

POSC 256
SEMINAR IN PUBLIC OPINION & MASS MEDIA
Winter 2006
Tuesdays 3-6 PM

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Hours: Wednesday, 11 a.m. - 12 p.m. and by appointment

This course explores public opinion and the mass media in the U.S. We will focus on three major areas of scholarly investigation: Individual attitudes, opinions, and preferences; aggregate or collective public will; and influences of the media on the mass public. This course is intended to provide you with a thorough review of literature and prepare you to demonstrate this knowledge on a field examination treating mass political behavior as well as in the design of your own original research.

Required Books

Althaus, Scott. 2003. *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics: Opinion Surveys and the Will of the People*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0521527872

Capella, Joseph N., and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 1997. *Spiral of Cynicism: The Press and the Public Good*. Oxford University Press. ISBN 0195090640

Gamson, William. 1992. *Talking Politics*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0521436796

Gilens, Martin. 2000. *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy*. University of Chicago Press. ISBN 0226293653

Herbst, Susan. 1995. *Numbered Voices: How Opinion Polling Has Shaped American Politics*. University of Chicago Press. ISBN 0226327434

Iyengar, Shanto, and Donald R. Kinder. 1987. *News That Matters: Television and American opinion*. University of Chicago Press. ISBN 0226388573

Lee, Taeku. 2002. *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era*. University of Chicago Press. ISBN 0226470253

Mutz, Diana. 1998. *Impersonal Influence: How Perceptions of Mass Collectives Affect Political Attitudes*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0521637260

Price, Vincent. 1992. *Public Opinion*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0521407869

In addition to these books, there will be a great deal of supplementary readings, discussed below. Most of these will be available either through J-STOR (www.jstor.org) or through other electronic resources at the library (library.ucr.edu). Note these abbreviations, many of which are likely familiar to you: APSR (*American Political Science Review*), AJPS (*American Journal of Political Science*), BJPS (*British Journal of Political Science*), JOP (*Journal of Politics*), APQ (*American Politics Quarterly*), POQ (*Public Opinion Quarterly*), PB (*Political Behavior*).

Course Assignments

Weekly Readings Memoranda

In order to help you prepare for class discussion, I would like you to write a memo each week responding to the main readings for that week. The reaction memos should discuss issues raised by the readings, incorporating your own thoughts about them. Compare and contrast the readings, critique theory and methodology. Pay particular attention to how these readings integrate with your own research. These should be 2-4 pages, but the important thing is your insight, not the length of the writing. The memos are due each week on Monday at 4 p.m. and should be e-mailed to me (martin.johnson@ucr.edu). This way I will have a chance to thoroughly read your memos. Please do not turn them in late.

These weekly writing assignments and your class participation are worth 40 percent of your grade.

Participation in Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration Colloquium

The introductory class will not meet for a full 3 hours, so I figure that in order to meet our full contact-hours load, I will coerce you into participating in the Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration Colloquium, organized by Karthick Ramakrishnan and Shaun Bowler Friday, January 13. Professors and graduate students from UC-Irvine, Claremont Graduate University, USC, UCLA, and others will be presenting and discussing research, most of it will be related to public opinion and political behavior. It will be held in Rivera Library, Room 403. You should take an interest in this and attend. Your attendance of either the graduate student or professor panel during the colloquium will contribute to your participation grade in the class. I will note your participation.

Original Public Opinion Research Project

Last spring, I collaborated with Mary Currin-Percival and students in POSC 146 to conduct an original survey of residents of the City of Riverside. There are a number of research designs implemented in the survey – something of interest to everyone, I suspect. In a few weeks, I will lead you through some of the designs on the survey. I would like you to sketch a short paper, 10-15 pages, around the analysis of a question or set of questions contained on this survey data. You will employ some of the skills you are developing in 202A and 202B. This might even lead to some collaborative research. I will provide more details about this project and my expectations during the next few weeks. The assignment will be due by 5 p.m. on Friday, March 17. It will be worth 20 percent of your grade.

Final Exam

In addition to these writing assignments, you will have a final exam. This final will roughly mirror a portion of a field examination in mass political behavior, with questions focused on public opinion, representation, political psychology, and media effects. The exam will be self-scheduled during exam week (March 20-25). You will pick up the exam from me and have 48 hours to complete it. The deadline for completing this exam and turning it in to me is 5 p.m. Saturday, March 25. You will need to pick-up and begin the exam by the close of business Thursday afternoon (3/23, 5 p.m.) in order to take full advantage of the 48 hours you have at your disposal prior to the close of business Saturday afternoon (5 p.m.). This will be a take-home open-book examination, worth 40 percent of your grade.

