

PLAP 3270: Public Opinion and Political Behavior  
Spring 2017

Mon & Wed 10:00–10:50am  
Nau Hall 101

Course web page: <https://collab.itc.virginia.edu/>

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S385 Gibson Hall  
office hours:  
Wednesday 1:30–2:45pm  
& by appointment

Teaching Assistants

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This course examines public opinion and assesses its place in the American political system. It emphasizes both how citizens’ thinking about politics is shaped and the role of public opinion in political campaigns, elections, and government. While the course will focus on research on the current state of public opinion, throughout the course we will also discuss historical developments in opinion and its place in politics, including changes that arose with the development of polling and with the advent of television and other new media. We will also consider normative questions, including the role opinion *should* play in American democracy.

**Important note:** This course was previously numbered as PLAP2270. You cannot receive credit for this course if you already took it under the old number.

Latest syllabus is always available on Collab at here: <https://goo.gl/bywx7r>

Changelog:

- v1.0.0 original version
- v1.0.1 corrected office hours and typos
- v1.0.2 updated midterm and final exam details

## Course Requirements

Requirements for this course include:

- attendance and participation in *section*,
- an in-class *midterm* exam,
- a comprehensive *final* exam,
- a public opinion *research project*, that includes a written proposal, a research instrument, a summary of preliminary findings, and a final research paper

Grades will be based on the following breakdown:

Item	Percentage
Section participation	15 percent
Midterm exam	15 percent
Comprehensive final exam	20 percent
Research project	50 percent
Proposal	5 percent
Research instrument	10 percent
Summary of preliminary findings	10 percent
Final research paper	25 percent

**Assignments turned in late without prior arrangement with your TA will not be considered for a grade. If you have an extraordinary situation, contact your TA to discuss it as far in advance as possible.**

## Readings

There are two required books for this course:

Berinsky, Adam J. (editor). 2016. *New Directions in Public Opinion*. Second Edition. New York: Routledge.

Cramer, Katherine J. 2016. *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

The books should be available from the UVa bookstore and the usual online sources. All other readings for the course are available through Collab and/or links on the syllabus. Each TA may assign a number of additional required readings over the course of the term.

## Sections

The section meetings will provide an opportunity for you to clarify material from the course, discuss the lectures, readings, and current events, and work on your research project. Your TA will also assign periodic brief written work in or out of section.

*Attendance at your weekly section meeting is required.* This requirement is reflected, in part, in the 15% of your grade that comes from attendance and active participation in section, and the additional 50% from the research project. If you are deathly ill, we and your fellow students prefer that you *not* attend; otherwise you are expected to be there. If you do miss a section, you are responsible for all the material covered and the research project work that you missed.

Sections *will* meet the first week.

### Exams

The midterm and final will both be multiple choice exams designed to test your attention to lecture and readings. They will be administered in class (midterm) and during the university's scheduled final exam slot (final).

The midterm and final will be multiple-choice format, and will focus on the material from reading and lecture. The final will be comprehensive. Last year's midterm and final will be posted to Collab so you have some sense of what to expect.

### Other Policies

We respect and uphold University policies and regulations pertaining to the observation of religious holidays; assistance available to students with physical, visual, hearing, and other disabilities or impairments; plagiarism; racial, ethnic, gender, sexual orientation, or religious discrimination; and all forms of harassment.

If you have (or suspect you have) a learning or other disability that requires academic accommodations, you must contact the Student Disability Access Center (<http://www.virginia.edu/studenthealth/sdac/sdac.html>) as soon as possible, and at least two to three weeks before any assignments are due. We take learning disabilities very seriously and we will make whatever accommodations you need to be successful in this class. However, they must be properly documented by the SDAC and we must have enough notice to make appropriate arrangements.

Plagiarism, or academic theft, is passing off someone else's words or ideas as your own without giving proper credit to the source. You are responsible for not plagiarizing and are expected to abide by the University of Virginia Honor Code (see <http://www.virginia.edu/honor/what-is-academic-fraud-2/>). Note that we employ plagiarism detection software to help ensure the integrity of the course.

In addition, I have posted some information on nonacademic support for UVA students here: <https://goo.gl/GF6VgT>.

### Laptops in Lecture

A growing body of research is demonstrating that multitasking decreases comprehension and performance, that being able to see multitasking degrades *other* students' performance, and that taking notes by hand increases comprehension and performance. Therefore, the use of laptops and other electronic devices is not allowed during lecture.

*Exception:* If you have a learning or other disability that precludes you from taking notes effectively by hand, you may use a device as specified in your SDAC documentation.

Section rules on the use of laptops and other electronic devices is at the discretion of your TA.

