Results from a Randomized Field Experiment." [American Political Science Review](#) 105: 135-150.

## **Week 5: Citizen Competence and Its Implications for Democracy**

### **Required Readings**

Barabas, Jason, Jennifer Jerit, William Pollock, and Carlisle Rainey. Forthcoming. "The Question(s) of Political Knowledge." [American Political Science Review](#).

Boudreau, Cheryl. 2009. "Closing the Gap: When Do Cues Eliminate Differences between Sophisticated and Unsophisticated Citizens?" [Journal of Politics](#) 71: 964-976.

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

Nyhan, Brendan, Jason Reifler, Sean Richey, and Gary Freed. 2014. "Effective Messages in Vaccine Promotion: A Randomized Trial." [Pediatrics](#). 133: 835-842.

### **Discussion questions**

1. What should our expectations be for levels of citizen competence? How much do citizens need to know?
2. Why are heuristics seen as a possible mitigator for lower levels of competence?
3. Is the cup half full or half empty when it comes to our appraisal of what citizens know?

### **Further Readings**

Boudreau, Cheryl, and Arthur Lupia. 2013. "Political Knowledge." In [Handbook of Experimental Political Science](#), eds. James Druckman, Donald P. Green, James H. Kuklinski, and Arthur Lupia. New York: Cambridge University Press 171-186

Boudrea, Cheryl and Scott A. MacKenzie. "Informing the Electorate: How Party Cues and Policy Information Affect Public Opinion about Initiatives." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 58: 48-62.

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

Goren, Paul. (2004) "Political Sophistication and Policy Reasoning: A Reconsideration" [American Journal of Political Science](#) 48: 462-478.

Gordon, Stacy B. and Gary M. Segura. 1997. "Cross-National Variation in the Political Sophistication of Individuals: Capability or Choice?" [Journal of Politics](#) 59: 126-147.

Barabas, Jason, and Jennifer Jerit. 2009. "Estimating the Causal Effects of Media Coverage on Policy-Specific Knowledge." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 53: 79-89.

Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro 1992 [The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences](#) University of Chicago Press

Enns, Peter K. and Paul M. Kellstedt. 2008. "Policy Mood and Political Sophistication: Why Everybody Moves Mood." [British Journal of Political Science](#) 38: 433-454.

Boudreau, Cheryl. 2009. "Making Citizens Smart: When do Institutions Improve Unsophisticated Citizens Decisions?" [Political Behavior](#). 31: 287-306.

Nyhan, Brendan, and Jason Reifler. 2010. "When Corrections Fail: The Persistence of Political Misperceptions." [Political Behavior](#) 32: 303-330.

Prior, Markus. 2014. "Visual Political Knowledge: A Different Road to Competence?" [Journal of Politics](#) 76: 41-57

Kahah, Dan M., Ellen Peters, Erica Cantrell Dawson, and Paul Slovic. Unpublished Manuscript. "Motivated Numeracy and Enlightened Self-Government." [Yale Law School Public Working Paper 307](#)

Shapiro, Robert Y. and Yaeli Bloch-Elkon. 2008. "Do the Facts Speak for Themselves? Partisan Disagreement as a Challenge to Democratic Competence." [Critical Review](#) 20: 115-139

Althaus, Scott. 1998. "Information Effects in Collective Preferences." [American Political Science Review](#) 92: 545-558.

Levendusky, Matthew and Neil Malhotra. Forthcoming. "Does Media Coverage of Partisan Polarization Affect Political Attitudes?" [Political Communication](#).

### Block 3: Topics in Public Opinion

#### Week 6 Civic Culture

#### Required Readings

Ronald Inglehart. 2007. "Postmaterialist Values and the Shift from Survival to Self-Expression Values", in [The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior](#)

Putnam, Robert. 1994. [Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy](#), chs. 1 and 6.

#### Discussion questions

1. What self-expression values and what are their consequences for democracy?
2. What is social capital and what are its consequences for democracy?
3. What is the relationship, if any, between social capital and self-expression?
4. What are the limitations of this civic culture approach to politics?

