



## POLITICAL SCIENCE 7320 Foreign Policy Design



**Professor Christopher Gelpi**

[gelpi.10@osu.edu](mailto:gelpi.10@osu.edu)

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

**Fall 2016 Room: Derby Hall 2078 Meeting Time: Wednesday 12:00-2:45 Office Hours: Wednesday 2:45-4:45 in 2176 Derby Hall**

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

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

We will address these questions through a review of the literature on American public opinion and foreign policy over the past 50 years. 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. Students will also be asked to sign-up to lead the discussion on one set of 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.

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 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](#) 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

#### **August 24 - No Class Meeting**

#### **August 31 - Introductions, and Interpreting Survey Questions and Survey Response**

Roper, BW. 1984. Are Polls Accurate? *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* [472:24-34](#)

Lockerbie B, Borrelli S. 1990. "Question Wording and Public Support for Contra Aid, 1983-1986." *Public Opinion Quarterly* [54:195-208](#)

Keeter et. al. 2000. "Consequences of Reducing Non-Response Bias in a National Telephone Survey." *Public Opinion Quarterly* [64:125-148](#)

Lee Sigelman. 1981. "Question Order Effects on Presidential Popularity." [Public Opinion Quarterly](#)

[45:199-207.](#)

Tom Smith. 1987. "That Which We Call Welfare By Any Other Name Would Smell Sweeter." [Public Opinion Quarterly 51:75-83](#)

Robert M. Groves. 2006. "[Nonresponse Rates and Nonresponse Bias in Household Surveys.](#)" *Public Opinion Quarterly* Vol. 70, No. 5, Special Issue 2006, pp. 646–675.

## Part I - The Structure of American Public Attitudes Toward Foreign Policy

### **September 7-** The Almond-Lippmann Consensus & The Michigan School

Almond G. 1950. *The American People and Foreign Policy*. New York: Harcourt Brace. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5

Lippmann W. 1955. *Essays in the Public Philosophy*. Boston: Little Brown. Chapter 2.

Campbell A, Converse PE, Miller WE, Stokes DE. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley. Chapter 8 & Chapter 9

Converse PE. 1964. The Nature and Origin of Belief Systems in Mass Publics. in David Apter ed. pp.206-261. *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: The Free Press.

### **September 14 - A Reasoning Public?**

Zaller J. 1991. Information, Values, and Opinion. [The American Political Science Review 85:1215-1237](#)

Caspary WR. 1970. The 'Mood Theory': A Study of Public Opinion and Foreign Policy. [Am. Polit. Sci. Rev. 64: 536-547](#)

Shapiro RY, Page BI, 1988. Foreign Policy and the Rational Public. [J. Confl. Res. 32: 211-47](#)

Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1982. Changes in Americans' Policy Preferences 1935-1979. [Pub. Opin. Quart. 46: 24-42](#)

Jentleson B. 1992. "The Pretty Prudent Public: Post Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force." [International Studies Quarterly 36\(1\):49-73.](#)

Isernia, Pierangelo, Zoltan Juhasz, and Rattinger. 2002. "[Foreign Policy and the Rational Public in Comparative Perspective.](#)" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 46 no. 2:201-224

### **September 21 - The Structure of Individual Attitudes Toward Foreign Policy**

Nincic, M. 1997. Domestic Costs, the U.S. Public, and the Isolationist Calculus. [International Studies Quarterly 41: 593-609](#)

Wittkopf, E. 1986. On the Foreign Policy Beliefs of the American People: A Critique and Some Evidence. [International Studies Quarterly 30: 425-445](#)

Hurwitz, J, Peffley M. 1987. How Are Foreign Policy Attitudes Structured? A Hierarchical Model. [\*The American Political Science Review\*. 81:1099-1120](#)

Peffley M, Hurwitz, J. 1993. Models of Attitude Constraint in Foreign Affairs. [\*Political Behavior\*. 15: 61-90](#)

Herrmann, R, Tetlock P, Visser P. 1999. Mass Public Decisions to Go to War: A Cognitive-Interactionist Framework. [\*The American Political Science Review\*. 93:553-573](#)

Joshua Kertzer. 2013. "[Making Sense of Isolationism: Foreign Policy Mood as a Multi-level Phenomenon](#)." *The Journal of Politics* Volume 75, Issue 01, pp 225-240.