## Lecture Schedule and Outline

### I. INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

#### January 18: Welcome and introduction to the course

Berinsky, Adam. "Introduction." *Reader*

Strauss, Valerie. 2014 "Why a leading professor of new media just banned technology use in class." *The Washington Post*. September 25. [Available online.](#)

*Optional, for your information:*

Sana, Faria, Tina Weston, and Nicholas J. Cepeda. 2013. "Laptop Multitasking Hinders Classroom Learning for Both Users and Nearby Peers." *Computers & Education* 62:24-31.  
<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0360131512002254>

Mueller, Pam A., and Daniel M. Oppenheimer. 2014. "The Pen Is Mightier Than the Keyboard." *Psychological Science* 25 (6):1159-68.  
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0956797614524581>

### II. MEANING AND MEASUREMENT OF OPINION

#### January 23: What is "public opinion"? Why is that a hard question?

Herbst, Susan. "The History and Meaning of Public Opinion." *Reader*, chapter 1.

Cramer, Katherine J. *The Politics of Resentment*, chapter 1 ("Making Sense of Politics through Resentment.")

#### January 25 – February 8: Conceptualization, measurement, and analysis of public opinion

*Survey Research:*

Hillygus, D. Sunshine. "The Practice of Survey Research: Changes and Challenges." *Reader*, chapter 2.

Asher, *Polling and the Public*, chapters 3 and 8 ("Wording and Context of Questions" and "Analyzing and Interpreting Polls").

*In-depth Interviewing:*

Cramer, Katherine J. *The Politics of Resentment*, chapter 2 ("A Method of Listening"), Appendix B ("Descriptions of Groups") and Appendix C ("Questions Used").

Hochschild, Jennifer. 1981. *What's Fair*, 17-26.

Lane, Robert Edwards. 1962. *Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes What He Does*. New York: Free Press. Introduction and Appendix A (1-11 & 481-493)

Chong, Dennis. 1993. "How People Think, Reason, and Feel about Rights and Liberties" *American Journal of Political Science* 37(3):867-899. ([Skim this now, focusing on the method; we will see it again in the tolerance unit.](#))

#### *Focus Groups:*

Gamson, William A. 1992. *Talking Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 2 & Appendix A.

Delli Carpini, Michael X, and Bruce Williams. 1994. "The Method Is the Message: Focus Groups as a Method of Social, Psychological, and Political Inquiry." *Research in micropolitics* 4:57-85.

Press, Andrea L., and Elizabeth R. Cole. 1999. *Speaking of Abortion: Television and Authority in the Lives of Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapter 1 (1-24) & Appendix A. (Focus on the method (focus groups); we will see it again in the ideology unit.)

#### *Content Analysis:*

Prasad, B. Devi. 2008. "Content Analysis: A Method for Social Science Research." In *Research Methods for Social Work*, ed. D. K. Lal Das and V. Bhaskaran. New Delhi: Rawat, 173-93.

Gilens, Martin. 1996. "Race and Poverty in America: Public Misperceptions and the American News Media." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 60 (4):515-41. (Focus on the method (content analysis); we will see it again in the media unit.)

*The following two are optional, but very useful if you are considering a content analysis for your project:*

Tankard, James W., Jr. 2001. "The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing." In *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*, ed. Stephen D. Reese, Oscar H. Gandy and August E. Grant. Mahwah, N.J. : Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 95-105.

Gamson, William A., and Andre Modigliani. 1989. "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach." *American Journal Of Sociology* 95 (1):1-37.

### III. DEMOCRATIC COMPETENCE

#### **February 13: The public's political information and sophistication**

Gilens, Martin. "Two-Thirds Full? Citizen Competence and Democratic Governance." *Reader*, chapter 3.

Bartels, Larry M. 2005. "Homer Gets a Tax Cut: Inequality and Public Policy in the American Mind." *Perspectives on Politics* 3 (1):15-32.

Pasek, Josh, Gaurav Sood, and Jon A. Krosnick. 2015. "Misinformed About the Affordable Care Act? Leveraging Certainty to Assess the Prevalence of Misperceptions." *Journal of Communication* 65 (4):660-73. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12165>

Kloor, Keith. 2012. "GMO Opponents are the Climate Skeptics of the Left." *Slate*. September 26, 2012. [Available online.](#)

#### **February 15: Acceptance of democratic norms: the case of political tolerance**

Chong, Dennis. 1993. "How People Think, Reason, and Feel about Rights and Liberties" *American Journal of Political Science* 37(3):867-899. (We read this before...take another look, this time focusing on his findings about political tolerance.)

Wright, Robert. 2011. "Opinionator: First Comes Fear." <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/01/11/before-hatred-comes-fear/>

## February 20: Ideology and the organization of opinion

Federico, Christopher M. "Ideology and Public Opinion." *Reader*, chapter 4.

Cramer, Katherine J. *The Politics of Resentment*, chapter 3 ("The Contours of Rural Consciousness"). (You should focus on several things in this chapter: (1) Cramer's method; (2) her understanding of rural consciousness; and (3) the ways rural consciousness might serve as a political "ideology," or a lens for understanding politics more generally.)

