# Measurement of Public Attitudes and Stability of Political Opinion

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Teaching Agenda



Pundamental Role of Citizens in Studying Political Opinion

Theory of "Instablity" of Attitudes: The 'Top of the Head' Model

4 Compounding the Problem: Measurement Error

## Preference Formation Opening Question



#### Motivating Question

Where do you think political preferences held by citizens come from? What do you think some of the "motivating" internal dynamics are with respect to the development of political preferences?

# Preference Formation in Political Science

#### What are "preferences?"

"Theories of human cognition are ultimately theories of physical, biological systems. Our ability to describe human cognition in one way rather than another rests ultimately on the physical and biological nature of human beings. Furthermore, the fact that human beings are grounded in the world implies additional constraints that must be taken into account in constructing our theories." Newell (1990:42)

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- Preferences as a comparative evaluation of a set of objectives that can be ranked
- Can be cognitive and reflective of prior experiences with stimuli–what does this mean?

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Example: Effect of Ideology on Congressional Approval Ratings



Proximity during Democratic Congresses



#### Ideological Component of Approval

► H<sub>1</sub>: ↑ Proximity × Democratic Congress = ↑ Probability of Congressional Approval Proximity during Republican Congresses



#### Ideological Component of Approval

► H<sub>2</sub>: ↑ Proximity × Republican Congress = ↓ Probability of Congressional Approval

# Conflicting Preferences: Ideology & Congressional Approval



Pol 157: American Public Opinion

Week 3: Issue Measurement & Stability

- Memory-based models: Preferences are derived from "memory", with citizens canvassing their memories for information on object attributes and use what they find to form preferences.
- What would be an example of this?

#### Iraq War & Majority Rule

*Individual Preference* Are you for or against withdrawing troops this year from Iraq?

*Explicit trade-offs:* Which of the following statements do you agree with the most?

- @ For democracy to work best, the will of the majority must be followed.
- @ For democracy to work best, the rights of the minority must be protected.

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- Component Bayesian Updating: updating running tally given new information, but not explicitly holding on to the information for future retrieval
- Some of these models rely on summated evaluations on political objects from memory. Example: candidate choice & "likes-dislikes"

#### 2018 CA-06 Congressional Election

*Candidate Likes-Dislikes:* Is there anything in particular about Doris. Matsui that might make you want to vote for her?

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- What can be an example of this?
- Persuasion Studies & Resistance to Information: Consensus
  - Receiving & Accept Message
  - Most aware citizens are those likely to receive information
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- Messaging effects
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# Bringing it Together: Zaller's "Top of the Head" Model

#### Hypothetical Top of the Head



# Draw of Equal Considerations

#### Hypothetical Top of the Head



# Bias Draw of Considerations

Hypothetical Top of the Head



#### ► Voters are bombarded with political *considerations* in everyday life

- Consideration is anything such as a belief, attitude, or fact that might support an opinion
- Where L = liberal considerations & C = conservative considerations
- Can you think of a *consideration* & predict how both citizens would respond to an opinion question based on the subject of your consideration?

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## Axioms of Zaller's Model

- Ambivalence: Citizens are generally susceptible to conflicting considerations
  - Reception: Citizens with *higher levels* of political interest & awareness are more likely to receive political information
  - Resistance: Citizens resist political information that are contrary to their predispositions (especially partisan & ideological preferences)
- Accessibility: Considerations that are more recent to a citizen are more accessible when responding to surveys or forming attitudes
- Response: Probability of a liberal or conservative survey response (or preference) given considerations present at the "top of the head". For example: Citizen in the bias sample has a 25% probability a liberal response.

## Evidence of the Resistance Axiom: Nixon Impeachment



Probabilities estimated from bivariate logistic regression model. Confidence intervals estimated with Huber-White Robust standard errors.

- Two Fundmental Concerns of Survey Researchers
  - In Non-Response
  - 2 Reporting "Error"
- Differing Survey Modes
  - Self-reporting surveys (Ex: Cooperative Congressional Election Study)
  - Interviewer administered surveys (Ex: traditional American National Election Survey)
- Which survey mode do you think produces more "sincere" and stable opinions?
- Self-administration "reduces fears or embarrassment" but may reduce concentration by the survey respondent
- Implications of survey mode differentials on top-of-the-head model?

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# Key Points

- Conceptualizing *preferences* critical to the understanding of American Political Behavior
- Preferences fundamentally are comparative evaluations subject to rank-ordering
  - Preferences can be multidimensional, such as evaluating candidates on valence & policy dimensions
- Clear distinction in models of preference formation, with implication of Zaller's model indicating lack of sincere preferences in the mass public
- Citizens resist new information that don't confirm their prior beliefs
- Survey researchers must also contend with survey mode in measurement of political attitudes