

Government 527: Public Opinion and Political Behavior:

Spring, 2006

Professor Clyde Wilcox	ICC 679	Hours: Th 11-1 and by appt
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This course will introduce students to theories, concepts, methods, and the literature on public opinion and political behavior in the U.S. and abroad. This is the single most studied topic in all of political science, so the syllabus will cover only a small sampling of readings and topics.

Students are expected to complete the readings each week and to be prepared to discuss them; course participation figures prominently in the final grade. The course will be run as a seminar.

Books: The following books are available for purchase in the bookstore.



Norrander and Wilcox, *Understanding Public Opinion* (2nd edition). Washington, DC: CQ Press. 2002.##

Neimi and Weisberg, *Controversies in Voting Behavior* (4th edition). Washington, DC: CQ Press. 2001.

Royalties from this book will be contributed to charity.

Additional readings are on reserve in the library, indicated by an *.

Grading:

Class discussion	25%	Paper	25%
Book reports	20%	Final	30%

Students are expected to produce 2 book reports that will be presented orally in class and distributed to all students. These reports will help students prepare for comprehensive exams. I have a list of potential books listed for each week, but students can chose other books with my approval, and are encouraged to do so. The oral book review will be no more than 5 minutes,

and will be given in the class session where the topic is discussed.

Students will also write a 20-25 page class paper, either a review of relevant literature, or a research paper. I encourage you to consult with me about your topic and ongoing writing. This is a field in which graduate publications are common, so if you have research skills I encourage you to try for a publication with a research paper. I am happy to continue to work with you after the term ends to help you place a strong paper and to find a suitable outlet for publication.

Readings. * indicates readings on reserve in Lauinger, or distributed in class. Please check with instructor if readings are unavailable. Most journal articles can be accessed through JSTOR, either on or off campus.

Journal abbreviations:

APSR = American Political
Science Review

PRQ = Political Research
Quarterly

AJPS = American Journal of
Political Science

POQ = Public Opinion
Quarterly

JOP = Journal of Politics

APQ = American Politics
Quarterly

January 12 Overview of the Public Opinion and Political Behavior

Neimi and Weisberg, *Controversies* Chapter 1.

Norrander and Wilcox, *Understanding Public Opinion* Chapter 1, Appendix

January 19 Major Theoretical Approaches

Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* Chapter 2*

Rossi, Peter. 1959. Four Landmarks in Voting Research. In Eugene Burdick and Arthur Brodbeck (eds). *American Voting Behavior*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Philip Converse, "The Nature of Mass Belief Systems." in David Apter (ed) *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: Free Press (note, this is widely reprinted).

Milton Lodge, et al. "Where is the Schema? Going beyond the "S" Word in Political Psychology." And subsequent comments. *APSR* December, 1991, 1341-1382.

John Zaller and Stanley Feldman, "A Simple Theory of Survey Response: Answering Questions versus Revealing Preferences." *AJPS* 36: 579-616. 1992.

Brady, Henry, and Paul Sniderman. 1985. "Attitude Attribution: A Group Basis for Political Reasoning." *APSR* 79:1061-1078.

Miller, Joanne M., and David A. M. Peterson. 2004. "Theoretical and Empirical Implications of Attitude Strength." *JOP* 66:847-867.

January 26 Sources of Public Opinion: Religion

Wilcox and Larson, "Prayers, parties and preachers: The evolving nature of political and religious mobilization." Forthcoming, in Matthew Wilson, Religion and Political Mobilization.*
 Wald, Silverman and Fridy, 2003. "Making Sense of Religion in Political Life." APSA paper*
 Wald, Owen, and Hill. "Churches as Political Communities." APSR 82: 531-548.1990
 Goeffrey C. Layman and Edward G. Carmines. 1997. "Cultural Conflict in American Politics: Religious Traditionalism, Postmaterialism, and U.S. Political Behavior." JOP 59: 751-777.
 Welch and Leege, "Dual Reference Groups and Political Orientations: An Examination of Evangelically Oriented Catholics. AJPS 35: 28-56.
 Calhoun-Brown, "This Side of Jordon: Black Churches and Partisan Political Attitudes." in Norrander and Wilcox, Ch 3.
 Guth, Green, Smidt, and Kellstedt "Faith and the Environment: Religious Beliefs and Attitudes on Environmental Policy," AJPS, 39 364-382.
 Wilcox, "Feminism and Anti-Feminism Among White Evangelical Women." Western Political Quarterly. 42: 147-160. 1989.