#### Further Readings

Inglehart, Ronald, and Christian Welzel. 2005. [Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence](#). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. -Ebook

Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba. 1963. [The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations](#). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Carles Boix and Daniel N. Posner. 1996. "Making Social Capital Work: A Review of Robert Putnam's Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy." [Harvard University Paper No. 96-4](#). June 1996

Stephen Knack. 2002. "Social Capital and the Quality of Government: Evidence from the States." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 46: 772-785

Marc J. Hetherington. 2006. [Why Trust Matters: Declining Political Trust and the Demise of American Liberalism](#). University Presses of California, Columbia and Princeton

Fitzerald, Jennifer and Jennifer Wolak. 2016. "The Roots of Trust in Local Government in Western Europe." [International Political Science Review](#) 37: 130-146.

Gotlieb, Melissa R. Rosanne M. Scholl, Travis N. Ridout, Kenneth M. Goldstein, and Dhavan V. Shah. Forthcoming. "Cumulative and Long-Term Campaign Advertising Effects on Trust and Talk." [International Journal of Public Opinion Research](#).

Dabros, Matthew S., Suzanne L. Parker and Mark W. Petersen. 2015. "Assessing the Stability of Trust in Government Across Election Periods" [Social Science Quarterly](#) 96: 996-1101.

Hooghe, March Jennifer Oser, and Sofie Marien. "A Comparative Analysis of 'Good Citizenship': A Latent Class Analysis of Adolescents' Citizenship Norms in 38 Countries." [International Political Science Review](#) 37: 115-129.

Esaiasson, Peter, Mikael Gilljam, and Mikael Persson. 2012. 'Which Decision-Making Arrangements Generate the Strongest Legitimacy Beliefs? Evidence from a Randomised Field Experiment.' [European Journal of Political Research](#) 51(6): 785-808

Letki, Natalia. 2006. "Investigating the Roots of Civic Morality: Trust, Social Capital, and Institutional Performance." [Political Behavior](#) 28(4): 305-325.

Rohrschneider, Robert. 2005. 'Institutional Quality and Perceptions of Representation in Advanced Industrial Democracies', [Comparative Political Studies](#) 38(7): 850-74.

Norris, Pippa. 1999. [Critical Citizens](#), Oxford University Press. -Ebook

See the [American Politics Research special issue](#) on the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Bowling Alone.

## **Week 7            Euroscepticism**

### **Required Readings**

Hooghe Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2004. 'Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration?' [PS: Political Science & Politics](#) 37 (3): 415-420

Vasilopolou, Sofia. 2013. "Continuity and Change in the Study of Euroscepticism: Plus ca change?" [Journal of Common Market Studies](#) 51: 153-168.

Lubbers, Marcel and Peer Scheepers. 2007. 'Explanations of Political Euro-Scepticism at the Individual, Regional and National Levels' [European Societies 9: 643- 669](#)

Daniel Stevens. 2012. Issue evolution in Britain: The Debate on European Union integration, 1964–2010. [European Journal of Political Research](#)

### Discussion questions

1. What accounts for Euroscepticism?
2. What are the implications for attitudes about Europe in the future?
3. How do Europeans feel about their system of supranational governance? Are there systematic differences of opinion across member states on this issue?
4. To what extent are Europeans switching their identities to the EU level? Are EU citizens generally supportive of their new European polity?

### Further Readings

McLaren, Lauren. 2007. "Explaining Mass-Level Euroscepticism: Identity, Interests, and Institutional Distrust" [Acta Politica 42: 233-251](#).

Sanders, David. 2014. "The Reluctant Europeans: Britain and the EU, 1973-2015. Regius Professorship Lecture, University of Essex, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a0OV-6UvYtk>

Clements, Ben. 2009. "The Sociological and Psychological Influences on Public Support for the European Union in Britain, 1983-2005." [British Politics 4\(1\): 47-82](#)

Gifford, Chris. 2006. "The Rise of Post-Imperial Populism: The Case of Right-Wing Euroscepticism in Britain." [European Journal of Political Research 45\(5\): 851-69](#).

Van Spanje, Joost and Claes de Vreese. 2011. "So What's Wrong with the EU? Motivations Underlying the Eurosceptic Vote in the 2009 European Elections" [European Union Politics 12: 405-429](#).

Bruter, Michael. 2009. "Time Bomb? The Dynamic Effect of News and Symbols on the Political Identity of European Citizens" [Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 42, No. 12, 1498-1536](#).