Summary

Weekly writing assignments & class participation	40%
Final exam	40%
Public opinion research project	20%

1. January 10: Course Introduction

JANUARY 13 COLLOQUIUM ON RACE, ETHNICITY, AND IMMIGRATION

Participation in at least one panel required (portion of class participation grade)

2. January 17: Thinking about public opinion and public opinion research

Blumer, Herbert. 1948. "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling." *American Sociological Review* 13: 542-54.

Brady, Henry. 2000. "Contributions of Survey Research to Political Science." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33(1): 47-57.

Converse, Philip. 1987. "Changing Conceptions of Public Opinion in the Political Process." *POQ* 51 S: 12-24.

Herbst, Susan. 1995. *Numbered Voices: How Opinion Polling Has Shaped American Politics*. University of Chicago Press.

Krosnick, Jon. 1999. "Survey methodology" *Annual Review of Psychology* 50:537-67.

Price, Vincent. 1992. *Public Opinion*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

3. January 24: Individual opinion – The psychology of attitudes

Eagly, Alice H., and Shelley Chaiken 1998. "Attitude structure and function." In Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske, and Gardner Lindzey, eds. *Handbook of Social Psychology*. 4th edition. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.

LaPiere, Richard T. 1934. "Attitudes vs. Actions." *Social Forces* 13(2):230-237.

Lavine, Howard. 2002. "On-line Versus Memory-Based Process Models of Political Evaluation." In Kristen Renwick Monroe, ed. *Political Psychology*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Lodge, Milton, Marco R. Steenbergen, and Shawn Brau. 1995. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation." *APSR* 89:309-326.

Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge University Press.

4. January 31: Attitude organization

Christopher H. Achen. 1975. "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response." *APSR* 69(4):1218-31.

Converse, Phillip. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In David Apter, ed. *Ideology and Discontent*. Free Press.

Huckfeldt, Robert, Jeffrey Levine, William Morgan, and John Sprague. 1999. "Accessibility and the Political Utility of Partisan and Ideological Orientations." *AJPS* 43(3):888-911.

Peffley, Mark A., and Jon Hurwitz. 1985. "A Hierarchical Model of Attitude Constraint." *AJPS* 29:871-90.

Lodge, Milton, and Ruth Hamill. 1986. "A Partisan Schema for Political Information Processing" *APSR* 80(2):505-20

Kuklinski, James H., Robert C. Luskin, and John Bolland. 1991. "Where is the Schema? Going Beyond the 'S' Word in Political Psychology." *APSR* 85(4): 1341-56.

Lodge, Milton, Kathleen M. McGraw, Pamela Johnston Conover, Stanley Feldman, and Arthur H. Miller. 1991. "Where is the Schema? Critiques" *APSR* 85(4): 1357-80.

5. February 7: Attitude Change

- Bartels, Larry. 1993. "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure." *APSR* 87:267-85.
- Cobb, Michael D., and James H. Kuklinski. 1997. "Changing Minds: Political Arguments and Political Persuasion." *AJPS* 41(1):88-121.
- Lau, Richard R., Richard A. Smith, and Susan T. Fiske. 1991. "Political Beliefs, Policy Interpretations, and Political Persuasion." *JOP* 53(3):644-675.
- Lee, Taeku. 2002. *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era*. University of Chicago Press.
- Petty, Richard E., and Duane T. Wegener. 1998. "Attitude Change: Multiple Roles for Persuasion Variables." In Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske, and Gardner Lindzey, eds. *Handbook of Social Psychology*. 4th edition. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
- Markus, Gregory B. 1986. "Stability and Change in Political Attitudes: Observed, Recalled, and 'Explained.'" *PB* 8(1):21-44.

6. February 14: Political discussion and social influence

- Gamson, William. 1992. *Talking Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, and John Sprague. "Networks in Context: The Social Flow of Political Information." *APSR* 81 (1987): 1197-1216.
- Mutz, Diana. 1998. *Impersonal Influence: How Perceptions of Mass Collectives Affect Political Attitudes*. Cambridge University Press.
- Oliver, Eric, and Tali Mendelberg. "Reconsidering the Environmental Determinants of Racial Attitudes." *AJPS* 44 (2000): 574-589.

7. February 21: Public opinion in collectives

- Althaus, Scott. 2003. *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics: Opinion Surveys and the Will of the People*. Cambridge University Press.
- Converse, Philip E. 1990 "Popular Representation and the Distribution of Information." In *Information and Democratic Processes*, John Ferejohn and James Kuklinski, eds. Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press.
- Gilens, Martin. "Political Ignorance and Collective Policy Preferences." *APSR* 95 (2001): 379-396.
- Shapiro Robert Y., and Benjamin I. Page. 1982. "Changes in Americans' Policy Preferences, 1935-1979." *POQ* 46(1):24-42.
- Stimson, James A. 2002. "The Micro Foundations of Mood." In James H. Kuklinski, ed. *Thinking about Political Psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

