

Political Science 252: Public Opinion and Participation, Spring 2015

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Hours: Tues 10:30-12:00

Wed 1:30-3:00

In this course, we will read the literature on individual political behavior in the United States. We will discuss the nature and consequences of the public's understanding of politics, the nature of ideology and values, tolerance, public opinion, participation, and voting.

The course requirements are: (1) a term paper, which may be a research paper, a critical review and synthesis of the literature, or a prospectus and research design; (2) two short (4-5 pp) critical reviews of portions of the weekly readings--one of which will be on Alan Abramowitz, *The Disappearing Center* and Morris Fiorina and Samuel Abrams, *Disconnect*; (3) class participation, including presentations of the literature; (4) presentation of your term paper to the class; and (5) participation in the class research project. Term papers may be coauthored if they are original research papers.

All of the readings are on reserve in the library. The following books are required:

Alan Abramowitz, *The Disappearing Center: Engaged Citizens, Polarization, and American Democracy*

Morris Fiorina with Samuel Abrams, *Disconnect: The Breakdown of Representation in American Politics*

Jan Leighley and Jonathan Nagler, *Who Votes Now?*

Milton Lodge and Charles Taber, *The Rationalizing Voter*

Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto, *Change They Can't Believe In*

Sidney Verba et al., *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*

The readings marked with * are additional recommended reading. The following abbreviations are used for journals:

APSR: *American Political Science Review*

AJPS: *American Journal of Political Science*

POQ: *Public Opinion Quarterly*

Weekly Topics

1. Introductory Discussion: Measuring Public Opinion (Jan 5)

Demonstration of <http://sda.berkeley.edu/>

Discussion of scaling methods (Cronbach's alpha, principal components, IRT)

* Michael Nering, *Polytomous Item Response Theory Models*

* Edward Carmines and Richard Zeller, *Reliability and Validity Assessment*

* Jae-On Kim and Charles Mueller, *Factor Analysis*

2. Knowledge, Belief Systems, Ideologies, and Values (Jan 12)

Michael Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, "Stability and Change in the US Public's Knowledge of Politics," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 55 (1991): 583-612.

Michael Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*, chap. 6, "Consequences of Knowledge and Ignorance."

Eric Smith, *The Unchanging American Voter*, chap. 3

Dennis Chong et al., "When Self-interest Matters." *Political Psychology*, 22 (2001): 541-70.

Kristy Michaud et al., "The Relationship between Cultural Values and Political Ideology, and the Role of Political Knowledge." *Political Psychology*, 30 (2009): 27-42, 2009.

Dana Carney, et al., "The Secret Lives of Liberals and Conservatives: Personality Profiles, Interaction Styles, and the Things They Leave Behind." *Political Psychology*, 29 (2008): 807-40.

* Scott Althaus, *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics*

* Eric Smith, *The Unchanging American Voter*

* Jennifer Hochschild, *What's Fair? American Beliefs about Distributive Justice*

* W. Russell Neuman, Marion Just, and Ann Crigler, *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*

* Jane Mansbridge, "The Rise and Fall of Self-Interest in the Explanation of Political Life," in J. Mansbridge (ed), *Beyond Self-Interest*

* George Marcus et al., *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*

3. Public Opinion, Learning, Persuasion and Framing (week of Jan 19)

Milton Lodge and Charles Taber, *The Rationalizing Voter*

John Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, 1992), chaps 2-3, 6-8

Petty, Richard E., and Duane T. Wegener. 1999. "The Elaboration Likelihood Model: Current Status and Controversies." In Shelly Chaiken and Yaacov Trope (eds.), *Dual-Process Theories in Social Psychology*. New York: Guilford Press, 41-72.

Chong, Dennis, and James N. Druckman. 2007. "Framing Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10 (1): 103-26.

Chong, Dennis, and James N. Druckman. 2013. "Counterframing Effects." *Journal of Politics* 75: 1-16.

Druckman, James N., Erik Peterson, and Rune Slothuus. 2013. "How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation." *American Political Science Review* 107: 57-79.

* Christopher Achen, "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response." *APSR* 69 (1985): 1218-31.

* Howard Schuman & Stanley Presser, *Questions & Answers in Attitude Surveys*

* Stanley Feldman, "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: the Role of Core Beliefs and Values." *AJPS* 32 (May 1988): 416-40.