Sigalas, Emmanuel. 2010. "Cross-border Mobility and European Identity: The Effectiveness of Intergroup Contact During the ERASMUS Year Abroad". [European Union Politics 11 \(2\): 241-265](#).

John E. Jackson, Bogdan W. Mach, Jennifer L. Miller-Gonzalez. 2011. "Buying Support and Regime Change: The Evolution of Polish Attitudes Towards the EU and Voting between Accession and 2008." [European Union Politics 12\(2\): 147-167](#).

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2009. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus" [British Journal of Political Science 39, pp. 1–23](#).

Down, Ian; Wilson, Carole J. 2013. "A Rising Generation of Europeans? Life-Cycle and Cohort Effects on Support for 'Europe'". [European Journal of Political Research 52\(4\): 431-456](#)

Rohrschneider, Robert and Matthew Loveless. 2010. "Macro Salience: How Economic and Political Contexts Mediate Popular Evaluations of the Democracy Deficit in the European Union". [Journal of Politics 72\(4\): 1029-1045](#).

Jordi Muñoz, Mariano Torcal and Eduard Bonet. 2011. "Institutional Trust and Multilevel Government in the European Union: Congruence or compensation?" [European Union Politics 12\(4\): 551-74](#).

Elenbaas, Matthijs, Claes H. De Vreese, Hajo G. Boomgaarden et al. 2012. "The Impact of Information Acquisition on EU Performance Judgements" [European Journal of Political Research 51\(6\): 728-755](#)

Stoeckel, Florian. 2013. "Ambivalent or Indifferent? Reconsidering the Structure of EU Public Opinion." [European Union Politics 14\(1\): 23-45](#)

McLaren, Lauren M. 2006 [Identity, Interests and Attitudes to European Integration](#). Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carey, Sean. 2002. "Undivided Loyalties: Is National Identity an Obstacle to European Integration?" [European Union Politics, Vol. 3, No. 4, 387-413](#)

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2005 "Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration." [European Union Politics 6\(4\): 419-443](#).

Glencross, Andrew and Alexander Trechsel . 2011. "First or Second Order Referendums? Understanding the Votes on the EU Constitutional Treaty in Four EU Member States" [West European Politics 34:4, 755-772](#)

Hooghe, Liesbet., Gary Marks and Wilson, Carole J. Wilson . 2002. "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?" [Comparative Political Studies](#) 35: 965–89.

McLaren, Lauren. 2015. [Immigration and Perceptions of National Political Systems in Europe](#). Oxford University Press. -Ebook

## **Week 8            Media**

### **Required Readings**

Mutz, Diana. 2007. "Effects of "In-Your-Face" Television Discourse on Perceptions of a Legitimate Opposition." [American Political Science Review](#) 101: 621-636.

Nelson, Thomas., et al. 1997. "Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and Its Effect on Tolerance." [American Political Science Review](#) 91: 567-584.

Lenz, Gabriel S. and Chappell Lawson. 2011. "Looking the Part: Television Leads Less Informed Citizens to Vote Based on Candidates' Appearance." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 55: 574-589.

Mulligan, Kenneth and Philip Habel. 2011. "An Experimental Test of the Effects of Fictional Framing on Attitudes." [Social Science Quarterly](#) 92: 79-99.

### **Discussion questions**

1. What is the role of the mass media in accounting for citizens' political preferences?
2. Several studies employ the concept of framing, which has come up elsewhere in the term as well. What do we mean by framing? How do differences in frames explain political attitudes?
3. The final study explores the role of entertainment media on political attitudes. What should our expectations be for the influence of fictional information on political attitudes and beliefs?

### **Further Readings**

Mutz, Diana and Bryon Reeves. 2005. "The New Videomalaise: Effects of Televised Incivility on Political Trust." [American Political Science Review](#) 99: 1-16.



Prior, Markus. 2005. "News vs. Entertainment: How Increasing Media Choice Widens Gaps in Political Knowledge and Turnout." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 49: 577-592.

Bartels, Larry. 1993. "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure." [American Political Science Review](#) 87: 267-285.

Iyengar, Shanto and D. Kinder. 1987. [News That Matters: Television and American Opinion](#). University of Chicago Press, Chicago: IL.

Iyengar, Shanto. 1993. [Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues](#). University of Chicago Press, Chicago: IL.

