

## **PUBLIC OPINION AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM**

This course will cover the research literature on American public opinion. We will address the dominant themes in the field, as well as several ideas that should probably receive more attention from scholars. We will read most of the major empirical works on the various topics described in this syllabus; our approach will be rigorous and, in general, highly critical. We will scrutinize the methodological aspects of public opinion research, as well as the degree to which previous analyses have contributed to the development of substantive theories. Over the past fifty years, social scientists have come a long way in discerning the ways that ordinary citizens think about and react to the political world. Similarly, there has been quite a bit of recent research that seeks to explicate the various linkages between public opinion, the actions of political elites, and public policies. Nevertheless, there remains an enormous amount of work to be done. Hopefully, this seminar will point out some promising avenues for future explorations of American public opinion.

Students are expected to be active participants in this seminar. Therefore, everyone should (minimally) complete the required readings on each topic before the relevant class meeting. If at all possible, it would also be helpful to examine some of the other works listed on the syllabus. Most of the required articles are widely available in professional journals; additional copies can be xeroxed and circulated, if desired.

The course grades will be based on: Class participation (thirty percent); a written assignment (forty percent); and the final examination (thirty percent). The nature of the written assignment will be discussed in more detail, in class. Ideally, it will be an empirical analysis related to some topic covered in the course. Other possibilities include literature reviews and/or a research design. In any event, the written assignment will be due by Friday, December 18, by 5:00 p.m.

### **TOPICS AND READING ASSIGNMENTS**

**(Required readings are preceded by an asterisk)**

#### **I. INTRODUCTION**

##### **A. Basic Definitions and Historical Views of Public Opinion**

Igo, Sarah E. (2007) *The Averaged American: Surveys, Citizens, and the Making of a Mass Public*.

Herbst, Susan. (1993) *Numbered Voices: How Opinion Polling Has Shaped American Politics*. Chapters 1-3.

Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth. (1993) *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion— Our Social Skin (Second Edition)*, Chapters 1-20.

\* Sniderman, Paul M.; Richard A. Brody; Philip E. Tetlock. (1991) *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology*. Chapter 1.

Back, Kurt W. (1988) "Metaphors for Public Opinion in Literature." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 52: 278-288.

Beniger, James R. (1987) "Toward a New Paradigm: The Half-Century Flirtation with Mass Society." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51: S46-S66.

Converse, Jean M. (1987) *Survey Research in the United States: Roots and Emergence, 1890-1960*. (Reprinted 2009)

Converse, Philip E. (1987) "Changing Conceptions of Public Opinion in the Political Process." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51: S12-S24.

Katz, Elihu. (1987) "Communications Research Since Lazarsfeld." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51: S25-S45.

Lippmann, Walter. (1922) *Public Opinion*.

## **B. Public Opinion and the American Political System**

Lax, Jeffrey R. and Justin H. Phillips. (2009) "How Should We Estimate Public Opinion in The States?" *American Journal of Political Science* 53: 107-121.

\* Stimson, James A. (2004) *Tides of Consent: How Public Opinion Shapes American Politics*.

Henry, Gary T. and Craig S. Gordon. (2001) "Tracking Issue Attention: Specifying the Dynamics of the Public Agenda." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 65: 157-177.

Stimson, James A. (1999) *Public Opinion in America: Moods, Cycles, and Swings (Second Edition)*.

Best, Samuel J. (1999) "The Sampling Problem in Measuring Policy Mood: An Alternative Solution." *Journal of Politics* 61: 721-740.

\* Verba, Sidney. (1996) "The Citizen Respondent: Sample Surveys and American Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 90: 1-7.

\* McCombs, Maxwell and Jian-Hua Zhu. (1995) "Capacity, Diversity, and Volatility of the Public Agenda: Trends from 1954 to 1994." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 59: 495-525.

## **C. Basic Concepts: Attitudes, Beliefs, and Information Processing**

Bullock, John G. (2009) "Partisan Bias and the Bayesian Ideal in the Study of Public Opinion." *Journal of Politics* 71: 1109-1124.

Jennings, M. Kent; Laura Stoker; Jake Bowers. (2009) "Politics across Generations: Family Transmission Reexamined." *Journal of Politics* 71:782-799.

