



Professor Christopher Gelpi

gelpi.10@osu.edu (<mailto:gelpi.10@osu.edu>)

<http://u.osu.edu/gelpi.10>

Spring 2023

Room: Derby Hall 0150

Meeting Time: Monday 2:00 - 4:45

Office Hours: Monday 1:00-2:00 and Thursday 1:00-2:00 in 2032 Derby Hall

This course will focus on the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy. The course is structured around four central questions:

- Does the public have coherent attitudes about foreign policy? If so, what is the content of those attitudes?
- How much influence do political leaders and the media have over the formation of public opinion regarding foreign policy?
- Do attitudes toward foreign policy issues influence electoral behavior?
- Does public opinion actually influence foreign policy behavior?

We will address these questions through a review of the literature on public opinion and foreign policy over the past 70 years. We will focus heavily on the case of the United States both because this is where much of the public opinion literature developed and because American foreign policy is so closely intertwined with much of the use of military force over the past 70 years. However, we will also reflect on other cases for comparison where possible. While the course does not require a background in statistics, a substantial proportion of the readings will include description and analysis of quantitative data on American public opinion.

Course Requirements:

Student performance will be evaluated on the following basis:

- 1) Most of our time in class will be spent discussing and analyzing the weekly readings, so attendance at and participation in the discussions are essential. In order to encourage participation, students will briefly (in 5 minutes or less!) present the ideas from their short papers (see below) during the class meetings on the relevant readings. **Class participation** (and discussion leadership) will count for **20%** of your final grade.
- 2) During the course of the semester each student must submit **two short papers (3-5 double spaced, typed pages)**. Students will sign up in advance for the weeks that they wish to write short papers. In these papers you are to analyze a particular reading or set of readings for your assigned week. From that reading or set of readings, students should identify an issue that they believe requires further research. Students must then describe the survey data that they would collect in order to study that issue. Papers should identify the population that would be surveyed, the specific question wording that would be used in the survey instrument, and the response options that would be provided to respondents. In addition, students should discuss how they believe the responses to these survey items would help to further our understanding of the issue in the readings that they identified. These two short papers will account for **30%** of your grade. You can find the signup list and schedule of papers here: [PS 7320 Paper Signup ↗\(https://signup.com/go/KTMqrMt\)](https://signup.com/go/KTMqrMt).
- 3) The third course requirement is a **research paper**. This paper should be **approximately 15-20 pages**. In these papers students will be expected to conduct an original analysis of American public opinion regarding some foreign policy related issue. Access to public opinion data on a variety of issues will be made available, but students should also feel free to address other issues or other data if they wish. I am willing to help students locate data that are of substantive interest to them. The research paper may take 1 of 3 basic forms:
 - An analysis of temporal trends in aggregate public attitudes toward a particular issue. This approach will require only very limited quantitative expertise.
 - A cross-sectional analysis of individual attitudes from one or more surveys. This approach will require some familiarity with a statistical software package and quantitative analysis techniques.
 - A research design paper focused on a survey experiment to test a hypothesis that the student identifies based on existing literature and/or their own theoretical expectations. This approach will not require quantitative analysis but does require basic familiarity with experimental design. Those who complete an experimental research design will be entitled to \$500 in research funds to pilot their study.

The research paper will account for **50%** of your grade.

Required Books:

One book is required for purchase of this course:

Baum, Matthew A., and Philip BK Potter. [War and democratic constraint: how the public influences foreign policy](https://www.amazon.com/War-Democratic-Constraint-Influences-Foreign/dp/0691165238) (https://www.amazon.com/War-Democratic-Constraint-Influences-Foreign/dp/0691165238). Princeton University Press, 2015.

All other readings are available online through OSU's full-text databases or on e-reserves. Students can obtain the readings by clicking on the links below. Students must be connected to the OSU network or through the OSU VPN client to download and print the readings.