Powell, Thomas E., Hajo G. Boomgaarden, Knut De Swert and Claes H. de Vreese. 2015. "A Clearer Picture: The Contribution of Visuals and Text to Framing Effects." [Journal of Communication](#) 65: 997-1017.

Mutz, Diana. 1998. [Impersonal Influence](#). Cambridge University Press, New York: NY.

Miller, Joane. and John. 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.

Mutz, Diana and Paul S. Martin. 2001. "Facilitating Communication Across Lines of Political Difference: the Role of Mass Media." [American Political Science Review](#) 95: 97-114.

Baum. 2002. "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public." [American Political Science Review](#) 96: 91-110.

## **Week 9            Racial Prejudice**

### **Required Readings**

Ditonto, Tessa M., Richard R. Lau, and David O. Sears 2013 "AMPing Racial Attitudes: Comparing the Power of Explicit and Implicit Racism Measures in 2008." [Political Psychology](#) 34: 487-510.

Iyengar, Shanto. 2013. Unpublished Manuscript. "[Racial Attitudes Toward Redistribution: A Comparative Experimental Approach](#)."

Banks, Antoine J. 2014. "The Public's Anger: White Racial Attitudes and Opinions Toward Health Care Reform." [Political Behavior](#). 36: 493-514.

Banks, Antoine J. and Heather M. Hicks. Forthcoming. "Fear and Implicit Racism: Whites' Support for Voter ID Laws" [Political Psychology](#).

Tesler, M. 2012. 'The Spillover of Racialization into Health Care: How President Obama Polarized Public Opinion by Racial Attitudes and Race.' [American Journal of Political Science](#) 56(3): 690-704.

Messing, Solomon, Maria Jabon, and Ethan Plaut. Forthcoming. "Bias in the Flesh: Skin Complexion and Stereotype Consistency in Political Campaigns." [Public Opinion Quarterly](#).

### **Discussion questions**

1. How have new media transformed contentious politics? What are the challenges journalists face?

Researchers?

2. Note that this week represents an especially good one for tying back these readings to previous sessions and questions we have raised.

### Further Readings

Duckitt, John. 2003. "[Prejudice and Intergroup Hostility.](#)" In Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology

Lehrman, Sally. 2006. "[The Implicit Prejudice.](#)" Scientific American.

White, Ismail K. 2007. "When Race Matters and When It Doesn't: Racial Group Differences in Response to Racial Cues." [American Political Science Review](#) 101: 339-354.

Sears, David O. and P. J. Henry. 2003. "The Origins of Symbolic Racism." [Journal of Personality and Social Psychology](#) 85: 259-275.

Enos, Ryan E. 2016. "What the Demolition of Public Housing Teaches Us about the Impact of Racial Threat on Political Behavior." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 60: 123-142.

Adida, Claire L., David D. Laitin, and Marie-Anne Valfort. 2010. "Identifying Barriers to Muslim Integration in France". [Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences](#) 107: 22385-22390.

Enos, Ryan D. 2014. "Causal Effect of Intergroup Contact On Exclusionary Attitudes." [Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences](#) 111: 3699-3704

Biggs, Michael and Steven Knauss. 2012. "Explaining Membership in the British National Party: A Multilevel Analysis of Contact and Threat" [European Sociological Review](#) 28: 633-646.

Kinder, Donald R. and Tali Mendelberg. 1995. "Cracks in American Apartheid: The Political Impact of Prejudice among Desegregated Whites." [The Journal of Politics](#) 57: 402-424.

Sniderman, Paul M. Louk Hagendoorn and Markus Prior. 2004. "Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities" [American Political Science Review](#) 98: 35-49.

Rocha, R.R.; Espino, R. 2009 "Racial Threat, Residential Segregation, and the Policy Attitudes of Anglos" [Political Research Quarterly](#) 62(2): 415-426

Bowyer, Benjamin T. 2009 "The Contextual Determinants of Whites' Racial Attitudes in England " [British Journal of Political Science](#) 39: 559-586

Quillian, Lincoln. 1995. "Prejudice as a Response to Perceived Group Threat: Population Composition and Anti-Immigrant and Racial Prejudice in Europe" [American Sociological Review](#) 60(4):586-611.