Gaines, Brian J.; James H. Kuklinski; Paul J. Quirk; Buddy Peyton; Jay Verkuilen. (2007) "Same Facts, Different Interpretations: Partisan Motivation and Opinion on Iraq." *Journal of Politics* 69: 957-974.

Berinsky, Adam. (2004) *Silent Voices: Public Opinion and Political Participation in America*. Introduction, Chapters 1 and 2.

\* Miller, Joanne M. and David A. M. Peterson. (2004) "Theoretical and Empirical Implications of Attitude Strength." *Journal of Politics* 66: 847-867.

Alvarez, R. Michael and Charles H. Franklin. (1994) "Uncertainty and Political Perceptions." *Journal of Politics* 56: 671-688.

Eagly, Alice H. and Shelly Chaiken. (1993) *The Psychology of Attitudes*. Chapter 1.

- \* Zaller, John and Stanley Feldman. (1992) "A Simple Theory of the Survey Response: Answering Questions Versus Revealing Preferences." *American Journal of Political Science* 36: 579-616.

Fiske, Susan and Shelley Taylor. (1991) *Social Cognition* (Second Edition), Chapters 4 and 5.

- \* Sniderman, Paul M.; Richard A. Brody; Philip E. Tetlock. (1991) *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology*. Chapter 2.

Lodge, Milton and Ruth Hamill. (1986) "A Partisan Schema for Political Information Processing." *American Political Science Review* 80: 505-520.

- \* Hamill, Ruth; Milton Lodge; Frederick Blake. (1985) "The Breadth, Depth, and Utility of Class, Partisan, and Ideological Schemata." *American Journal of Political Science* 29: 850-870.

## II. POLITICAL CULTURE

- \* Erikson, Robert S.; John P. McIver; Gerald C. Wright, Jr. (1987) "State Political Culture and Public Opinion." *American Political Science Review* 81: 797-814.

### A. Core Values and Adherence to Fundamental Principles

Ricci, David M. (2004) *Good Citizenship in America*.

- \* Davis, James A. (2004) "Did Growing Up in the 1960s Leave a Permanent Mark on Attitudes and Values?: Evidence from the General Social Survey." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 68: 161-183.

Sniderman, Paul M.; Joseph F. Fletcher; Peter H. Russell; Philip E. Tetlock. (1996) *The Clash of Rights*.

- \* Feldman, Stanley. (1988) "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: The Role of Core Beliefs and Values." *American Journal of Political Science* 32: 416-440.

McClosky, Herbert and John Zaller. (1984) *The American Ethos: Public Attitudes Toward Capitalism and Democracy* (especially Chapters 1 through 7).

Marcus, George; David Tabb; John L. Sullivan. (1974) "The Application of Individual Differences Scaling to the Measurement of Political Ideologies." *American Journal of Political Science* 18: 405-420.

Devine, Donald. (1972) *The Political Culture of the United States*.

- \* McClosky, Herbert. (1964) "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics." *American Political Science Review* 58: 361-382.
- \* Prothro, James W. and Charles M. Grigg. (1960) "Fundamental Principles of Democracy: Bases of Agreement and Disagreement." *Journal of Politics* 22: 276-294.

## **B. Delimiters to Political Orientations**

- \* Wildavsky, Aaron. (1987) "Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions: A Cultural Theory of Preference Formation." *American Political Science Review* 81: 3-22.
- \* Axelrod, Robert. (1986) "An Evolutionary Approach to Norms." *American Political Science Review* 80: 1095-1112.

Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba. (1963) *The Civic Culture*. Chapters 1, 12, 13.

Abramowitz, Alan. (1980) "The United States: Political Culture Under Stress." In Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba (Editors) *The Civic Culture Revisited*.

## **C. Social Capital**

Claibourn, Michele P. and Paul S. Martin. (2007) "The Third Face of Social Capital: How Membership in Voluntary Associations Improves Policy Accountability." *Political Research Quarterly* 60: 192-201.

Keele, Luke. (2007) "Social Capital and the Dynamics of Trust in Government." *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 241-254.