### **September 28 - Vietnam and the Vietnam Syndrome**

Verba S, Brody RA, Parker EB, Nie NH, Polsby NW, Ekman P, Black GS. 1967. Public Opinion and the War in Vietnam. [\*Am. Polit. Sci. Rev.\* 61: 317-333](#)

Mueller J. 1971. Trends in Popular Support for the Wars in Korea and Vietnam. [\*Am. Polit. Sci. Rev.\* 65: 358-375](#)

Gartner S, Segura G. 1998. "War Casualties and Public Opinion." [\*J Confl. Res.\* 42:278-320](#).

Klarevas, L. 2000. The Polls - [Trends in the United States Peace Operation in Somalia](#). *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 64:523

Burk J. 1999. Public Support for Peacekeeping in Lebanon and Somalia: assessing the Casualties Hypothesis. [\*Polit. Sci. Quart.\* 114: 53-78](#)

Mueller J. 2005. "The Iraq Syndrome." *Foreign Affairs* [84\(6\):44-54](#).

### **October 5 - Attitudes Toward Casualties: A Reasoning Public?**

Croco, Sarah E. "[The decider's dilemma: Leader culpability, war outcomes, and domestic punishment](#)." *American Political Science Review* 105.03 (2011): 457-477.

Boettcher, William, and Michael Cobb. 2006. "Echoes of Vietnam? Casualty Framing and Public Perceptions of Success and Failure in Iraq." [\*Journal of Conflict Resolution\* vol. 50 no. 6 831-854](#).

Berinsky A. 2007. "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict." *Journal of Politics* [69\(4\):975-997](#)

Gartner S. 2008. "The Multiple Effects of Casualties on Public Support for War: An Experimental Approach." *American Political Science Review* [102\(1\):95-106](#).

Gelpi, Christopher. 2010. "[Performing on Cue? The Formation of Public Opinion Toward War.](#)" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(1):88-116.

Baum M and T Groeling. 2010. "Reality Asserts Itself: Public Opinion on Iraq and the Elasticity of Reality." *International Organization* 64(3):443-479.

Part II - Elite Impact on the Formation and Expression of Public Opinion

### **October 12 - Agenda Setting, Priming and Framing**

Krosnick JA, Kinder DR. 1990. Altering the Foundations of Support for the President Through Priming. *Am. Polit. Sci Rev.* 84: 497-512

Stuart Soroka. 2003. "[Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy.](#)" *Press and Politics* 8(1):27-48.

Berinsky A, Kinder D. 2006. Making Sense of Issues Through Media Frames: Understanding the Kosovo Crisis. *Journal of Politics.*

Iyengar S, Simon A. 1993. [News coverage of the Gulf crisis and public opinion: a study of agenda-setting, priming, and framing.](#) *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.](#)

*Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media.* 49:314-332.

Nyhan, Brendan, and Jason Reifler. "[When corrections fail: The persistence of political misperceptions.](#)" *Political Behavior* 32.2 (2010): 303-330.

### **October 19 - 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

Groeling T. 2008. "[Who is the Fairest of them All? An Empirical Test for Partisan Bias on ABC, CBS, NBC, and Fox News.](#)" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 38, 4.

Mermin J. 1997. Television News and American Intervention in Somalia: The Myth of a Media-Driven Foreign Policy. *Political Science Quarterly* 112:385-403

Matthew A. Baum & Tim Groeling. 2008. "[New Media and the Polarization of American Political Discourse.](#)" *Political Communication* 25:4, 345-365.

Matthew A. Baum & Tim Groeling. [Shot by the Messenger: Partisan Cues and Public Opinion Regarding National Security and War.](#)" *Political Behavior* Vol. 31 Issue 2, p157-186.

DellaVigna, Stefano, and Ethan Kaplan. [The Fox News effect: Media bias and voting](#). No. w12169. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2006.

