POLARIZED PUBLICS
OPINION AND MEASUREMENT IN THE 2004 ELECTION

Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research
November 19-20, 2004
Chicago, IL, Radisson Hotel & Suites
November 19-20, 2004

David Weaver
School of Journalism
Indiana University

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2004 Annual MAPOR Conference  
November 19-20, 2004  
The Radisson Hotel & Suites Chicago  
Chicago, IL 60611

Friday, Nov. 19

8:30 am – 5 pm  
(Intermezzo)  
Registration (coffee, tea, bakery)

10 am – 11:30 am  
(Symphony A)  
Paper Session 1  
Attitudes Toward Science, Health, and Technology  
Moderator: Youssef, M., U of Iowa

“Attitudes toward science and technology in European candidate countries: A cross-national study,” Liao, D., U of Nebraska-Lincoln

“Public participation in science controversies: The importance of mobilizing information in the stem cell and cloning debates,” Goidel, R. K., Louisiana State U, & Nisbet, M. C., The Ohio State U

“Media and scientific citizenship: Exploring media effects on feelings of efficacy for science-related issues,” Brossard, D., U of Wisconsin, Madison, & Nisbet, M. C., The Ohio State U

“Effects of mass and interpersonal communication on breast cancer risk perceptions,” Jones, K. O., Denham, B. E., Clemson U, & Springston, J. K., U of Georgia

“Negative emotion, self-efficacy, and use of health information,” Lee, S., U of Wisconsin, Madison

Discussant: Andsager, J., U of Iowa  
(julie-andsager@uiowa.edu)

10 am – 11:30 am  
(Symphony B)  
Paper Session 2  
Religion and Public Opinion  
Moderator: Chang, M. Y., U of Nebraska-Lincoln

“The vanishing protestant majority,” Smith, T. W., U of Chicago (NORC)

“Polarization of the Pews: Evangelicals and the 2004 election,” Blake, K., Wyatt, R. O., & Pahl, K., Middle Tennessee State U

“The Passion of the Christ’ and third-person perceptions of anti-Semitism,” Pernell, D., Middle Tennessee State U

“Value conflicts, frames, and news reports of ‘The Passion of the Christ’,” Greer, C. F., & Haffey, D. B., Cedarville U

Discussant: Burrell, B., Northern Illinois U  
(TI08CB1@WPO.CSO.NIU.EDU)
10 am – 11:30 am  
(Symphony C)  
**Paper Session 3**  
Framing Public Opinion  

**Moderator:** Hoffman, L., The Ohio State U

“He said, she said, they said: Framing the testimony of Richard Clarke and Condoleezza Rice,” Millner, M. M., Montana, & Whitle, H. A., Murray State U


“The Write Stuff: How news frames and predispositions influence willingness to write a letter to the editor,” Atkinson, L., U of Wisconsin, Madison

**Discussant:** Fan, D., U of Minnesota  
(dfan@ncsu.edu)

11:45 am – 1:15 pm  
(Encore, 13th floor)  
**Luncheon (ticket required)**

**Presiding:** Allan McCutcheon, MAPOR President  
MAPOR Fellows  
Top Student Paper Award

**Speaker:** Frank Newport  
The Gallup Organization

**Sponsor:** The Gallup Organization

1:30 pm – 3 pm  
(Symphony A)  
**Panel 1**  
Statistical and Visual Techniques for Handling Missing Data

**Moderator:** Daves, R., Minneapolis Star Tribune

**Panelists:**  
Wyatt, R., Middle Tennessee State U  
Blake, K., Middle Tennessee State U  
Fan, D., U of Minnesota  
Hofmann, H., Iowa State U

1:30 pm – 3 pm  
(Symphony B)  
**Paper Session 4**  
Measurement Issues – Measuring Opinions Online

**Moderator:** Burrell, B., Northern Illinois U

“Can’t get no satisfaction: A comparison of the uses and gratifications of traditional and new media channels,” Bracken, C. C., Cleveland State U