Book reviews: Green, Guth, Smidt, and Kellstedt, *Religion and the Culture Wars*. (Rowman and Littlefield) Wood, *Faith in Action: Religion, Race, and Democratic Organizing in America*. (University of Chicago) Geoffrey Layman, *The Great Divide, Religious and Cultural Politics in American Party Politics*. (Columbia) Harris, *Something Within: Religion in African-American Political Activism* (Oxford), Leege, Wald, Krueger, and Mueller, *The Politics of Cultural Differences* (Princeton) Jelen and Wilcox, *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge), Jelen and Wilcox, *Public Attitudes on Church and State* (M.E. Sharpe), Leege and Kellstedt, *Rediscovering the Religious Factor in American Politics*.

Feb 2 Sources of Public Opinion: Gender

Shapiro and Majahan, "Gender Differences in Policy Preferences" POQ 50 (1986).
 Conover, "Feminism and the Gender Gap" JOP 50: 985-1010. (1988)
 Cook and Wilcox, "Feminism and the Gender Gap: A Second Look." JOP 53: 1111- 1122. (1991)
 Wilcox, Clyde. 1991. "The Causes and Consequences of Feminist Consciousness in West Europe. Comparative Political Studies 23: 519-545.
 Sapiro, "It's the Context, Situation, and Question, Stupid: The Gender Basis of Public Opinion." in Norrander and Wilcox, Ch 1.
 Schlesinger and Heldman, "Gender Gap or Gender Gaps: New Perspectives on Support for Government Action and Policies." JOP 63: 59-92.
 Burns, Schlozman and Verba. "The Public Consequences of Private Inequality: Family Life and Citizen Participation". APSR 91: pp. 373-389
 Wilcox, Hewitt and Allsop. "The Gender Gap in Attitudes Toward the Gulf War? A Cross National Perspective." (with Lara Hewitt and Dee Allsop). Journal of Peace Research 33: 67-82.
 Kaufmann, Karen, and John Petrocik. "The Changing Politics of American Men: Understanding the Sources of the Gender Gap." AJPS 43: 864-887.

Book reviews: Tolleson Rinehart, *Gender Consciousness and Politics* (Routledge); Young, *Feminists and Party Politics* (University of British Columbia Press); Harvey, *Votes without Leverage* (Cambridge), Dolan, *Voting for Women* (Westview), Klein, *Gender Politics* (Harvard), Katzenstein and Mueller, *The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe* Temple; Sanbonmatsu, *Democrats, Republicans, and the Politics of Women's Place: Where Women Run : Gender and Party in the American States*; Wollbrecht, *The Politics of Women's Rights: Parties, Positions, and Change*

Feb 9 -- TBA

Feb 16: Content of Public Opinion: Trust and Tolerance Attitudes Toward Government

Mishler and Rose. "Public Support for Post-Communist Transitions in Central and Eastern Europe. Norrander and Wilcox, Ch 15
 Sullivan, Pierson and Markus, "An Alternative Conceptualization of Political Tolerance: Illusory Increases, 1950s-1970s." APSR 73: 781-794.
 Mondak, Jeffery J., Mitchell S. Sanders. 2003. "Tolerance and Intolerance: 1976-1998." American Journal of Political Science 47:492-502.
 Kuklinski, Riggle, Ottati, and Schwartz, "The Cognitive and Affective Bases of Political Tolerance Judgements." AJPS 35: 1-27. (1991)
 Gibson, "The Political Consequences of Intolerance: Cultural Conformity and Political Freedom." APSR 86: 338-356. (1992)
 Gibson, "The Structure of Attitudinal Intolerance in the US" BJPS 19: 562-570.
 Gibson and Duch, "Political Intolerance in the USSR." Comparative Political Studies 26: 286-329.
 Davis, Darren W., and Brian D. Silver. 2004. "Civil Liberties vs. Security: Public Opinion in the Context of the Terrorist Attacks on America." American Journal of Political Science 48:28-46.
 Hibbing, "The People's Craving for Unselfish Government" in Norrander and Wilcox, Ch 14.
 Hetherington, Marc J. 1998. "The Political Relevance of Political Trust." APSR 92:791-808
 Rahn and Rudolph, "Trust in Local Governments" in Norrander and Wilcox, Ch 13

Book Reviews: Hibbing, Theiss-Morse, Kuklinski, and Chong. *What is it about Government that Americans Dislike?* Cambridge. Hibbing and Theiss-Morse, *Congress as Public Enemy* (Cambridge). Hetherington, *Why Trust Matters* (Princeton), Richard Brody, *Assessing the President* (Stanford), Marcus et al. *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*, Heatherington, *Why Trust Matters*.