- \* Tavits, Margit (2006) "Making Democracy Work More? Exploring the Linkage Between Social Capital and Government Performance." *Political Research Quarterly* 59: 211-225.
- \* Hill, Kim Quaile and Tetsuya Matsubayashi. (2005) "Civic Engagement and Mass-Elite Policy Agenda Agreement in American Communities." *American Political Science Review* 99: 215-224.
- \* Hero, Rodney. (2003) "Social Capital and Racial Inequality in America." *Perspectives on Politics* 1: 113-122.

Putnam, Robert D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*.

- \* Brehm, John and Wendy Rahn. (1997) "Individual-Level Evidence for the Causes and Consequences of Social Capital." *American Journal of Political Science* 41: 999-1023.

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

- \* Putnam, Robert D. (1995) "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 28: 664-683.

Coleman, James S. (1990) *Foundations of Social Theory*, Chapter 12.

## **D. Materialist and Postmaterialist Values in Western Societies**

- \* Clarke, Harold D.; Allen Kornberg; Chris McIntyre; Petra Bauer-Kaase; Max Kaase. (1999) "The Effect of Economic Priorities on the Measurement of Value Change: New Experimental Evidence." *American Political Science Review* 93: 637-648.
- \* Davis, Darren W. and Christian Davenport. (1999) "Assessing the Validity of the Post-materialism Index." *American Political Science Review* 93: 649-664.
- \* Inglehart, Ronald and Paul R. Abramson. (1999) "Measuring Postmaterialism." *American Political Science Review* 93: 665-677.

Davis, Darren W.; Kathleen M. Dowley; Brian D. Silver. (1999) Postmaterialism in World Societies: Is it Really a Value Dimension?" *American Journal of Political Science* 43: 935-962.

Warwick, Paul V. (1998) "Disputed Cause, Disputed Effect: The Postmaterialist Thesis Re-examined." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 62: 583-609.

Clarke, Harold D.; Nitish Dutt; Jonathan Rapkin. (1997) "Conversations in Context: The (Mis)Measurement of Value Change in Advanced Industrial Societies." *Political Behavior* 19: 19-40. Also, the exchange with Abramson, Ellis, and Inglehart that follows this article.

Abramson, Paul R. and Ronald Inglehart. (1995) *Value Change in Global Perspective*.

- \* Abramson, Paul R. and Ronald Inglehart. (1992) "Generational Replacement and Value Change in Eight West European Societies." *British Journal of Political Science* 22: 183-228.

Inglehart, Ronald. (1990) *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*.

- \* Inglehart, Ronald. (1988) "The Renaissance of Political Culture." *American Political Science Review* 82: 1203-1230.

Inglehart, Ronald. (1971) "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Postindustrial Societies." *American Political Science Review* 65: 911-1017.

### **E. Is There a 'Culture War'?**

Abramowitz, Alan I. and Kyle L. Saunders. (2008) "Is Polarization a Myth?" *Journal of Politics* 70: 542-555.

Fiorina, Morris P.; Samuel A. Abrams; Jeremy C. Pope. (2008) "Polarization in the American Public: Misconceptions and Misreadings." *Journal of Politics* 70: 556-560.

Hunter, James Davison and Alan Wolfe. (2006) *Is There a Culture War? A Dialogue on Values and American Public Life*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

- \* Fiorina, Morris P.; Samuel J. Abrams; Jeremy C. Pope. (2006) *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America (Second Edition)*. New York: Pearson Longman.
- \* Layman, Geoffrey C. and Edward G. Carmines. (1997) "Cultural Conflict in American Politics: Religious Traditionalism, Postmaterialism, and U. S. Political Behavior." *Journal of Politics* 59: 751-777.

Hunter, James Davison. (1991) *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*. New York: Basic Books.

### **F. Patriotism, Nationalism, and Related Topics**

- \* Barker, David C.; Jon Hurwitz; Traci L. Nelson. (2008) "Of Crusades and Culture Wars: 'Messianic' Militarism and Political Conflict in the United States." *Journal of Politics* 70: 307-322.
- \* Schildkraut, Deborah J. (2007) "Defining American Identity in the Twenty-First Century: How Much 'There' is There?" *Journal of Politics* 69: 597-615.