“Public opinions in cyberspace: The case of China,” Yuan, X., Southern Illinois U-Carbondale
"It's in the way that you use it': The impact of tailoring internet survey recruitment to how we use email," Basson, D., Boulianne, S., U of Wisconsin, Madison, & Klofstad, C. A., Harvard U

**Discussant:** Kay, W., Adirondack Communications Inc. (wkay@adirondack-inc.com)

1:30 pm – 3 pm  
**(Symphony C)**  
**Paper Session 5**  
**Measurement Issues – Sampling I**

**Moderator:** Tewksbury, D., U of Illinois-UC

"Random access to random digit telephone lists: A retrospective analysis," Ehrlich, N., & Hembroff, L., Michigan State U

"Availability as a mediating factor in response rate estimation," Hembroff, L., & Ehrlich, N., Michigan State U


"Why walked away from our survey? A study of non-respondent profiles in mail surveys between 1994-2004," Aida, M., U of Michigan, Kobayashi, T., U of Tokyo, Japan

**Discussant:** Loft, J., RTI (jloft@RTI.ORG)

3:15 pm – 4:45 pm  
**(Symphony A)**  
**Panel 2**  
**Polarized Publics?**  
**Battleground States in Election 2004**

**Moderator:** Tewksbury, D., U of Illinois-UC

**Panelists:**  
Daves, R., Minneapolis Star Tribune  
Kosicki, G., The Ohio State U  
Panagakis, N., Market Shares Corporation  
Frankovic, K., CBS News  
Ferree, D., UW Survey Center

3:15 pm – 4:45 pm  
**(Symphony B)**  
**Paper Session 6**  
**Talk, Silence and Censorship**

**Moderator:** Han, J. Y., U of Wisconsin, Madison

"Faces of censorship: Willingness to censor, willingness to self-censor, and support for First Amendment rights," Reineke, J. B., The Ohio State U

"Self-censorship through nonparticipation in political activity: Results from a national poll," Hayes, A. F., & Huge, M., The Ohio State U

Democratically structured deliberation: A new solution to democracy’s problem of scale," Pingree, R., U of Wisconsin, Madison

"Measurable hesitation as a precursor to self-censorship: Replication and extension of the minority slowness effect," Huge, M., The Ohio State U
"The spiral of silence and fear of isolation," Neuwirth, K., U of Cincinnati, Frederick, E., U of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Mayo, C., U of Southern Mississippi

**Discussant:** Neuendorf, K., Cleveland State U (k.neuendorf@sims.csuohio.edu)

3:15 pm – 4:45 pm (Symphony C)

**Paper Session 7**

Public Opinion, 9/11, and Other Current Issues

**Moderator:** Zhang, W., Austin Peay State U

"Media, anxiety and international support for the Iraq war," Willnat, L., George Washington U

"Trust in other nations among the American public," Brewer, P. R., U of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Vercellotti, T., Elon U


"Nationalistic ambiguity in the shadow of occupation: Opinion discourse as meaning-maker in a post-Iraq war context," Berkowitz, D., Youssef, M., & Ismail, A., U of Iowa

**Discussant:** Nisbet, M. C., The Ohio State U (nisbetmc@yahoo.com)

3:15 pm – 4:45 pm (Intermezzo)

**Poster Session**

"Mass media use, social capital, and enlightened political engagement," Lee, E., Cornell U

"Public opinion about foreign direct investment: On the future of India's print media," Colaco, B. P., Southern Illinois U-Carbondale

"Dissatisfied residents, expressive citizens: The role of community satisfaction and efficacy in promoting political expression," Nisbet, E. C. & Besley, J., Cornell U

"Attitudes toward the obese as expressed by television humor," Muller, S., & White, H. A., Murray State U


"How motives for going online for sports information are linked to Internet activities," Johnson, T. J., Southern Illinois U-Carbondale, & Jaye, B. K., U of Tennessee

"Over the electronic backyard fence: reader emails to a local columnist," Page, J. T., & Wanta, W., U of Missouri
Cocktail Pedagogy Hour

Presiding: Allan McCutcheon, MAPOR President
Speaker: Bob Groves, Director, University of Michigan Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research
Sponsor: Marketing Systems Group