### Part III - Foreign Affairs and Electoral Choice

#### **October 26 - Foreign Policy and the Electoral Connection?**

Page BI, Brody RA. 1972. Policy Voting and the Electoral Process. [Am. Polit. Sci. Rev. 66: 979-95](#)

Aldrich JH. 1977. Electoral Choice in 1972: [A Test of Some Theorems of the Spatial Model of Electoral Competition](#). *J Mathematical Soc* . 5: 215-237

Aldrich JH, Sullivan JL, Bordiga E. 1989. Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates Waltz Before A Blind Audience? [Am Polit Sci Rev. 81: 123-141.](#)

Anand, S and J A Krosnick. 2003. "[The impact of attitudes toward foreign policy goals on public preferences among presidential candidates](#): A study of issue publics and the attentive public in the 2000 U.S. Presidential election." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* , 33, 31-71.

Nincic M, Hinkley B. Foreign Policy and the Evaluation of Presidential Candidates. [The Journal of Conflict Resolution 35:333-355.](#)

#### **November 2 - The Electoral Impact of Iraq and Afghanistan**

Karol D, Miguel E. 2005. "The Electoral Cost of War: Iraq War Casualties and the 2004 US Presidential Election." *Journal of Politics* [69\(3\):633-648.](#)

Hillygus DS, Shields T. 2005. "Moral Issues and Voter Decision Making in the 2004 Presidential Election." *PS: Political Science and Politics* [38\(2\):201-209.](#)

Seth J. Hill, Michael C. Herron, and Jeffrey B. Lewis. 2010. "[Economic Crisis, Iraq, and Race: A Study of the 2008 Presidential Election.](#)" *Election Law Journal* vol. 9, no.1.

Gill, Jungyun, and James DeFronzo. 2013. "[Military Tradition, the Human Costs of War, and the 2008 Election.](#)" *Armed Forces and Society*39(2):1-18.

Gelpi, Christopher, and Kristine Kay. 2014. Opting Out in 2012: Military Casualties, Vote Choice, and Voter Turnout in Obama's Bid for Reelection." Unpublished Manuscript.

Hibbs, Douglas. 2012. "[Obama's Reelection Prospects under 'Bread and Peace' Voting in the 2012 US Presidential Election.](#)" *PS: Political Science & Politics* Volume 45 Issue 04, pp 635-639

### Part IV - The Policy Impact of Public Opinion

### **November 9 - Does Public Opinion Guide Foreign Policy?**

Sobel R. 2001. *The Impact of Public Opinion on U.S. Foreign Policy Since Vietnam*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 9.

Baum, M. 2004. [How public opinion constrains the use of force: the case of operation restore hope](#). *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34:187-227.

Powlick P, Katz A. 1998. Defining the American Public Opinion/Foreign Policy Nexus. [Merston International Studies Review](#)42:29-61

Monroe AD. 1998. "[Public Opinion and Public Policy, 1980-1993](#)." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 62(1):6-28.

Foyle D. 2004. [Leading the Public To War? The Influence of American Public Opinion on the Bush Administration's Decision to go to War in Iraq](#). *International Journal of Public Opinion Research Annual* 16:269-295.

Gershkoff A and Kushner S. 2005. "Shaping Public Opinion: The 9/11-Iraq Connection in the Bush Administration's Rhetoric." *Perspectives on Politics* [3:525-553](#).

### **November 16 - From the Outside Looking In: Global Public Opinion and the United States**

Chiozza G. 2009. "[A Crisis Like No Other? Anti-Americanism at the Time of the Iraq War](#)." *European Journal of International Relations* 15(2):257-289.

Tai CS, Peterson EJ, and Gurr TR. 1973. "[Internal Versus External Sources of Anti-Americanism: Two Comparative Studies](#)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 17(3):455-488.

Datta MN. 2009. "[The Decline of America's Soft Power in the United Nations](#)." *International Studies Perspectives* 10(3):265-284.

Gentzkow MA and Shapiro JM. 2004. "[Media, Education, and Anti-Americanism in the Muslim World](#)." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18(3)117-133.

Stoycheff, Elizabeth, and Erik C. Nisbet. "[Priming the Costs of Conflict? Russian Public Opinion About the 2014 Crimean Conflict](#)." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* (2016): edw020.

### **November 23 - No Class - Thanksgiving Break**

### **November 30 - Public Opinion and International Relations Theory: Diversionary War & the Democratic Peace**

Baum, Matthew A., and Philip BK Potter. [\*War and democratic constraint: how the public influences foreign policy\*](#). Princeton University Press, 2015. (The whole book)

**December 7 - No Class (Work on your Research Paper!)**

**December 12 - Research Papers Due 5:00 PM**