Staton, Jeffrey K.; Robert A. Jackson; Damaris Canache. (2007) "Dual Nationality Among Latinos: What Are the Implications for Political Connectedness?" *Journal of Politics* 69: 470-482.

- \* Huddy, Leonie and Nadia Khatib. (2007) "American Patriotism, National Identity, and Political Involvement." *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 63-77.

Transue, John. (2007) "Identity Salience, Identity Acceptance, and Racial Policy Attitudes: American National Identity as a Uniting Force." *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 78-91.

Kam, Cindy D. and Donald R. Kinder. (2007) "Terror and Ethnocentrism: Foundations of American Support for the War on Terrorism" *Journal of Politics* 69: 320-338.

### III. THE SOURCES OF ISSUE ATTITUDES WITHIN THE MASS PUBLIC

#### A. Self-Interest and Symbolic Politics in Citizen Attitudes toward Policy Issues

Bergan, Daniel E. (2009) "The Draft Lottery and Attitudes Towards the Vietnam War." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73: 379-384.

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

Tedin, Kent L. (1994) "Self-Interest, Symbolic Values, and the Financial Equalization of Public Schools." *Journal of Politics* 56: 628-649.

Green, Donald Philip. (1992) "The Price Elasticity of Mass Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 86: 128-148.

Sniderman, Paul M.; Richard A. Brody; Philip E. Tetlock. (1991) *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology*, Chapters 4 and 5.

- \* Sears, David O. and Carolyn L. Funk. (1990) "Self-Interest in Americans' Political Opinions." In Jane J. Mansbridge (Editor) *Beyond Self-Interest*.

Sears, David and Jack Citrin. (1985) *Tax Revolt: Something for Nothing in California. (Enlarged Edition)*.

- \* Kuklinski, James H.; Daniel S. Metlay; W. D. Kay. (1982) "Citizen Knowledge and Choices on the Complex Issue of Nuclear Energy." *American Journal of Political Science* 26: 615-642.

- \* Sears, David; Richard Lau; Tom Tyler; H. Allen. (1980) "Self-Interest Versus Symbolic Politics in Policy Attitudes and Presidential Voting." *American Political Science Review* 74: 670-684.

Sears, David O.; Tom R. Tyler; Jack Citrin; Donald Kinder. (1978) "Political System Support and Public Response to the Energy Crisis." *American Journal of Political Science* 22: 56-82.

## **B. Personal Concerns and Politics**

Mutz, Diana C. (1994) "Contextualizing Personal Experience: The Role of the Mass Media." *Journal of Politics* 56: 689-714.

Mutz, Diana C. (1993) "Direct and Indirect Routes to Politicizing Personal Experience: Does Knowledge Make a Difference?" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 57: 483-502.

\* Mutz, Diana C. (1992) "Mass Media and the Depoliticization of Personal Experience." *American Journal of Political Science* 36: 483-508.

\* Sniderman, Paul and Richard Brody. (1977) "Coping: The Ethic of Self-Reliance." *American Journal of Political Science* 21: 501-522.

## **C. Genetics and Political Orientations**

Hatemi, Peter K.; Sarah E. Medland; Lindon J. Eaves. (2009) "Do Genes Contribute to the 'Gender Gap'?" *Journal of Politics* 71: 262-276.

Amodio, David M.; John T. Jost; Sarah L. Master; Cindy M. Yee. (2007) "Neurocognitive Correlates of Liberalism and Conservatism." *Nature Neuroscience* 10: 1246-1247.

Alford, John R.; Carolyn L. Funk; John R. Hibbing. (2005) "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" *American Political Science Review* 99: 153-168.

## **D. Values, Ambivalence, and Issue Attitudes**

\* Jacoby, William G. (2006) "Value Choices and American Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science* 50: 706-723.

Goren, Paul. (2005) "Party Identification and Core Political Attitudes." *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 881-896.

Grant, J. Tobin and Thomas J. Rudolph. (2003) "Value Conflict, Group Affect, and the Issue of Campaign Finance." *American Journal of Political Science* 47: 453-469.

