



POLITICAL SCIENCE 210

PUBLIC OPINION

Additional Readings from Lecture (not required)

I. Fundamentals

The Meaning of Public Opinion in a Democratic Society

- Herbert Asher. (2010). *Polling and the Public*, Washington, DC: CQ Press, Chapters 3-5, p. 63-136
- Walter Lippmann. (1922/1997). *Public Opinion*, New York: Free Press. (chs. 1, 6)
- Herbert Blumer. (1948). "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling." *American Sociological Review* 13: 542-554.
- V.O.Key. (1961/1967). *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. Knopf Press. (ch. 1) p. 3-18.
- Sidney Verba. (2003). "Would the Dream of Political Equality Turn out to be a Nightmare?" *Perspectives on Politics* 1: 663-679.

Measuring Public Opinion

Taeku Lee (2002). *Mobilizing Public Opinion*. University of Chicago Press. (ch. 3) p. 71-90

- Adam Berinsky (2002). "Silent Voices: Social Welfare Policy Opinions and Political Equality in America." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(2): 276-287.

Attitudes, Sophistication, & Competence

- Asher, Herbert (2010). *Polling and the Public*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, (ch. 2), p. 37-62.
- Delli Carpini, Michael X., & Keeter, Scott. (1996). *What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Page, Benjamin and Shapiro, Robert (1992). *The Rational Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lane, Robert E. (1962). *Political Ideology*, pp. 13-25, 57-81, 346-363.
- Converse, Philip E. (1964). "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In Apter (ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: Free Press. (p. 206-261)
- Michael Bang Petersen & Lene Aaroe. (2013). "Politics in the Mind's Eye: Imagination as a Link between Social and Political Cognition." *American Political Science Review* 107: 275-293.
- Matthew Baum. (2002). "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public." *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 91-109.

How Information Shapes Political Choice

- Larry Bartels. (2005). "Homer Gets a Tax Cut: Inequality and Public Policy in the American Mind." *Perspectives on Politics* 3(1): 15-31.
- James Druckman, Jordan Fein, & Thomas Leeper. "A Source of Bias in Public Opinion Stability." *American Political Science Review* 106: 430-454.

Party Identification

- Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. (1960). *The American Voter*. (ch. 6-7)

- Larry Bartels. (2000). "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(1): 35-50.
- Kam, Cindy D. (2005). "Who Ties the Party Line?: Cues, Values, and Individual Differences." *Political Behavior* 27(2): 163-82.
- James Druckman, Erik Peterson, & Rune Slothus. (2013). "How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation." *American Political Science Review*, 107(1): 57-79.
- John Zaller. (1992). *The Nature and Origin of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Morris Fiorina. (1981). *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. (ch. 5) pp. 84-105.
- Christopher Achen. (2002). "Parental Socialization and Rational Party Identification." *Political Behavior* 24: 151-70.
- Charles Franklin & John Jackson. (1983). "The Dynamics of Party Identification." *American Political Science Review* 77(4): 957-73.
- Gary Jacobson. (2006). *A Divider, Not a Uniter: George W. Bush and the American People*.
- Michael MacKuen, Robert Erikson, & James Stimson. (1989). "Macropartisanship." *American Political Science Review* 83: 1125-1142.
- Alan Gerber, Gregory Huber, David Doherty, Conor Dowling, & Shang Ha. (2010). "Personality and Political Attitudes: Relationships across Issue Domains and Political Contexts." *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 111-133.
- Douglas Oxley, et al. (2008). "Political Attitudes Vary with Physiological Traits." *Science*
- John Alford, Carolyn Funk, & John R. Hibbing. (2005). "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" *American Political Science Review* 99(2): 153-67.
- M. Kent Jennings & Richard Niemi. (1968). "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child." *American Political Science Review* 62:169-184.

