Course Outline

Government 314 Public Opinion and Foreign Policy

Professor Douglas Foyle Government Department Wesleyan University

Note: This outline should not be used by students currently enrolled in this course. The current schedule, assigned readings, and requirements are available to enrolled students on the course Moodle.

For information on my grading policies, expectations, and the drop/add wait list process, see http://dfoyle.faculty.wesleyan.edu/.

Course Description

The relationship between leaders and the public remains a core concern of democratic theorists and political observers. This course examines the nature of public views on foreign policy, the ability of the public to formulate reasoned and interconnected perspectives on the issues of the day, and the public's influence on foreign policy decisions. The main focus is on the U.S. The role of the media and international events in shaping public perspectives and public attitudes toward important issues such as internationalism and isolationism, the use of force, and economic issues will be considered. Finally, the public's influence will be examined across a range of specific decisions. This course provides an intensive examination of a very specific area of research. As such, strong interest in learning about public opinion and foreign policy is recommended.

Requirements and Course Grading

Grades will be based on: (1) a take-home final (35%), (2) classroom participation (25%), (3) 2 essay papers (20% each).

Class periods will be devoted to a mixture of lecture and discussion. Students must come to class prepared to discuss the day's assigned reading.

Essays

Each paper should be between 2000-3000 words in length. (That is approximately 5-8 pages in length using Times New Roman 11 point font). Turn it in on the Moodle.

Topics: Students may respond to any of the daily discussion questions. Students may construct a topic of their own choosing with permission of the instructor.

You must write one essay from the first part of the course (due October 14) and one essay from the second part of the course (due December 7). You may turn in your essay paper at any point up until the deadline. Once midnight on the due date passes, late penalties apply

Final

The take- home final will be comprised of 2 essays. Each essay has a page limit of 1900 words (about 5 pages each using Times New Roman 11 point font). My expectation is that answers should be written in the format of an essay from an in-class final, but with higher expectations in terms of editing (spelling, grammar, etc.). You do not need to footnote anything. No reference to material from outside the course is expected, but you may consult any source you wish (except for other people). Given space constraints, it would be best not to quote any of the readings verbatim, but references to them will be expected. Be sure to integrate the concepts from the course into your answers.

Participation

Participation will be evaluated based upon the student's contribution to discussion, responsiveness to other students, and quality of insight. Class attendance is a basic requirement of the participation grade.

Readings

Books:

Carroll J. Glynn, et. al., Public Opinion, 3rd edition. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2016).

James N. Druckman & Lawrence R. Jacobs, <u>Who Governs?</u> (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2015).

Ole R. Holsti, <u>Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy</u>, rev. ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006)

Example Schedule

Section I: Introduction

Day 1: Who Should Be in Charge Here?

Day 2: The Meaning of Public Opinion

Glynn, Public Opinion, pp. 1-56, 89-104

Day 3: How to Measure Public Opinion

Glynn, Public Opinion, pp. 57-86.

Herbert Asher, <u>Polling and the Public: What Every Citizen Should Know</u>, 2007. Selections.

Jill Lepore, "Politics and the New Machine," New Yorker, November 16, 2015.

Day 4: Where Do Opinions Come From? Cognitive Processes and Social Forces

Glynn, Public Opinion, pp. 105-175.

Shanto Iyengar & Sean Westwood, "Fear and Loathing Across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization," unpublished paper, 2013.

Day 5: Where Do Opinions Come From? Perceptions and Economics

Glynn, Public Opinion, pp. 176-234.

Section II: Foreign Policy In Public Opinion

Day 6: The Public: Rationality and Structure?

Holsti, <u>Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy</u>, pp. 41-98 Glynn, <u>Public Opinion</u>, pp. 237-291

Day 7: The Public: Should the Public Be Trusted With Foreign Policy?

Holsti, Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy 1-40.

Foyle, Counting the Public In, pp. 1-9.

Foyle, Douglas C. "Public Opinion," Handbook of American Foreign Policy. Steven W. Hook and Christopher M. Jones, eds. (New York: Routledge Press, 2012).

Day 8: Public Attitudes: What Does the Public Think?

Holsti, Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy, pp. 241-289

Daniel Drezner, "The Realist Tradition in American Public Opinion." <u>Perspectives on</u> Politics 6 (2008): 51-70.

Barbara A. Bardes & Robert W. Oldendick, <u>Public Opinion: Measuring the American Mind</u>, 5th edition, 2017, pp. 245-270.

Day 9: Comparisons of the Opinions of Elites and the Mass Public

Holsti, Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy, pp. 99-163

Joshua Busby, Jonathan Monten, Jordan Tama, Dina Smeltz, Craig Kafura, "Measuring Up: How Elites and the Public See U.S. Foreign Policy," <u>Foreign Affairs</u> June 9, 2015.

Steven Kull & Clay Ramsay, "Elite Misperceptions of U.S. Public Opinion and Foreign Policy," in <u>Decisionmaking in a Glass House</u>, pp. 95-110.

Day 10: Who Thinks What?

Holsti, Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy, pp. 163-241.

Day 11: The Influence of Public Opinion: General

Philip Powlick and Andrew Katz, "Defining the American Public Opinion/Foreign Policy Nexus, Mershon International Studies Review (May 1998): 29-61. (Moodle Readings)

Glynn, Public Opinion, pp. 237-329

Day 12: The Influence of Public Opinion: Attitudes and Decision Makers

Lawrence Jacobs and Benjamin Page, "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?" <u>American</u> Political Science Review February 2005.

Douglas Foyle, Counting the Public In, pp. 9-49, 179-99.