\* Alvarez, R. Michael and John Brehm. (2002) *Hard Choices, Easy Answers*, Chapters 1-7.

\* Alvarez, R. Michael and John Brehm. (1998) "Speaking in Two Voices: American Equivocation about the Internal Revenue Service." *American Journal of Political Science* 42: 418-452.

\* Alvarez, R. Michael and John Brehm. (1997) "Are Americans Ambivalent Toward Racial Policies?" *American Journal of Political Science* 41: 345-374.

\* Alvarez, R. Michael and John Brehm. (1995) "American Ambivalence Towards Abortion Policy: Development of a Heteroskedastic Probit Model of Competing Values." *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 1055-1082.

\* Feldman, Stanley and John Zaller, (1992) "The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State." *American Journal of Political Science* 36: 268-307.

### **E. Beliefs About the Economy**

- \* De Boef, Suzanna and Paul M. Kellstedt. (2004) "The Political (and Economic) Origins of Consumer Confidence." *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 633-649.
- \* Rudolph, Thomas J. (2003) "Who's Responsible for the Economy? The Formation and Consequences of Responsibility Attributions." *American Journal of Political Science* 47: 698-713.
- Duch, Raymond M.; Harvey D. Palmer; Christopher J. Anderson. (2000) "Heterogeneity in Perceptions of National Economic Conditions." *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 635-652.

### **F. Public Attitudes Toward Welfare**

- Dyck, Joshua J. and Laura S. Hussey. (2008) "The End of Welfare as We Know It?: Durable Attitudes in a Changing Information Environment." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72: 589-618.
- Kam, Cindy D. and Yunju Nam. (2008) "Reaching Out or Pulling Back: Macroeconomic Conditions and Public Support for Social Welfare Spending." *Political Behavior* 30: 223-258.
- Soss, Joe and Sanford F Schram. (2007) "A Public Transformed? Welfare Reform as Policy Feedback." *American Political Science Review* 101: 111-127.
- Federico, Christopher M. (2006) "Race, Education, and Individualism Revisited." *Journal of Politics* 600-610.
- Winter, Nicholas G. (2006) "Beyond Welfare: Framing and the Racialization of White Opinion on Social Security." *American Journal of Political Science* 50: 400-420.
- Schneider, Sandra K. and William G. Jacoby. (2005) "Elite Discourse and American Public Opinion: The Case of Welfare Spending." *Political Research Quarterly* 58: 367-379.
- \* Federico, Christopher M. (2004) "When Do Welfare Attitudes Become Racialized? The Paradoxical Effects of Education." *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 374-391.
- \* Berinsky, Adam J. (2002) "Silent Voices: Social Welfare Policy Opinions and Political Inequality in America." *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 276-287.
- Feldman, Stanley and Marco Steenbergen. (2001) "The Humanitarian Foundation of Public Support for Social Welfare." *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 658-677.
- \* Gilens, Martin. (1999) *Why Americans Hate Welfare*, Chapters 1 through 4.
- Hansen, John Mark. (1998) "Individuals, Institutions, and Public Preferences Over Public Finance." *American Political Science Review* 92: 513-532.
- Peffley, Mark; Jon Hurwitz; Paul Sniderman. (1997) "Racial Stereotypes and Whites' Views of Blacks in the Context of Welfare and Crime." *American Journal of Political Science* 41: 30-60.
- \* Jacoby, William G. (1994) "Public Attitudes Toward Government Spending." *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 336-361.

### **G. Foreign Policy Attitudes: A Special Case?**

Gartner, Scott Sigmund. (2008) "The Multiple Effects of Casualties on Public Support for War: An Experimental Approach." *American Political Science Review* 102: 95-106.

Berinsky, Adam J. (2007) "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 69: 975-997.

- \* Huddy, Leonie; Stanley Feldman; Charles Taber; Gallya Lahav. (2005) "Threat, Anxiety, and Support of Antiterrorism Policies." *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 593-608.

Carrubba, Clifford J. and Anand Singh. (2004) "A Decision Theoretic Model of Public Opinion: Guns, Butter, and European Common Defense." *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 218-231.