Schedule of Readings - All listed readings are required

January 9 - Introductions and Organization

January 16 - NO CLASS - MLK Day

January 23 - Interpreting Survey Questions and Survey Response

Yeager, D. S., Krosnick, J. A., Chang, L., Javitz, H. S., Levendusky, M. S., Simpser, A., & Wang, R. (2011). Comparing the accuracy of RDD telephone surveys and internet surveys conducted with probability and non-probability samples. [Public opinion quarterly, 75 \(4\), 709-747](https://academic.oup.com/poq/article-abstract/75/4/709/1819617?redirectedFrom=fulltext&casa_token=ULnQr16yzU8AAAAA:AWpzg5yveEZGeXdQtkREKCfxXj9aKpEpBAsVtw62khTtBg1SJWYEoha0neOYtqJrPmcRIn7uPefTyA)(4), 709-747) (https://academic.oup.com/poq/article-abstract/75/4/709/1819617?redirectedFrom=fulltext&casa_token=ULnQr16yzU8AAAAA:AWpzg5yveEZGeXdQtkREKCfxXj9aKpEpBAsVtw62khTtBg1SJWYEoha0neOYtqJrPmcRIn7uPefTyA).

Castro Cornejo, R. (2019). Partisanship and question-wording effects: experimental evidence from Latin America. [Public Opinion Quarterly, 83\(1\), 26-45.](https://academic.oup.com/poq/article-abstract/83/1/26/5494624?redirectedFrom=fulltext&casa_token=bSft0MPEPMMAAAA:fMgMVZltz4cpWRF-WzDmuPhVQw6kKcpHqi0TKw72647_r5Hywcl98-b5MEcYMQAiokn9zdDuaOOOSQ) (https://academic.oup.com/poq/article-abstract/83/1/26/5494624?redirectedFrom=fulltext&casa_token=bSft0MPEPMMAAAA:fMgMVZltz4cpWRF-WzDmuPhVQw6kKcpHqi0TKw72647_r5Hywcl98-b5MEcYMQAiokn9zdDuaOOOSQ)

Prosser, C., & Mellon, J. (2018). The twilight of the polls? A review of trends in polling accuracy and the causes of polling misses. [\(4\), 757-790](https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/E479293C0A401A275D27BE46B4EDC998/S0017257X18000076a.pdf/twilight_of_the_polls_a_review_of_trends_in_polling_accuracy_and_the_causes_of_polling_misses.pdf) (https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/E479293C0A401A275D27BE46B4EDC998/S0017257X18000076a.pdf/twilight_of_the_polls_a_review_of_trends_in_polling_accuracy_and_the_causes_of_polling_misses.pdf).

<https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/how-fivethirtyeights-2020-forecasts-did-and-what-well-be-thinking-about-for-2022/> (https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/how-fivethirtyeights-2020-forecasts-did-and-what-well-be-thinking-about-for-2022/)

Robert M. Groves. 2006. "[Nonresponse Rates and Nonresponse Bias in Household Surveys](http://poq.oxfordjournals.org/content/70/5/646.full)" *Public Opinion Quarterly* Vol. 70, No. 5, Special Issue 2006, pp. 646–675.

Biemer, P. P. (2010). Total survey error: Design, implementation, and evaluation. *Public opinion quarterly*, 74
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GC6o7J0D70GemR7gqdrXZj-fY_c1MabC5jhX-y8CHFWxq2HplAXjb9c1iGeOxLxmnsU).(5), 817-848
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GC6o7J0D70GemR7gqdrXZj-fY_c1MabC5jhX-y8CHFWxq2HplAXjb9c1iGeOxLxmnsU).

January 30 - NO CLASS

Feb 6 - The Almond-Lippmann Consensus vs The Reasoning Public

Almond G. 1950. *The American People and Foreign Policy*. New York: Harcourt Brace. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. [Almond.4.pdf](https://osu.instructure.com/courses/136444/files/49726679/download?wrap=1) (https://osu.instructure.com/courses/136444/files/49726679/download?download_frd=1) [Almond.5.pdf](https://osu.instructure.com/courses/136444/files/49726679/download?download_frd=1) (<https://osu.instructure.com/courses/136444/files/49726680/download?wrap=1>) https://osu.instructure.com/courses/136444/files/49726680/download?download_frd=1