Feb 23 The Content of Public Opinion II: Social Issues

Wilcox and Norrander, "Of Moods and Morals: The Dynamics of Opinion on Abortion and Gay Rights." In Norrander and Wilcox, Ch 6.
 Franklin, Charles H., and Liane C. Kosaki. 1989. Republican Schoolmaster: The U.S. Supreme Court, Public Opinion, and Abortion. APSR 83: 751-771

Alvarez, R. Michael, and John Brehm. 1995. American Ambivalence Toward Abortion Policy: Development of a Heteroskedastic Probit Model of Competing Values, *AJPS* 39: 1055-1082.

Cook, Jelen, and Wilcox, 1993 Measuring Abortion Attitudes: Methodological and Substantive Lessons From the CBS/New York Times Surveys, *Family Planning Perspectives* 25: 118-121, 145.*

Jelen and Wilcox, *Causes and Consequences of Attitudes toward Abortion: A Review and Research Agenda*. *PRQ* 56: pp. 489-500

Layman and Carsey, 1998. Why Do Party Activists Convert? An Analysis of Individual-Level Change on the Abortion Issue, *Political Research Quarterly* 31: 723-740.

Brewer, "The Shifting Foundations of Public Opinion About Gay Rights." *JOP* 65: 2003.

Bailey, Sigelman and Wilcox, "Presidential Persuasion on an "Easy" Issue: A Two-Way Street?" *Political Research Quarterly*. 56: 49-58. 2003.

Nelson, T. E., Clawson, R. A., & Oxley, Z. M. (1997). Media framing of a civil liberties conflict and its effect on tolerance. *American Political Science Review*, 91, 567-83.

Wilcox, Brewer, Shanes, and Lake. 2005. "Public Opinion and Same-sex Marriage." Unpublished manuscript.*

Book Reviews Luker, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood* (University of California) Ferree, Gamson, et al. *Shaping Abortion Discourse : Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States* (Cambridge) Maxwell: *Pro-Life Activists in America: Meaning, Motivation, and Direct Action* Moats: *Civil Wars: A Battle for Gay Marriage* (Harcourt). Rimmerman, Wald, and Wilcox, *The Politics of Gay Rights* (Chicago),

March 2 Ideology and Sophistication

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

Nie and Andersen, "Mass Belief Systems Revisited" *JOP* 36: 540-591. (1974)

Sullivan, Pierson and Marcus, "Ideological Constraint in the Mass Public: A Methodological Critique" *AJPS* 22: 333-349. (1978)

Neimi and Weisberg, chapters 6-9

Peffley and Hurwitz, "A Hierarchical Model of Attitude Constraint." *AJPS* 29: 871-890. (1985)

Jacoby, William G. 1995. "The Structure of Ideological Thinking in the American Electorate." *AJPS* 39:314-335.

Conover and Feldman. 1981. "The Origins and Meaning of Liberal-Conservative Identification." *AJPS* 25:850-870.

Jacoby, "Core Values and Political Attitudes" in Norrander and Wilcox, Ch 8.

Leighley, "Participation as a Stimulus in Political Conceptualization." *JOP* 53: 198-211. (1991)

Goren, Paul. 2004. "Political Sophistication and Policy Reasoning: A Reconsideration." *AJPS* 48: 462-478.

Mondak and Anderson. 2004. "The Knowledge Gap: A Reexamination of Gender-based Differences in Political Knowledge." *JOP* 66:492-512.

Book Reviews: Sniderman, et al. *Reasoning and Choice* (Cambridge), Delli Carpini and Keeter, *What Americans Know about Politics and Why it Matters*, Hochschild, *What's Fair*, Page and Shapiro *The Rational Public*, Lupia et al. *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What they Need to Know?* (Cambridge)

March 9 -- SPRING BREAK

March 16 Partisanship

"How Much does Politics Affect Partisan Identification" in Neimi and Weisberg, Ch 17.

Allsop and Weisberg, "Change in Party Identification in an Election Campaign." *AJPS* 32: 996-1017. 1988.