- \* Brewer, Paul R.; Kimberly Gross; Sean Aday; Lars Willnat. (2004) "International Trust and Public Opinion About World Affairs." *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 93-109.

- \* Todorov, Alexander and Anesu N. Mandisodza. (2004) "Public Opinion on Foreign Policy: The Multilateral Public that Perceives Itself as Unilateral." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 68: 323-348.

Baum, Matthew A. (2003) *Soft News Goes to War: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy in the New Media Age*. Princeton, JN: Princeton University Press.

- \* Baum, Matthew A. (2002) "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Attentive Public." *American Political Science Review* 96: 91-110.

Gartner, Scott Sigmund and Gary M. Segura. (2000) "Race, Casualties, and Opinion About the Vietnam War." *Journal of Politics* 62: 115-146.

- \* Herrmann, Richard K.; Philip E. Tetlock; Penny S. Visser. (1999) "Mass Public Decisions on Going to War: A Cognitive-Interactionist Framework." *American Political Science Review* 93: 553-574.

Oneal, John R. and Anna Lillian Bryan. (1995) "The Rally 'Round the Flag Effect in U. S. Foreign Policy Crises, 1950-1985." *Political Behavior* 17: 379-402.

Hurwitz, Jon and Mark Peffley. (1990) "Public Images of the Soviet Union: The Impact on Foreign Policy Attitudes." *Journal of Politics* 52: 2-28.

- \* Hurwitz, Jon and Mark Peffley. (1987) "How are Foreign Policy Attitudes Structured?" *American Political Science Review* 81: 1099-1120.

## **IV. IDEOLOGY, BELIEF SYSTEMS, AND POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION**

### **A. Basic Concepts and Issues**

- \* Lewis-Beck, Michael; William G. Jacoby; Helmut Norpoth; Herbert F. Weisberg. (2008) *The American Voter Revisited*. Chapters 9 and 10.

Knight, Kathleen. (2006) "Transformations of the Concept of Ideology in the Twentieth Century." *American Political Science Review* 100: 619-626.

- \* Jacoby, William G. (2002) "Liberal-Conservative Thinking in the American Electorate." *Research in Micropolitics: Political Decision Making, Participation, and Deliberation, Volume Six*. Michael X. Delli Carpini, Leonie Huddy, Robert Y. Shapiro, Editors.

Bennett, W. Lance. (1977) "The Growth of Knowledge in Mass Belief Studies: An Epistemological Critique." *American Journal of Political Science* 21: 465-500.

## **B. The Classic Works**

Converse, Philip E. (1975) "Public Opinion and Voting Behavior." In Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby (Editors), *The Handbook of Political Science (Volume 4)*.

- \* Converse, Philip E. (1964) "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In David E. Apter (Editor), *Ideology and Discontent*. Reprinted in *Critical Review* 18 (2006): 1-74.
- \* Campbell, Angus; Philip E. Converse; Warren E. Miller; Donald E. Stokes. (1960) *The American Voter*. Chapters 9 and 10.

## **C. Political Sophistication**

- \* Boudreau, Cheryl. (2009) "Closing the Gap: When Do Cues Eliminate Differences between Sophisticated and Unsophisticated Citizens?" *Journal of Politics* 71: 964-976.
- Boudreau, Cheryl. (2009) "Making Citizens Smart: When do Institutions Improve Unsophisticated Citizens Decisions?" *Political Behavior* 31: 287-306.
- \* Goren, Paul. (2004) "Political Sophistication and Policy Reasoning: A Reconsideration." *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 462-478.
- Gordon, Stacy B. and Gary M. Segura. (1997) "Cross-National Variation in the Political Sophistication of Individuals: Capability or Choice?" *Journal of Politics* 59: 126-147.
- \* Luskin, Robert C. (1990) "Explaining Political Sophistication." *Political Behavior* 12: 331-362.
  - \* Luskin, Robert C. (1987) "Measuring Political Sophistication." *American Journal of Political Science* 31: 856-899.
- Neuman, W. Russell. (1986) *The Paradox of Mass Politics*.