II. Voting, Elections, & Campaigns

Voting & Elections

- Bartels, Larry (1987). "Candidate Choice and the Dynamics of the Presidential Nominating Process." *American Journal of Political Science* 31(1): 1-31.
- Herbert Asher. (2010). *Polling and the Public*, Washington, DC: CQ Press, (ch. 7)
- Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, & Donald Stokes. (1960). *The American Voter*
- Morris Fiorina. (1981). *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. (ch. 1, 9) pp. 3-19, 176-90.
- Nate Silver (2012). "As Nation and Parties Change, Republicans are at an Electoral College Disadvantage." <http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/11/08/as-nation-and-parties-change-republicans-are-at-an-electoral-college-disadvantage/>
- Gregory Huber, Seth Hill, & Gabriel Lenz. (2013). "Sources of Bias in Retrospective Decision Making: Evidence on Voters' Limitations in Controlling Incumbents." *American Political Science Review*, 106(4): 720-741.
- Scott Basinger & Howard Lavine. (2005). "Ambivalence, Information, and Electoral Choice." *American Political Science Review* 99: 169-184.
- Howard Lavine. (2001). "The Electoral Consequences of Ambivalence toward Presidential Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 45(4): 915-29.

Election Campaigns and Dynamics of Public Opinion

- Michael Tomz & Robert Van Houweling. (2009). "The Electoral Implications of Candidate Ambiguity." *American Political Science Review* 103(1): 83-98.
- John Zaller. (1996). "The Myth of Massive Media Impact Revived: New Support for a Discredited Idea"(1996). P. 17-79 in Diana Mutz, Richard Brody, and Paul Sniderman (eds.), *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- James Druckman, Lawrence Jacobs, & Eric Ostermeier. (2004). "Candidate Strategies to Prime Issues and Image." *Journal of Politics* 66(4): 1180-1202.

- James Druckman. (2003). "The Power of Television Images: The First Kennedy-Nixon Debate Revisited." *Journal of Politics* 65(2): 559-71.
- Diana Mutz & Byron Reeves. (2005). "The New Videomalaise: Effects of Televised Incivility on Political Trust." *American Political Science Review* 99(1): 1-15.
- Gerber, Alan, 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(1): 135-150.
- Seth Hill, James Lo, Lynn Vavreck, & John Zaller. (2013). "How Quickly We Forget: The Duration of Persuasion Effects From Mass Communication." *Political Communication* 30: 521-547.
- Daron Shaw. (1999). "The Effect of TV Ads and Candidate Appearances on Statewide Presidential Votes, 1988-96." *American Political Science Review* 93(2): 345-61.
- Sigelman, Lee, and Emmett Buell, Jr. (2003). "You Take the High Road and I'll Take the Low Road? The Interplay of Attack Strategies and Tactics in Presidential Campaigns." *Journal of Politics* 65(2): 518-31.
- Stephen Ansolabehere & Shanto Iyengar. (1994). "Riding the Wave and Claiming Ownership Over Issues: The Joint Effects of Advertising and News Coverage in Campaigns." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 58(3): 335-57.
- Larry Bartels. (9-4-14). "Here's how a cartoon smiley face punched a big hole in democratic theory." *Washington Post's Monkey Cage Blog*. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/09/04/heres-how-a-cartoon-smiley-face-punched-a-big-hole-in-democratic-theory/>