- *Paul Sniderman et al, *Reasoning and Choice*
- * Benjamin Page & Robert Shapiro, *The Rational Public*
- * Ronald Inglehart, "Political Value Orientations," in M. Kent Jennings et al., *Continuities in Political Action*
- * Ronald Inglehart, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Democracies*

4. Presidential Voting (Jan 26)

- Gregory Markus & Philip Converse, "A Dynamic Simultaneous Equation Model of the Electoral Choice" *APSR*, 73 (1979):1055-70
- Morris Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*, chap 1, pp. 44-47, and chaps 4 and 8
- Stuart Elaine Macdonald and George Rabinowitz, "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review*, 83 (1989): 93-121.
- James Enelow and Melvin Hinich, *The Spatial Theory of Voting*, chaps 2-3
- Frank Davis and Albert Wurth, "Voting Preferences and the Environment in the American Electorate" *Society & Natural Resources* 16 (2003): 729-40.
- * Warren Miller and Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter*
 - * Samuel Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter*
 - * Steven Rosenstone et al., *Third Parties in America*, 2nd ed.
 - * Larry Bartels, *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*
 - * James Enelow and Melvin Hinich, *The Spatial Theory of Voting*

5. Congressional Voting (Feb 2)

- Jon Krasno, *Challengers, Competition and Reelection*, chaps
- Eric Smith and Richard Fox, "The Electoral Fortunes of Women Candidates for Congress." *Political Research Quarterly*, 54 (2001): 205-21.
- Bruce Keith et al, *The Myth of the Independent Voter*, pp. 1-9 and chaps 4-5
- Morris Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in America*, chap 5
- * Gary Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*
 - * Gary Jacobson, & Samuel Kernell, *Strategy & Choice in Congressional Elections*, 2/e
 - * Kim Kahn & Patrick Kenney, *The Spectacle of U.S. Senate Campaigns*
 - * Matthew Baum and Philip Potter, "The Relationships between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11 (2008): 39-65.
 - * Stanley Feldman and John Zaller, "The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State." *AJPS* 36 (Feb 1992): 268-307.
 - * Chen, Serena, and Shelly Chaiken. 1999. "The Heuristic-Systematic Model in Its Broader Context." In Shelly Chaiken and Yaacov Trope (eds.), *Dual-Process Theories in Social Psychology*. New York: Guilford Press, 73-96.

6. Tolerance and Civil Liberties (Feb 9)

John L. Sullivan, et al., "An Alternative Conceptualization of Political Tolerance," *APSR*, 73 (Sep 1979): 781-94.

Paul Sniderman et al, *Reasoning and Choice*, chaps 4, 5, 12, 13

Dennis Chong, "How People Think, Reason, and Feel about Rights and Liberties," *AJPS* 37 (Aug 1993): 867-99.

Bob Altemeyer, "Highly Dominating, Highly Authoritarian Personalities." *Journal of Social Psychology*, 144 (2004): 421-447

Stephen Craig et al., "Core Values, Value Conflict, and Citizens' Ambivalence about Gay Rights," *Political Research Quarterly*, 58 (2005): 5-17.

Donald Haider-Markel and Mark Joslyn, "Beliefs about the Origins of Homosexuality and Support for Gay Rights," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 72 (2008): 291-310.

Ken Wald et al., "The Politics of Gay Rights in American Communities." *American Journal of Political Science*, 40 (1996): 1152-78.

* Bob Altemeyer, *The Authoritarian Specter*

* James Kuklinsky et al., "The Cognitive and Affective Bases of Political Tolerance Judgments." *AJPS*, 35 (February 1991): 1-27.

* Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," *APSR*, 58 (1964): 361-82.

* Herbert McClosky and Giuseppe DiPalma, "Personality and Conformity: The Learning of Political Attitudes," *APSR*, 64 (1970): 1059-73.

* Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill, *Dimensions of Tolerance*

* Howard Schuman, et al., *Racial Attitudes in America*

7. The Tea Party and the Rise of Conservatives (Feb 16)

Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto, *Change They Can't Believe In*

* Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*

* Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson, *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*

8. Public Opinion and Representation (Feb 23)

Alan Abramowitz, *The Disappearing Center*

Morris Fiorina and Samuel Abrams, *Disconnect*

9. Participation (March 2)

Sidney Verba, Kay Schlozman, & Henry Brady, *Voice and Equality*

* Kay Schlozman, Sidney Verba, & Henry Brady, *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*

* Hahrie Han, *Moved to Action*

* Paul Abramson et al, *Change & Continuity in the 2012 Elections*, chap 4

* Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital" *Journal of Democracy*, 6 (1995): 65-78.

10. Voting Turnout and Equality (March 9)

Jan Leighley and Jonathan Nagler, *Who Votes Now?*

* Larry Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*

* Steven Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*