Erikson, MacKuen, and Stimson. "Macropartisanship: The Permanent Memory of Partisan Evaluation" in Neimi and Weisberg

Green, Palmquist and Schickler, "Partisan Stability: Evidence from Aggregate Data." in Neimi and Weisberg, Ch 19.

Norrander, "The Independence Gap and the Gender Gap". *POQ* 61: pp. 464-476

Richardson, "European Party Loyalties Revisited." *APSR* Sept, 1991.

Barnes, McDonough, and Lopez Pina. "The Development of Partisanship in New Democracies: The Case of Spain." *AJPS* 29: 695-721.

Miller and Klobucar, "The Development of Party Identification in Post-Soviet Societies." *AJPS* 44: 667-796,

Book Reviews: Donald Green, et al. *Partisan Hearts and Minds* (Yale), Erikson et al, *The Macro Polity* (Cambridge), Mayhew, *Electoral Realignments* (Yale, 2002), Franklin, *Electoral change. Responses to evolving social and attitudinal structures in western societies*, Cambridge

March 23 Voter turnout

"Why is Voter Turnout Low" in Neimi and Weisberg, Ch 2.

Downs, *An Economic Chapter of Democracy* Ch 14.

Putnam "Tuning in, Tuning out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America" in Neimi and Weisberg, Ch 3.

Rosenstone and Hansen, "Solving the Puzzle of Participation in Electoral Politics." in Neimi and Weisberg, Ch 4.

Franklin, "Electoral Participation" in Neimi and Weisberg, Ch 5.

Powell, 1986. "American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective." *APSR* 80:17-43.

Brady, Schlozman, Verba, and Elms. "Who Bowls? The (Un)Changing Stratification of Participation in Norrander and Wilcox, Ch 10.

Gerber, Alan, and Donald P. Green. 2000. "The Effects of Personal Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment." *APSR* 94: 653-664.

Imai, "Do Get-Out-the-Vote Calls Reduce Turnout? The Importance of Statistical Methods in Field Experiments." *APSR* 005 (note yet on JSTOR)

(<http://www.princeton.edu/~kimai/research/matching.html>)

Karp, Jeffrey A., and Susan A. Banducci. 2000. "Going Postal: How All-Mail Elections Influence Turnout," in *Political Behavior* 22:223-239. CD

Knack, Stephen, and James White. 2000. "Election Day Registration and Turnout Inequality." *Political Behavior* 22:29-44

Book Reviews: Rosenstone and Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*, Piven and Cloward *Why Americans Still Don't Vote and Why Politicians Want it That Way*, Franklin, *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition (Cambridge)*

March 30 Issue Voting

Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1980. "The Two Faces of Issue Voting." *APSR* 74:78-91.

Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1986. "On the Structure and Sequence of Issue Evolution." *APSR* 80:901-920.

Abramowitz, Alan I. 1994. "Issue Evolution Reconsidered: Racial Attitudes and Partisanship in the U.S. Electorate." *AJPS* 38:1-24.

Adams, Greg. 1997. "Abortion: Evidence of Issue Evolution." *AJPS* 31:

Aldrich, Sullivan, and Borgida, "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates `Waltz before a Blind Audience?'" *APSR* 63 (1989): 123-141

Abramowitz, Alan. 1995. "It's Abortion, Stupid." *JOP* 57: 176-196.

Elizabeth Cook, Ted Jelen, and Clyde Wilcox. 1994. "Issue Voting in Gubernatorial Elections: Abortion and Post-Webster Politics." *JOP*. 56: 187-199. 1994.

Matthew Wilson and Brad Gomez, "Political Sophistication and Economic Voting in the American Electorate *AJPS* 45: 899-914 (2001).

Rabinowitz, George, and Stuart Elaine MacDonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting," *APSR* 83:93-121

Westholm, Anders. 1997. "Distance versus Direction: The Illusory Defeat of the Proximity Theory of Electoral Choice," *APSR* 91:865-883

Markus, Gregory B., 1988. "The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on the Presidential Vote: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis." *AJPS* 32:137-154.

MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1992. "Peasants or Bankers? The American Electorate and the U.S. Economy," *APSR* 86:597-611

Alvarez, R. Michael, and Jonathan Nagler. 1998. "Economics, Entitlements, and Social Issues: Voter Choice in the 1996 Presidential Election." *AJPS* 42:1349-1363.

Book Reviews, Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University.

Fiorina, Morris. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven: Yale.

April 6 Candidate Evaluation

*Marcus, George. 1988. "The Structure of Emotional Response: 1984 Presidential Candidates."