III. Public Opinion under the Microscope: Explaining Why Americans Differ

Social Identities and Group Centrism

- Gregory Herek (2002). "Gender Gaps in Public Opinion about Lesbians & Gay Men." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 66: 40-66.
- Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter* (ch. 12) pp. 295-332.
- Donald Kinder. (2003). Belief systems after Converse. In Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz (editors), *Elections and Democracy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. pp. 13-47.
- Leonie Huddy, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, & Gallya Lahav. (2005) "Threat, Anxiety, and Support of Antiterrorism Policies." *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 593-608.
- Huddy, L., Feldman, S., & Cassese, E. (2007). On the distinct political effects of anxiety and anger. In Neuman, W. R., Marcus, G. E., Crigler, A. N., & MacKuen, M. (eds.) *The affect effect: Dynamics of emotion in political thinking and behavior*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Samara Klar. (2013). "The Influence of Competing Identity Primes on Political Preferences." *Journal of Politics* 75: 1108-1124.
- Claudine Gay (2004). "Putting Race in Context: Identifying the Environmental Determinants of Black Racial Attitudes." *American Political Science Review* 98: 547-562.
- Kira Sanbonmatsu. (2002). "Gender Stereotypes and Vote Choice." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(1): 20-34.
- Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. (2012). "Election 2012 Post Mortem: White Evangelicals and Support for Romney." <http://www.pewforum.org/Politics-and-Elections/Election-2012-Post-Mortem--White-Evangelicals-and-Support-for-Romney.aspx>

Race & Racial Prejudice

- Michael Dawson. (1994). *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African American Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hanes Walton Jr. (1985). *Invisible Politics: Black Political Behavior*.
- Katherine Tate. (2003). "Black Opinion on the Legitimacy of Racial Redistricting and Minority-Majority Districts." *American Political Science Review* 97: 45-56.
- Ismail White. (2007) "When Race Matters and When It Doesn't: Racial Group Differences in Response to Racial Cues." *American Political Science Review* 101(2): 339-354.
- Lawrence Bobo & Vincent Hutchings. (1996). "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context." *American Sociological Review* (Dec. 1996) p. 951-972.

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- Nicholas Winter. (2006). "Beyond welfare: Framing and racialization of white opinion on social security." *American Journal of Political Science* 50: 400-420.
- Jon Hurwitz & Mark Peffley. (2005). "Playing the Race Card in the Post-Willie Horton Era: The Impact of Racialized Code Words on Support for Punitive Crime Policy." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 69: 99-112.
- Donald Kinder & Sanders, Lynn (1996). *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Paul Sniderman & Edward Carmines. (1997). *Reaching beyond Race*. (ch. 1-4) pp. 1-139.
- Martin Gilens (2000). *Why Americans Hate Welfare*. University of Chicago Press. ch. 3-5
- Antoine Banks & Nicholas Valentino. (2012). "Emotional Substrates of White Racial Attitudes." *American Journal of Political Science* 56: 286-297.

Ideology, Values, and Tolerance

- John Sullivan, James Pierson, & George Marcus. (1979). "An Alternative Conceptualization of Political Tolerance: Illusory Increases 1950s-1970s." *American Political Science Review*.
- William Jacoby. (2006). "Value Choices and American Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 706-723.
- Pamela Conover & Stanley Feldman. (1984). "How People Organize the Political World: A Schematic Model." *American Journal of Political Science* 28: 95-126.
- Stanley Feldman & John Zaller. (1992). "The Political Culture of Ambivalence," *American Journal of Political Science* 36, p. 268-307.
- Morris Fiorina. (2010). *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*. (Chs. 1-4, browse chs. 8-10).

Economics, Interests, and Symbolic Politics

- Gregory Markus. (1988). "The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on the Presidential Vote: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* 32: 137-154.
- Donald Green. (1992). "The Price Elasticity of Mass Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 86: 128-148.
- Michael MacKuen, Robert Erikson, & James Stimson. (1992). "Peasants or Bankers: The American Electorate & the U.S. Economy." *American Political Science Review* 86: 597-611.
- Green, Donald & Gerken, A.E. (1989). "Self-Interest and Opinion toward Smoking" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 53: 1-16.
- Green, Donald and Cowden, J.A. (1992). "Who Protests? Self Interest and White Opposition to Busing." *Journal of Politics*, 54: 471-496.
- Michael Bang Petersen, et al. (2013). "The Ancestral Logic of Politics: Upper-Body Strength Regulates Men's Assertion of Self-Interest Over Economic Redistribution." *Psychological Science* 20: 1-6.