8. February 28: Public opinion and policy

- Durr, Robert H. 1993. "What Moves Policy Sentiment?" *APSR* 87: 158-70
- Gilens, Martin. 2000. *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy*. University of Chicago Press.
- Hood, M. V., III, and Irwin L. Morris. 1998. "Give Us Your Tired, Your Poor,... But Make Sure They Have a Green Card: The Effects of Documented and Undocumented Migrant Context on Anglo Opinion toward Immigration." *PB* 20(1):1-15.
- Norrander, Barbara. 2000. "The Multi-Layered Impact of Public Opinion on Capital Punishment Implementation in the American States." *Political Research Quarterly* 53:771-793.
- Stimson, James A., Michael B. MacKuen, and Robert S. Erikson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *APSR* 89:543-65.
- Wlezien, Christopher B. 1995. "The Public as Thermostat: Dynamics of Preferences for Spending." *AJPS* 39:981-1000.

9. March 7: Media effects, framing and priming

- Druckman, James. 2001. "On the Limits Of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame?" *JOP* 63: 1041-1066.
- Druckman, James. 2004. "Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)relevance of Framing Effects." *APSR* 98(4): 671-686
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Donald R. Kinder. 1987. *News That Matters: Television and American opinion*. University of Chicago Press.
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Adam F. Simon. 2000. "New Perspectives and Evidence on Political Communication and Campaign Effects." *Annual Review of Psychology* 51:149-69.
- Krosnick, Jon A., and Donald R. Kinder. 1990. "Altering the Foundations of Support for the President Through Priming." *APSR* 84(2): 497-512.
- Miller, J. M., & Krosnick, J. A. (1997). The anatomy of news media priming. In S. Iyengar and R. Reeves (Eds.), *Do the media govern? Politicians, voters, and reporters in America*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Nelson, Thomas E., Rosalee A. Clawson, and Zoe M. Oxley. 1997. "Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and Its Effect on Tolerance" *APSR* 91(3): 567-583
- Valentino, Nicholas A. 1999. Who Are We on Election Day? Crime News and the Priming of Attitudes during Evaluations of the President. *POQ* 63(3):293-320.

10. March 14: News media and orientations toward democracy and institutions

- Capella, Joseph N., and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 1997. *Spiral of Cynicism: The Press and the Public Good*. Oxford University Press. ISBN 0195090640
- Dalton, R. J., Beck, P. A., & Huckfeldt, R. 1998. "Partisan Cues and the Media: Information Flows in the 1992 Presidential Election." *APSR* 92(1):111-26.
- Lau, Richard R., Lee Sigelman, Caroline Heldman, and Paul Babbitt. 1999. "The Effects of Negative Political Advertisements: A Meta-Analytic Assessment." *APSR* 93(4):851-75.
- Mutz, Diana C., and Byron Reeves. 2005. "The New Videomalaise: Effects of Televised Incivility on Political Trust." *American Political Science Review* 99(1): 1-15.
- Vallone, R. P., Ross, L., & Lepper, M. R. 1985. "The Hostile Media Phenomenon: Biased Perception and Perceptions of Media Bias in Coverage of the 'Beirut Massacre.'" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 49:577-585.
- Valentino, Nicholas A. Matthew N. Beckmann and Thomas A. Buhr. 2001. "A Spiral of Cynicism for Some: The Contingent Effects of Campaign News Frames on Participation and Confidence in Government." *Political Communication*: 18(4).

11. March 17: OPTIONAL MEETING & READINGS

Screening of *Quiet Rage: The Stanford Prison Experiment*

Human subjects research – ethics, responsibilities

- Haney, Craig, Curtis Banks, and Philip Zimbardo. 1973. "A Study of Prisoners and Guards in a Simulated Prison." *Naval Research Review* 30:4-17.
- Milgram, Stanley. 1963. "Behavioral Study of Obedience." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 67: 371-78.
- More pitfalls*
- Bishop, George F., Robert W. Oldendick, and Alfred J. Tuchfarber. 1982. "Political Information Processing: Question Order and Context Effects." *Political Behavior*, 4(2):177-200.
- Lee, Daniel J., John E. Transue, and John Aldrich. 2005. "Treatment Spillover Effects across Survey Experiments" (revised). Typescript. Duke University. Available from the Society for Political Methodology Working Paper archive <http://polmeth.wustl.edu/retrieve.php?id=482>
- Sears, David. 1986. "College sophomores in the laboratory: Influences of a narrow data base on psychology's view of human nature." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 51: 513-30
- Orne, M.T. 1962. "On the social psychology of the psychological experiment: with particular reference to demand characteristics and their implications." *American Psychologist* 17:776-783.

MARCH 17 SURVEY RESEARCH PROJECT DUE

MARCH 25 FINAL EXAM DEADLINE