Press, Andrea L., and Elizabeth R. Cole. 1999. *Speaking of Abortion: Television and Authority in the Lives of Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapter 1 (1-24). (We read this before...take another look, this time focusing on their findings about political reasoning.)

## IV. ROOTS OF INDIVIDUAL OPINIONS

## February 22: The political unconscious: implicit and explicit attitudes

Wilson, Timothy D. 2002. *Strangers to Ourselves: Discovering the Adaptive Unconscious*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Chapter 6 (117-135).

Gladwell, Malcolm. 2005. "The Warren Harding Error: Why We Fall For Tall, Dark, and Handsome Men." In *Blink: the Power of Thinking Without Thinking*. New York: Little, Brown, Chapter 3 (72-98).

Berinsky, Adam J, Vincent L Hutchings, Tali Mendelberg, Lee Shaker, and Nicholas A Valentino. 2011. "Sex and Race: Are Black Candidates More Likely to Be Disadvantaged by Sex Scandals?" *Political Behavior* 33 (2):179-202.

## February 27: What is in it for me? Self interest and opinion

Bartels, Larry M. 2004. "Unenlightened Self-Interest: The Strange Appeal of the Estate Tax Repeal." *The American Prospect* 15(6):A17-A19.

Cramer, Katherine J. *The Politics of Resentment*, chapter 4 ("The Context of Rural Consciousness").

Bishop, Bradford H. 2014. "Focusing Events and Public Opinion: Evidence from the Deepwater Horizon Disaster." *Political Behavior* 36 (1):1-22.

## March 1: Groups I—political parties

Hetherington, Marc. "Partisanship and Polarization in Contemporary Politics." *Reader*, chapter 7.

Cramer, Katherine J. *The Politics of Resentment*, chapter 5 ("Attitudes toward Public Institutions and Public Employees").

## March 6 – 8: Spring Break (no class)

## March 13 & 15: Groups: Race, gender, "American"

Czaja, Erica, Jane Junn, and Tali Mendelberg. "Race, Ethnicity, and the Group Bases of Public Opinion." *Reader*, chapter 5.

Burns, Nancy, Ashley E. Jardina, Donald Kinder, and Molly E. Reynolds. "The Politics of Gender." *Reader*, chapter 6.

Barreto, Matt A. and Christopher S. Parker. "Public Opinion and Reactionary Movements: From the Klan to the Tea Party." *Reader*, chapter 14.

Brewer, Paul R. 2003. "The Shifting Foundations of Public Opinion About Gay Rights." *Journal of Politics* 65(4):1208-20.

### March 20: Midterm exam in class

#### March 22: Emotion

Brader, Ted. "The Emotional Foundations of Democratic Citizenship." *Reader*, chapter 10.

Cramer, Katherine J. *The Politics of Resentment*, chapter 6 ("Support for Small Government").

## V. OPINION IN POLITICAL CONTEXT

#### March 27 & 29: John Zaller's theory of opinion formation and expression

Zaller, John. 1994. "Elite Leadership of Mass Opinion: New Evidence from the Gulf War," In *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*, ed. Lance Bennett and David Paletz, chapter 9 (186-209).

#### April 3 & 5: The media

Baum, Matthew. "Media, Public Opinion, and Presidential Leadership." *Reader*, chapter 15.

Mayer, Jane. 2007 (February 19). "Whatever It Takes: The Politics of the Man Behind '24.'" *The New Yorker* 83(1). [http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2007/02/19/070219fa\\_fact\\_mayer](http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2007/02/19/070219fa_fact_mayer)

Gilens, Martin. 1996. "Race and Poverty in America: Public Misperceptions and the American News Media." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 60 (4):515-41.

#### April 10, 12, & 17: Framing

Price, Vincent, Lilach Nir, and Joseph N. Cappella. 2005. "Framing Public Discussion of Gay Civil Unions." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 69(2):179-212.

Cramer, Katherine J. *The Politics of Resentment*, chapter 7 ("Reactions to the Ruckus").

#### April 19 & 24: Campaigns & Elections

Sides, John & Jake Haselswerdt. "Campaigns and Elections." *Reader*, chapter 12.

## VI. CONCLUSIONS: PUBLIC OPINION IN POLITICS

#### April 26: The conversation between citizens and government: representation

Campbell, Andrea Louise. "Public Opinion and Public Policy." *Reader*, chapter 16.

Soroka, Stuart N., and Christopher Wlezien. 2008. "On the Limits to Inequality in Representation." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 41 (02):319-27.

Gilens, Martin. 2009. "Preference Gaps and Inequality in Representation." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42 (02):335-41.



**May 1: Conclusions: Public opinion and American democracy**

Ginsberg, Benjamin. 1986. *The Captive Public*, chapter 3 (59-85).

Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*, epilogue (310-332).

Sears, David O. "Conclusion: Assessing Continuity and Change." *Reader*.

Cramer, Katherine J. *The Politics of Resentment*, chapter 8 ("We Teach These Things to Each Other").

**Thursday, May 11, 9am-12noon—Final Exam**