0. Untitled introduction: types of opinion-holding
   A. Arbitrary and capricious random patterns -- “doorstep” opinions (rational from a cost/benefit perspective)
   B. Predictable patterns
      1. Social group cues
      2. Economic self-interest cues
      3. Psychological cues
      4. Political cues: ideology and partisanship

I. Political attention and opinion-holding
   A. Political knowledge
      1. Explanations for variation
         a. Intrinsic
            (1) Less important: cognitive abilities & resources -- education, income
            (2) More important: personal taste – political “jocks” & issue specialists
         b. Contextual
            (1) Level of news coverage & public debate
            (2) Level of technical complexity
      2. Normative debate: should “informed” opinion carry greater weight?
      3. Opinion differences by level of information

   B. Converting information into opinions
      1. Anthony Downs: economic rationality explanation
      2. Psychologists: information processing explanations
         a. Online – running tally of new information updates
         b. Weighted average of remembered pros and cons

   C. Depth (stability) of opinion-holding
      1. Amount: panel data show roughly 10-25% switching polar extremes on policy issues
      2. Explanations:
         a. The “non-attitudes” explanation: Philip Converse
            (1) Theory: most respondents not concerned or knowledgeable but feel pressured to respond anyway
            (2) Implications for public policy-makers: ignore/manipulate public opinion
         b. The “measurement-error” explanation: Erikson
            (1) Theory: response instability varies little with political sophistication or knowledge; but instead is caused by
               (a) Framing & wording problems
               (b) Timing constraints of interviews that limit respondents to top-of-head judgments
            (2) Implications for survey researchers: write better questionnaires and conduct longer interviews
         c. The “environmental-stimuli” explanation: Zaller & Feldman
            (1) Theory: underlying attitudes are often stable, but due to multiple factors; therefore, expressed opinions can vary as
               changing environmental stimuli cause shifts in factor weighting
            (2) Implications for survey researchers: write better questionnaires and conduct longer interviews

II. Liberal-conservative ideology and the organization of opinions
   A. Definition of ideology: a coherent & consistent set of beliefs concerning the proper ends of government
   B. Classification schemes
      1. One-dimensional -- liberal/cenrist/conservative
         a. Straight line
         b. Circular
      2. Two-dimensional: three basic ends of government (freedom, equality, order)
C. Order v. freedom [when conservatives & populists favor “big” and liberals & libertarians favor “small” government]

1. Political
   a. Term limits (except when in majority)
   b. Flag burning

2. Social
   a. Domestic tranquility
      (1) Self-incrimination
      (2) Right to counsel
      (3) Drug suppression
      (4) Capital and corporal punishment
   b. Common defense
      (1) Secrecy/censorship
      (2) Military-industrial complex

3. Economic
   a. Foreign trade (multi-national corporate vs America-first/traditional conservatives)
   b. Immigration (except when labor shortages over-rule, e.g., high-tech & farm workers)

4. Moral
   a. Abortion
   b. Homosexuality
   c. Pornography (strange-bedfellows coalition with radical feminists)
   d. State-sponsored religion in public education
      (1) Prayer & religious exercises
      (2) State-funded charter schools
      (3) State-funded private-school vouchers
      (4) Creationism v. evolution

D. Equality v. freedom [when liberals & populists favor “big” and conservatives & libertarians favor “small” government]

1. Political
   a. Motor-voter Act
   b. Election-campaign advertising & financing
   c. Racial gerrymandering

2. Social
   a. Affirmative action
   b. Gun control
   c. Public-funding of the arts

3. Economic
   a. Health care
   b. Social security
   c. Environmental conservation
   d. Closed or union shop
   e. Minimum wage
   f. Class action lawsuits
   g. Consumer-product safety

4. Moral
   a. Speech codes

E. Problem: many controversies can be defined or perceived in more than one way

1. Civil War
   a. Abolitionist Republicans saw the issue primarily as equality -- civil rights of blacks
   b. Lincoln saw the issue primarily as order -- preserving the union

2. Government regulation of the economy
   a. Federalists, Whigs, and early Republicans saw the issue primarily as order -- protecting property and contract rights and subsidizing nation building
   b. Progressive Republicans and New-Deal Democrats saw the issue primarily as equality -- providing an economic safety net

F. Terminology [Table 3.6, p. 74]

G. Use of ideological language [Tables 3.7, p. 75; 3.8, p. 76; & 3.9, p. 77]

H. Ideology as liberal-conservative consistency [Figures 3.1, p. 79; & 3.2, p. 83; & Table 3.10, p. 81]

III. Party identification and the organization of political opinions

A. Measurement
   1. Attitudinal
   2. Behavioral

B. Stability over time

C. Perceptions of party differences [Table 3.11, p. 85; 3.12, p. 87; Figure 3.4, pp. 87-88]

1. Trends: pre-1964 vs. post-1964
2. Explanations: changes in parties & voters