Welcome Dinner (Dutch treat)

New and longtime members are invited to joint MAPOR’s President, Allan McCutcheon, and other MAPOR members for dinner. This will give everyone a chance to meet other MAPOR members and participants.
Saturday, Nov. 20

8:00 am – noon
Intermezzo

Registration (coffee, tea, bakery)

8:30 am – 10 am
Symphony A

Paper Session 8
Social Context and Public Opinion

Moderator: Schott, A., Northern Illinois U

“The effects of residential context on political judgment and roles of communication: A multilevel approach,” Seo, M., & Kosicki, G., The Ohio State U

“The differential roles of network size and network heterogeneity in civic participation,” Wang, Z., Cornell U

“The role of social networks in news learning,” Thomson, T. L., The Ohio State U

“Conceptualizing contextual effects in communication research,” Paek, H., U of Wisconsin, Madison

Discussant: Tewksbury, D., U of Illinois-UC (tewksbur@uiuc.edu)

8:30 am – 10 am
Symphony B

Paper Session 9
Studying Demographic Differences

Moderator: Ard, R., Northern Illinois U


“Inter-racial differences in an increasingly inter-racial world: Unfolding factors of white, black, and latino public opinion toward government spending and social welfare issues,” Greer, C. M., Columbia U

Discussant: Blanks Hindman, D., Washington State U (dhindman@mail.wsu.edu)

8:30 am – 10 am
Symphony C

Paper Session 10
Measurement Issues – Interviewing and Wording

Moderator: Kim, E., U of Wisconsin, Madison


“Verbal behaviors in event history calendar and question-list interviews: Interactions with respondents' race,” Callegaro, M., Belli, R. F., & Liao, D., U of Nebraska-Lincoln
"Cognitive Interviewing: Developing a probing model that yields valid data," Hjermstad, E., U of Nebraska-Lincoln

"Pilot study heuristics: Applying theory to develop a methodological map," Chew, F., Syracuse U, & Tote, R., Frank N Magid Associates


**Discussant:** Everett, S., The Everett Group
   (steve@everettgroup.com)

10:15 am – 11:45 am  Paper Session 11
**Symphony A**
New and Traditional News Media

**Moderator:** Paek, H., U of Wisconsin, Madison

"Online reading styles and audience engagement with the news," Tewksbury, D., & Bibart, A., U of Illinois-UC

"New media/old media: Comparing use by young adults in Germany, the US and New Zealand," Davis, D., Broege, S., Otago U, New Zealand, Raman, V., Pennsylvania State U, Steinmetz, R., U of Leipzig, Germany

"What are they thinking? Internet use, opinions, and attitudes of young Europeans," Goh, D., Indiana U

"Use of Google newsgroups and mainstream news media to predict opinions and behaviors regarding cigarette smoking," Fan, D., Nordgren, L., & Finnegan, J., U of Minnesota

"Online news credibility: An examination of the perceptions of newspaper journalists," Cassidy, W. P., U of Wisconsin-Whitewater

**Discussant:** Johnson, T. J., Southern Illinois U-Carbondale
   (tjohnson@siu.edu)

10:15 am – 11:45 am  Paper Session 12
**Symphony B**
Media, Mobilization, and Participation

**Moderator:** Lee, E., Cornell U

"Mobilizing information online: The effects of primary-source and secondary-source website use on political engagement," Hardy, B., Cornell U

"Post-9/11 civil liberties attitudes and their effects on civic participation," Zhang, W., & Kanervo, E., Austin Peay State U

"Mobilizing information as a link to political participation: A content analysis of online and print newspapers," Hoffman, L. H., The Ohio State U

"Communication and citizen participation: A conceptual & empirical review and suggestions for future research," Kanervo, E., & Zhang, W., Austin Peay State U
“Social capital: Community engagement vs. political participation,” Jeffres, L. W., Neuendorf, K., & Bracken, C., Cleveland State U

Discussant: Kosicki, G., The Ohio State U (kosicki.1@osu.edu)