Philip Powlick, "The Sources of Public Opinion for American Foreign Policy Officials," International Studies Quarterly 39 (1995): 427-51.

Steven Kull & Clay Ramsay, "Elite Misperceptions of U.S. Public Opinion and Foreign Policy," in Decisionmaking in a Glass House, pp. 95-110.

Last day to turn in Essay #1.

Day 13: The Influence of Public Opinion: Attitudes and Decision Makers Continued.

James N. Druckman and Lawrence R. Jacobs, 2015 Who Governs?, 3-40

Foyle, Counting the Public In, Chapters 4 and 6 (Dien Bien Phu and New Look).

Day 14: Presidential Popularity

Richard Brody and Catherine Shapiro, "A Reconsideration of the Rally Phenomenon in Public Opinion," in Samuel Long, ed., <u>Political Behavior Annual</u> v. 2 (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), pp. 77-102.

Matthew Baum, "The Constituent Foundations of the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon" <u>International Studies Quarterly</u> 46 (June 2002): 263-98.

Druckman & Jacobs, Who Governs?, pp. 43-93.

Day 15: Casualties and the Use of Force

John Mueller, "The Iraq Syndrome," <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, November/December 2005. Christopher Gelpi and John Mueller, "The Costs of War: How Many Casualties Will Americans Tolerate?" Foreign Affairs, January/February 2006.

Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver and Jason Reifler, "Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq." <u>International Security</u>, Winter 2005/2006.

Day 16: The Use of Force: Diversions and Constraint

Matthew A. Baum & Philip B.K. Potter, 2015 War and Democratic Constraint, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press) pp. 1-52.

Moore, Will H. and Ahmer Tarar. "Domestic–International Conflict Linkages." <u>The</u> International Studies Encyclopedia. 2010.

Day 17: The Research Process and the Millennials

Douglas C. Foyle, "The Millennial Generation and Foreign Policy: Attitudinal Dimensions and Sources," Paper presented at 2016 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Section III: Mediators of Public Influence

Day 18: Presidents

Foyle, Counting the Public In, pp. 201-56. (Carter, Reagan, Bush, Clinton)

Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobs, "Source Material: Presidents and Polling: Politicians, Pandering, and the Study of Democratic Responsiveness," <u>Presidential</u> Studies Quarterly 31 (March 2001): 150-67.

Druckman & Jacobs, Who Governs?, pp. 97-118.

Day 19: Elections

John Aldrich, et. al., "Foreign Policy and the Electoral Connection," <u>Annual Review of Political Science</u>, 2006

Day 20: Congress

Carter, Ralph and James M. Scott. "Institutional Actors in Foreign Policy Analysis." <u>The</u> International Studies Encyclopedia, 2010. pp. 7-11.

Benjamin Fordham, "Economic Interests, Party, and Ideology in Early Cold War Era Foreign Policy," <u>International Organization</u> 52 (Spring 1998): 359-96.

Lawrence R. Jacobs, Eric D. Lawrence, Robert Y. Shapiro, and Steven S. Smith, "Congressional Leadership of Public Opinion," <u>Political Science Quarterly</u> 113 (Spring 1998): pp. 21-41.

Day 21: Interest Groups

Haney, Patrick J. "Ethnic Lobbying in Foreign Policy." <u>The International Studies</u> Encyclopedia. 2010. (Moodle Readings).

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, <u>The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy</u>, 2007 (selections).

Martin Gilens & Benjamin Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens," <u>Perspectives on Politics</u> Fall 2014 V. 12 pp. 564-581.

Day 22: Media

Glynn, Public Opinion, pp. 330-384.

Diana Mutz and Lori Young, "Communication and Public Opinion," <u>Public Opinion</u> Quarterly, 2011, pp. 1018-1044.

Foyle, Douglas C. and Van Belle, Douglas A, "Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy Analysis," The International Studies Compendium Project, 2010. pp. 7-9.

Foyle, Douglas C. "Public Opinion, Foreign Policy, and the Media: Toward an Integrative Theory," Oxford Handbook on American Public Opinion and the Media. Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobs, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Selections.

Day 23: Vietnam

Richard Sobel, The Impact of Public Opinion on U.S. Foreign Policy, pp. 49-98.

Douglas Foyle, case studies on 1964 Tonkin Gulf, 1968 Tet Offensive, 1972 Spring Offensive.

Day 24: 1990-1991 Gulf War and 2003 Iraq War

1990-1991 Gulf War

Sobel, Impact of Public Opinion, pp. 141-74 (Moodle Readings)

2003 Iraq War

Douglas Foyle, "Leading the Public to War?" <u>International Journal of Public Opinion</u> Research, 2004 (Moodle Readings).

Michael Mazarr, "The Iraq War and Agenda Setting," <u>Foreign Policy Analysis</u>, January 2007, pp 1-23 (Moodle Readings)

Day 25: War and the Political System

Adam J. Berinsky, "Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict," in Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy 2012.

Matthew Baum & Tim Groeling, "Reality Asserts Itself: Public Opinion on Iraq and the Elasticity of Reality" International Organization 2010 pp. 443-79.

Daniel C. Hallin, "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support: A Critique of the Thesis of an Oppositional Media," <u>Journal of Politics</u>, Vol. 46, No. 1. (Feb., 1984), pp. 2-24.

Day 26: Public Opinion, Democracy, and Foreign Policy

Druckman & Jacobs, Who Governs?, pp. 119-38.

Holsti, Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy, pp. 289-325.

Glynn, Public Opinion, pp. 385-88.

Foyle, Counting the Public In, 257-89.

Last day to turn in Essay #2.

Final Due: Finals Day 1 at 11:59 p.m.