## **D. Attitudinal Constraint**

- \* Ansolabehere, Stephen; Jonathan Rodden; James M Snyder Jr. (2008) "The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 102: 215-232.
- Federico, Christopher M. and Monica C. Schneider. (2007) "Political Expertise and the Use of Ideology: Moderating Effects of Evaluative Motivation." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 71: 221-252.
- \* Wyckoff, Mikel L. (1987) "Measures of Attitudinal Consistency as Indicators of Ideological Sophistication: A Reliability and Validity Assessment." *Journal of Politics* 49: 148-168.

- \* Nie, Norman H. and James N. Rabjohn. (1979) "Revisiting Mass Belief Systems Revisited: Or, Doing Research is Like Watching a Tennis Match." *American Journal of Political Science* 23: 139-175. Also see comments by Sullivan, Piereson, Marcus, Feldman, Bishop, Tuchfarber, Oldendick, and Bennett.
- \* Bishop, George F.; Alfred J. Tuchfarber; Stephen E. Bennett. (1978) "The Changing Structure of Mass Belief Systems: Fact or Artifact?" *Journal of Politics* 40: 781-790.
- \* Bishop, George F.; Alfred J. Tuchfarber; Robert W. Oldendick. (1978) "Change in the Structure of American Political Attitudes: The Nagging Question of Question Wording." *American Journal of Political Science* 22: 250-269.
- \* Sullivan, John L.; James E. Piereson; George E. Marcus. (1978) "Ideological Constraint in the Mass Public: A Methodological Critique and Some New Findings." *American Journal of Political Science* 22: 333-349.
- \* Nie, Norman H. and Kristi Anderson. (1974) "Mass Belief Systems Revisited: Political Change and Attitude Structure." *Journal of Politics* 36: 540-591.

#### **E. Dimensions of Political Judgment**

Rosenberg, Shawn W. (1988) "The Structure of Political Thinking." *American Journal of Political Science* 32: 539-566.

Rosenberg, Shawn W. (1988) *Reason, Ideology, and Politics*.

- \* Peffley, Mark A. and Jon Hurwitz. (1985) "A Hierarchical Model of Attitude Constraint." *American Journal of Political Science* 29: 871-890.
- \* Conover, Pamela J. and Stanley Feldman. (1984) "How People Organize the Political World: A Schematic Model." *American Journal of Political Science* 28: 95-126.
- Jackson, John E. (1983) "The Systematic Beliefs of the Mass Public: Estimating Policy Preferences with Survey Data." *Journal of Politics* 45: 840-865.
- Kinder, Donald R. (1983) "Diversity and Complexity in American Public Opinion." In Ada W. Finifter (Editor), *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*.
- \* Stimson, James A. (1975) "Belief Systems: Constraint, Complexity, and the 1972 Election." *American Journal of Political Science* 19: 393-418.

#### **F. The Levels of Conceptualization**

- \* Leighley, Jan. (1991) "Participation as a Stimulus of Political Conceptualization." *Journal of Politics* 53: 198-211.
- \* Jacoby, William G. (1988) "The Sources of Liberal-Conservative Thinking: Education and Conceptualization." *Political Behavior* 10: 316-332.
- \* Jacoby, William G. (1986) "Levels of Conceptualization and Reliance on the Liberal-Conservative Continuum." *Journal of Politics* 48: 423-432.
- Cassel, Carol. (1984) "Issues in Measurement: The Levels of Conceptualization' Index of Ideological Sophistication." *American Journal of Political Science* 28: 418-429.
- \* Hagner, Paul and John C. Pierce. (1982) "Correlative Characteristics of the Levels of Conceptualization." *Journal of Politics* 44: 779-807.

- \* Smith, Eric R. A. N. (1980) "The Levels of Conceptualization: False Measures of Ideological Sophistication." *American Political Science Review* 74: 685-696.

Nie, Norman H.; Sidney Verba; John R. Petrocik. (1979) *The Changing American Voter (Enlarged Edition)*. Chapter 7.

Field, John O. and Ronald A. Anderson. (1969) "Ideology in the Public's Conceptualization of the 1964 Election." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 33: 380-398.

### **G. The Liberal-Conservative Continuum and Public Opinion**

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