- Lippmann W. 1955. *Essays in the Public Philosophy*. Boston: Little Brown. Chapter 2. [Lippmann.pdf](#)
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- Caspary WR. 1970. The 'Mood Theory': A Study of Public Opinion and Foreign Policy. *Am. Polit. Sci. Rev.* ↗
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0003-0554%28197006%2964%3A2%3C536%3AT%22TASO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-A>. 64: 536-547 ↗<http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0003-0554%28197006%2964%3A2%3C536%3AT%22TASO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-A>
- Shapiro RY, Page BI, 1988. Foreign Policy and the Rational Public. *J. Confl. Res.* 32: 211-47 ↗
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0022-0027%28198806%2932%3A2%3C211%3AFPATRP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-T>
- Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1982. Changes in Americans' Policy Preferences 1935-1979. *Pub. Opin. Quart.* ↗<http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0033-362X%28198221%2946%3A1%3C24%3ACIAPP1%3E2.0.CO%3B2-4>. 46: 24-42 ↗<http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0033-362X%28198221%2946%3A1%3C24%3ACIAPP1%3E2.0.CO%3B2-4>
- Isernia, Pierangelo, Zoltan Juhasz, and Rattinger. 2002. "Foreign Policy and the Rational Public in Comparative Perspective" ↗<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3176172>." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 46 no. 2 201-224
- February 13 - The Structure of Individual Attitudes Toward Foreign Policy**
- Hurwitz, J, Peffley M. 1987. How Are Foreign Policy Attitudes Structured? A Hierarchical Model. *The American Political Science Review*. 81:1099-1120 ↗[http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0003-0554\(198712\)81%3A4%3C1099%3AHAFPAS%3E2.0.CO;2-L](http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0003-0554(198712)81%3A4%3C1099%3AHAFPAS%3E2.0.CO;2-L)
- Peffley M, Hurwitz, J. 1993. Models of Attitude Constraint in Foreign Affairs. *Political Behavior*. 15: 61-90 ↗
[http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0190-9320\(199303\)15%3A1%3C61%3AMOACIF%3E2.0.CO;2-Q](http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0190-9320(199303)15%3A1%3C61%3AMOACIF%3E2.0.CO;2-Q)
- Nincic, M. 1997. Domestic Costs, the U.S. Public, and the Isolationist Calculus. *International Studies Quarterly* 41: 593-609 ↗[http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0020-8833\(199712\)41%3A4%3C593%3ADCTUPA%3E2.0.CO;2-D](http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0020-8833(199712)41%3A4%3C593%3ADCTUPA%3E2.0.CO;2-D)
- Kertzer, J. D., Powers, K. E., Rathbun, B. C., & Iyer, R. (2014). Moral support: How moral values shape foreign policy attitudes. *The Journal of Politics*, 76 ↗
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- Gravelle, T. B., Reifler, J., & Scotto, T. J. (2017). The structure of foreign policy attitudes in transatlantic perspective: Comparing the United States, United Kingdom, France and Germany. *European Journal of*

Political Research, 56 ↗.(<https://ejpr.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdfdirect/10.1111/1475-6765.12197>) (4), 757-776 ↗
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February 20 - Agenda Setting, Priming and Framing

- Krosnick JA, Kinder DR. 1990. Altering the Foundations of Support for the President Through Priming. *Am. Polit. Sci Rev.* ↗.([http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0003-0554\(199006\)84%3A2%3C497%3AATFOSF%3E2.0.CO;2-N](http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0003-0554(199006)84%3A2%3C497%3AATFOSF%3E2.0.CO;2-N)) . 84: 497-512 ↗. (<http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0003-0554%28199006%2984%3A2%3C497%3AATFOSF%3E2.0.CO%3B2-N>)
- Berinsky A, Kinder D. 2006. Making Sense of Issues Through Media Frames: Understanding the Kosovo Crisis. *Journal of Politics.* ↗.(<http://web.mit.edu/berinsky/www/Kosovo.pdf>)
- Iyengar S, Simon A. 1993. News coverage of the Gulf crisis and public opinion: a study of agenda-setting, priming, and framing. ↗.(<http://crx.sagepub.com/content/20/3/365.short>) *Communication Research* 20:365-384.
- Aday S, Cluverius J, Livingston S. 2005. As goes the statue, so goes the war: the emergence of the victory frame in television coverage of the Iraq war. ↗.(http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/jbem49&div=30&g_sent=1&collection=journals) *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media.* 49:314-332.
- Canetti, D., Khatib, I., Rubin, A., & Wayne, C. (2019). Framing and fighting: The impact of conflict frames on political attitudes. *Journal of Peace Research, 56*(6), 737-752. ↗
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- Lecheler, S., & De Vreese, C. H. (2012). News framing and public opinion: A mediation analysis of framing effects on political attitudes. *Journalism & mass communication quarterly, 89*(2), 185-204 ↗
(<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1077699011430064>).