10:15 am – 11:45 am  
Symphony C  
Measurement Issues – Sampling II  

Moderator: Scholl, R., U of Wisconsin, Madison

“Predicting sampled respondents’ likelihood to cooperate,” Lavrakas, P. J., Burks, A. T., Bennett, M., & Usmanova, N., Nielsen Media Research


Discussant: Daves, R., Minneapolis Star Tribune (daves@startribune.com)

11:45 am – 1:45 pm  
Lunch (on your own)

1:45 pm – 3:15 pm  
Symphony A  
Panel 3  
Polarized publics or polarized elites:  
Elites, media, and public opinion during the 2004 election

Moderator: Zhang, W., Austin Peay State U

Panelists: Kosicki, G., The Ohio State U  
Graber, D., U of Illinois-Chicago  
McLeod, J., U of Wisconsin, Madison

1:45 pm – 3:15 pm  
Symphony B  
Paper Session 14  
The Interplay of Media, Politics, and Public Opinion

Moderator: Hardy, B., Cornell U

“The public image of polls and pollsters,” Kennedy, C., & Traugott, M., U of Michigan

“Education, need for cognition, and interest as moderators of news use effects on political knowledge: The knowledge gap in the 2000 campaign,” Liu, Y., & Eveland, W. P., The Ohio State U
"Information environments and voter deliberation: Unraveling the effects of campaign intensity," **Xenos, M., U of Washington**

"The influence of early-life health and social conditions on later health and morbidity," **Chang, M. Y., U of Nebraska-Lincoln, & Belli, R., U of Nebraska-Lincoln**

**Discussant:** **Jeffres, L. W., Cleveland State U**  
(l.jeffres@csuohio.edu)

1:45 pm - 3:15 pm  
**Symphony C**  
**Paper Session 15**  
Perceptions of Public Opinion and Public Opinion Perceptions

**Moderator:** **Lockett John, S., U of Washington**

"Underestimating effects on self or overestimating effects on others? Exploring the psychological mechanisms behind the third-person effect," **Paek, H., Sun, Y., Pan, Z., Abisaid, J., Ma, X., & Hwang, H., U of Wisconsin, Madison**

"Academic vs. personal expertise: TPE implications," **White, H. A., Murray State U, & Andsager, J., U of Iowa**

"Media and economic behavior," **Scholl, R. P., U of Wisconsin, Madison**


**Discussant:** **Brossard, D., U of Wisconsin, Madison**  
(dbrossard@wisc.edu)

3:30 pm - 5:00 pm  
**Symphony A**  
**Paper Session 16**  
Cognitive Effects on Public Opinion

**Moderator:** **Nah, S., U of Wisconsin, Madison**

"Revisiting priming effects: Comparing the role of temporary accessibility and chronic accessibility in political judgment," **Ju, Y., & Song, H., U of Missouri-Columbia**

"Tone of coverage, attitudes toward the president, and media priming effects," **Song, H., U of Missouri-Columbia**

"Argument repertoire and political efficacy: Exploring conceptual and empirical linkages," **Manosevitch, E., U of Washington**

"A new examination of media priming effects on presidential evaluations using survey data," **Quian, Y., U of Michigan**

**Discussant:** **Hayes, A., The Ohio State U**  
(hayes.338@osu.edu)
3:30 pm – 5:00 pm
Symphony B

Paper Session 17
Persuasion and Public Opinion

Moderator: Xenos, M., U of Washington

“Using exemplar credibility to increase message effectiveness,” Andsager, J. L., U of Iowa, & White, H. A., Murray State U

“The boomerang effect of negative political advertising: A meta-analysis,” Zhao, Y., Southern Illinois U-Carbondale

“The effects of internet advertising on movie consumers’ use and opinions of advertising media for movies,” Hixson, T. K., U of Wisconsin-Whitewater


Discussant: Perloff, R., Cleveland State U
(r.perloff@csuohio.edu)

5:00 pm – 5:30 pm
Symphony C

Business Meeting

5:30 pm – 6:30 pm
Intermezzo

Social Hour