APSR 82:737-762.

Holbrook, Krosnick, Visser, Gardner, and Cacioppo, "Attitudes toward Presidential Candidates and Political Parties." *AJPS* 45: 930-950. 2001.

Rahn, Wendy, John H. Aldrich, and Eugene Borgida. 1994. "Individual and Contextual Variations in Political Candidate Appraisal." *APSR* 88:193-199*

Lavine, "The Electoral Consequences of Ambivalence Toward Presidential Candidates." *AJPS* 45: 915-929. 2002.

Lodge, Steenbergen, and Brau. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation." in Neimi and Weisberg, Ch 13.

Bianco, William T. 1998. "Different Paths to the Same Result: Rational Choice, Political Psychology, and Impression Formation in Campaigns." *AJPS* 42:1061-1081.

Funk, Carolyn. 1999. "Bringing the Candidate into Models of Candidate Evaluation," *JOP* 61: 700-720.

McCurley, Carl and Jeffrey J. Mondak. 1995. "Inspected by #1184063113: The Influence of Incumbents' Competence and Integrity in U.S. House Elections." *AJPS* 39: 864-85.

Matland Richard E. 1994. "Putting Scandinavian Equality to the Test - an Experimental Evaluation of Gender Stereotyping of Political Candidates in a Sample of Norwegian Voters." *BJPS* 24 (2, April): 273-292.

April 13 EASTER BREAK

April 20 Presidential Election Voting, pulling it all together

"What Determines the Vote" Neimi and Weisberg, Ch 10.

Miller and Shanks. "Multiple-Stage Explanation of Political Preference." in Niemi and Weisberg, Ch 12.

Page, Benjamin I. and Calvin C. Jones. 1979. "Reciprocal Effects of Policy Preferences, Party Loyalties, and the Vote." *APSR* 73:1071-1090.

Markus, Gregory B. and Philip E. Converse. 1979. "A Dynamic Simultaneous Equation Model of Electoral Choice." *APSR* 73:1055-1070.

Beck, Paul Allen, Russell J. Dalton, Steven Greene, and Robert Huckfeldt. 2002. "The Social Calculus of Voting: Interpersonal, Media, and Organizational Influences on Presidential Choices," in *APSR* 96:57-73

Rapoport, Ronald, Walter Stone, and Alan Abramowitz, 1990. "Sex and the Caucus Participant." *AJPS* 21: 711-730.

Morton, Rebecca, and Kenneth Williams. 1998. "Information Asymmetries and Simultaneous versus Sequential Voting." *APSR* 93: 51-68.

Redlawsk, David P. 2001. "You Must Remember This: A Test of the On-Line Model of Voting," in *JOP* 63:29-58.

Campbell and Monson, "The Case of Bush's Re-election: Did Same-sex Marriage do it?"
http://americandemocracy.nd.edu/working_papers/files/case_of_bushs_reelection.pdf

April 27 Campaign Effects

- Lau, Richard, Lee Sigelman, Caroline Heldman, and Paul Babbitt. 1999. "The Effects of Negative Political Advertisements: A Meta-Analytic Assessment." *APSR* 93: 851-876.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin, and Patrick J. Kenney. 1999. "Do Negative Campaigns Mobilize or Suppress Turnout? Clarifying the Relationship between Negativity and Participation." *APSR* 93: 877-890.
- Wattenberg, Martin, and Craig Leonard Brians. 1999. "Negative Campaign Advertising: Demobilizer or Mobilizer?" *APSR* 891-900.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Shanto Iyengar, and Adam Simon. 1999. "Replicating Experiments Using Aggregate and Survey Data: The Case of Negative Advertising and Turnout." *APSR* 93: 901-910.
- Goldstein, Ken and Paul Freedman. 2002. "Campaign Advertising and Voter Turnout: New Evidence for the Stimulation Effect," with Paul Freedman. *JOP* 64 (3). 721-740.
- Hernnson, Lay and Stokes. "Women Running 'as Women': Candidate Gender, Campaign Issues, and Voter Targeting Strategies:." *JOP* 65: 244-255.
- Kahn, Kim Friedkin. 1994 "Does Gender Make a Difference? An Experimental Examination of Sex Stereotypes and Press Patterns in Statewide Campaigns." *AJPS* 38: 162-195.
- Kahn, and Kenney, 2002. "How Editorial Endorsements Influence Campaign Coverage and Citizen's Views of Candidates". *APSR*: 381-394.