February 27 - Media Coverage, Media Bias, and Public Opinion

- Entman, R. 1989. How the Media Affect What People Think: An Information Processing Approach. *The Journal of Politics. 51*:347-370 ↗.([http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0022-3816\(198905\)51%3A2%3C347%3AHTMAWP%3E2.0.CO;2-L](http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0022-3816(198905)51%3A2%3C347%3AHTMAWP%3E2.0.CO;2-L))
- Groeling T. 2008. "Who is the Fairest of them All? An Empirical Test for Partisan Bias on ABC, CBS, NBC, and Fox News" ↗.(http://www.jstor.org/stable/41219706?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents). " *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 38, 4.
- Groseclose, T., & Milyo, J. (2005). A measure of media bias. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 120*(4), 1191-1237. ↗.(https://academic.oup.com/qje/article-abstract/120/4/1191/1926642?redirectedFrom=PDF&casa_token=pqucq550wc8AAAAAA:wIBNuLGHnJ1BZU71VGz4bT5jEsaaVIUmalKx4iXdZAQFJ8dYPCd2kAohG2OdpXSFFamphDgmIRDhcQ)
- Matthew A. Baum & Tim Groeling. Shot by the Messenger: Partisan Cues and Public Opinion Regarding National Security and War ↗.(http://www.jstor.org/stable/40213343?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents). "Political

Behavior Vol. 31 Issue 2, p157-186.

DellaVigna, Stefano, and Ethan Kaplan. *The Fox News effect: Media bias and voting*. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25098871?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents. No. w12169. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2006.

Baum, M. A., & Potter, P. B. (2019). Media, public opinion, and foreign policy in the age of social media. *The Journal of Politics*, 81(2), 747-756. [\(https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdf/10.1086/702233\)](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdf/10.1086/702233)

Nyhan, B., & Reifler, J. (2010). When corrections fail: The persistence of political misperceptions. *Political Behavior*, 32(2), 303-330. [\(http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-010-9112-2%C2%A0/fulltext.html\)](http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-010-9112-2%C2%A0/fulltext.html)

Wood, T., & Porter, E. (2019). The elusive backfire effect: Mass attitudes' steadfast factual adherence. *Political Behavior*, 41(1), 135-163. [\(https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-018-9443-y\)](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-018-9443-y).

Silverman, D., Kent, D., & Gelpi, C. (2022). Putting Terror in Its Place: An Experiment on Mitigating Fears of Terrorism among the American Public. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 66(2), 191-216. [\(https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/00220027211036935\)](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/00220027211036935).

Kreps, S., McCain, R. M., & Brundage, M. (2022). All the news that's fit to fabricate: AI-generated text as a tool of media misinformation. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 9(1), 104-117. [\(https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/40F27F0661B839FA47375F538C19FA59/S2052263020000378a.pdf/all-the-news-thats-fit-to-fabricate-ai-generated-text-as-a-tool-of-media-misinformation.pdf\)](https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/40F27F0661B839FA47375F538C19FA59/S2052263020000378a.pdf/all-the-news-thats-fit-to-fabricate-ai-generated-text-as-a-tool-of-media-misinformation.pdf)

Oliver, J. E., & Wood, T. J. (2014). Conspiracy theories and the paranoid style (s) of mass opinion. *American journal of political science*, 58(4), 952-966. [\(https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/ajps.12084\)](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/ajps.12084)

March 6 - Misinformation, Conspiracy Theories, and Correction Effects

Nyhan, Brendan, and Jason Reifler. "When corrections fail: The persistence of political misperceptions." *Political Behavior* 32.2 (2010): 303-330. [\(http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-010-9112-2%C2%A0/fulltext.html\)](http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-010-9112-2%C2%A0/fulltext.html)

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March 20 - Public Opinion and International Crises

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April 17 - Does Public Opinion Guide Foreign Policy?

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April 24 - Public Opinion and International Relations Theory: Diversionary War & the Democratic Peace

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May 1 - Research Papers Due 9:00 AM