## Week 10

## Political Tolerance

### Required Readings

Gibson James L. 2007. "Political Intolerance in the Context of Democratic Theory." in [The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior](#)

Gibson, James. 2013. "Measuring Political Tolerance and General Support for Pro-Civil Liberties Policies: Notes, Evidence, and Cautions." [Public Opinion Quarterly](#) 77: 45-68.

van Doorn, Marjoka. 2014. "The Nature of Tolerance and The Social Circumstances in Which It Emerges." [Current Sociology Review](#)

Peffley, Mark and Robert Rohrschneider. 2003. "Democratization and Political Tolerance in Seventeen Countries: A Multi-level Model of Democratic Learning" [Political Research Quarterly](#) 56(3): 243-257.

### Discussion questions

1. What is political tolerance and how does it differ from "social", "moral" and "religious" tolerance?
2. Why is political tolerance important for democracy?
3. How should political tolerance be measured and why does it matter?
4. Are elites more tolerant than ordinary citizens?
5. Why are some individuals more tolerant than others?

### Further Readings

Claassen, Christopher and James L. Gibson. 2016. "Tolerance and Dissent in the American States", Working Paper

Peffley, Mark, Marc L Hutchison, and Michal Shamir. 2015. "The Impact of Persistent Terrorism on Political Tolerance: Israel, 1980 to 2011." [American Political Science Review](#) 109: 817-832.

Peterson, Michael Bang, Rune Slothuus, Rune Stubager and Lise Togeby. 2011. 'Freedom for All? The Strength and Limits of Political Tolerance' [British Journal of Political Science](#) 41: 581–597.

Djupe, Paul A and Brian R. Calfano. 2013. "Religious Value Priming, Threat, and Political Tolerance." [Political Research Quarterly](#) 66: 768-780.

Gibson James L. 2006. "Enigmas of Intolerance: Fifty Years after Stouffer's Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties." [Perspectives on Politics](#) 4:21-34

Gibson, James L. 1998. "A Sober Second Thought: An Experiment in Persuading Russians to Tolerate." [American Journal of Political Science](#) 42(3)

Gibson, James L. 1992. "The Political Consequences of Intolerance: Cultural Conformity and Political Freedom." [American Political Science Review](#) 86(2)

Gibson, James L. and Amanda Gouws. 2005. *Overcoming Intolerance in South Africa: Experiments in Democratic Persuasion*. Cambridge University Press.

George E. Marcus, John L. Sullivan, Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, and Sandra L. Wood. 1995. [With Malice toward Some: How People Make Civil Liberties Judgments](#). Cambridge University Press

- Fielding, David. Forthcoming. "Traditions of Tolerance: The Long-Run Persistence of Regional Variation in Attitudes towards English Immigrants." [British Journal of Political Science](#).
- Hinckley, Robert A. 2010. "Personality and Political Tolerance: The Limits of Democratic Learning in Postcommunist Europe." [Comparative Political Studies 43 \(2\): 188-207](#).
- Djupe, Paul.A.; Calfano, Brian.R. 2012. "American Muslim Investment in Civil Society: Political Discussion, Disagreement, and Tolerance." [Political Research Quarterly 65\(3\): 516-528](#).
- Bobo, Lawrence and Frederick C. Licari. 1989. "Education and Political Tolerance: Testing the Effects of Cognitive Sophistication and Target Group Affect" [Public Opinion Quarterly 53 \(3\): 285-308](#).
- Sniderman, Paul, Joseph F. Fletcher, Peter Russell, Philip E. Tetlock, and Brian Gaines. 1991. "The Fallacy of Democratic Elitism: Elite Competition and Commitment to Civil Liberties" [British Journal of Political Science 21\(3\): 349-370](#).
- Shamir, Michal and John Sullivan. 1983. "The Political Context of Tolerance: The United States and Israel" [American Political Science Review 77\(4\): 911-928](#).
- Shamir, Michal. 1991. "Political Intolerance among Masses and Elites in Israel: A Reevaluation of the Elitist Theory of Democracy" [Journal of Politics 53\(4\): 1018-1043](#).
- Green, Eva G. T., Oriane Sarrasin, Robert Baur and Nicole Fasel. Forthcoming "From Stigmatized Immigrants to Radical Right Voting: A Multilevel Study on the Role of Threat and Contact." [Political Psychology](#)