News Media Effects: Bias, Agendas, Priming, & Framing

- Diana Mutz. (2002). "Cross-cutting Social Networks: Testing Democratic Theory in Practice." *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 111-26.
- Kevin Arceneaux & Martin Johnson. (2013). *Changing Minds or Changing Channels? Partisan News in an Age of Choice*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Benjamin Page. (1996). *Who Deliberates?: Mass Media in Modern Democracy*. University of Chicago Press. (chs. 1-2, 4-5) pp. 1-42, 77-134.
- Shanto Iyengar & Donald Kinder. (1987) *News that Matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-4, 7, 9.
- Kimberly Gross & Lisa D'Ambrosio. (2004). "Framing Emotional Response." *Political Psychology* 25(1): 1-29.
- Shanto Iyengar, Mark Peters, & Donald Kinder. (1982). "Experimental Demonstrations of the 'Not-So-Minimal' Consequences of Television News Programs." *American Political Science Review* 76: 848-858.
- James Druckman & Kjersten R. Nelson. (2003). "Framing and Deliberation: How Citizens' Conversations Limit Elite Influence." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(4): 729-45.

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- Thomas Nelson, Rosalee Clawson, & Zoe Oxley. (1997). "Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and Its Effect on Tolerance." *American Political Science Review* 91:567-83.
- Robert Entman. (1989). "How Media Affect What People Think: An Information Processing Approach." *Journal of Politics* 51: 347-370.
- James Druckman & Thomas Leeper. (2012). "Learning More from Political Communication Experiments: Pretreatment and its Effects." *American Journal of Political Science* 56: 875-896.
- Dennis Chong & James Druckman. (2010). "Dynamic Public Opinion: Communication Effects over Time." *American Political Science Review* 104: 663-680.
- Dennis Chong & James Druckman. (2013). "Counterframing Effects." *Journal of Politics* 75: 1-16.
- James Druckman & Michael Parkin. (2005). "The Impact of Media Bias: How Editorial Slant Affects Voters." *Journal of Politics* 67(4): 1030-49.
- Dave D'Alessio & Mike Allen. "Media Bias in Presidential Elections." *Journal of Communication* 50: 133-156.
- Alan Gerber, Dean Karlan, & Daniel Bergan. (2007). "Does the Media Matter? A Field Experiment Measuring the Effect of Newspapers on Voting Behavior and Political Opinions." *American Journal of Economics: Applied Economics*.
- Asher, Herbert (2007). *Polling and the Public*, Washington, DC: CQ Press, (ch. 6)
- Diana Mutz. (1998). *Impersonal Influence*. ch. 6-8.
- Michael Traugott (1992). "The Impact of Media Polls on the Public." In Thomas Mann & Gary Orren (eds.). (1992). *Media Polls in American Politics*. 125-149.

IV. Democratic Accountability & Government Responsiveness

Does Public Opinion Influence Policy-Makers?

- Brandice Canes-Wrone & Kenneth Shotts. (2004). "The Conditional Nature of Presidential Responsiveness to Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 690-706.
- Brandice Canes-Wrone, David Brady, & John Cogan. (2002). "Out of Step, Out of Office: Electoral Accountability and House Members' Voting." *American Political Science Review* pp. 127-140.
- John Zaller. (1992). *The Nature and Origin of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 12 (pp. 310-332).
- James Stimson, Michael MacKuen & Robert Erikson. (1995). "Dynamic Representation." *American Political Science Review* 89:543-65.
- Vincent Hutchings. (1998). "Issue Salience and Support for Civil Rights Legislation." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*.
- Paul Burstein. (2006). "Why Estimates of the Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy are Too High: Empirical and Theoretical Implications." *Social Forces* 84: 2273.
- Benjamin Page & Robert Shapiro. (1983). "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *American Political Science Review* 77: 175-190.
- Robert Dahl. (1956). *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago Press. (chs. 1, 4)
- John R. Hibbing & Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. (2001). "Process Preferences and American Politics: What The People Want Government To Be." *American Political Science Review* 95: 145-153.