

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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2003-2004

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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
(TIOBCB1@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,"
Miller, M. M., Montana, & **White, H. A.**, Murray State U

"The impact of newsroom philosophy on story ideation and story narration," **Becker, L. B.**,
Vlad, T., **Coffey, A. J.**, **Hebert, L.**, **Nusser, N.**, & **Arceneaux, N.**, U of Georgia

"Framing competition: How Seattle newspapers report the story of their lives," **Lockett John,**
S., & **Moy, P.**, U of Washington

"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@cbs.umn.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

"Sample contacting of sensitive institutional entities post September 11, 2001: Building the World Trade Center Health Registry," **Trevarthen, N.**, **Dolan, M.**, RTI International, & **Brackbill, R.**, NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene

"Why ~~it~~ 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

"Democracy and rationality: Media use and political synchronicity," **Long, C.**, & **McLeod, D. M.**, U of Wisconsin, Madison

"Nationalistic ambiguity in the shadow of occupation: ^{Consistency?} ^{how related to mainstreaming?} ^{Newspaper opinion pages} ~~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

"Convergent and divergent narratives: Testing Chaffee's predictions," **Jensen, J. D.**, & **Hurley, R. J.**, U of Illinois-UC

"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

5 - 6 pm
(Symphony A)

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

7 pm
Hotel Lobby

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 Registration (coffee, tea, bakery)
Intermezzo

8:30 am – 10 am Paper Session 8
Symphony A 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 Paper Session 9
Symphony B Studying Demographic Differences

Moderator: Ard, R., Northern Illinois U

"The politics of gender in the 2004 election," Burrell, B., Northern Illinois U

"Rockin' the teenage vote: A real-life civic 'experiment' in Baltimore, MD and its effects on the political socialization of 16- and 17-year-old voters," Horowitz, E. M., Cleveland State U, Haigh, M. M., Wanstrom, J., & Parker, K. A., U of Oklahoma

"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 Paper Session 10
Symphony C Measurement Issues –
Interviewing and Wording

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

"Interviewer effects in an RDD telephone pre-election poll in Minneapolis and St. Paul: An analysis of the combined effects of interviewer race and gender," Callegaro, M., U of Nebraska-Lincoln, Krosnick, J. A., Stanford U, De Keulenaer, F., U of Antwerp, Belgium, & Daves, R., Minneapolis Star Tribune

"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

"Bilingual interviewer selection and training: More evidence and questions," **Sha, M. M.**, & **Athey, L.**, NORC

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

10:15 am – 11:45 am
Symphony A

Paper Session 11
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
(Public Affairs - Wynett + Ken Blake on tolerance)

"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

Review middlebury studies of journalists' views on credibility

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

Newslink - list of online newspapers in 45 (1,990 or 10)

10:15 am – 11:45 am
Symphony B

Paper Session 12
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

Paper Session 13
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

"Presenting response rates in telephone and face-to-face surveys," **Owens, L. K., Retzer, K. F., & Johnson, T. P.**, U of Illinois-Chicago

"Cash vs. sweepstakes incentives in a web-based survey: Quality implications," **Crawford, S.**, Survey Sciences Group, Ann Arbor, MI, **Johnson, E. O.**, Henry Ford Health Sciences Center, **Pope, D.**, Market Strategies Inc., & **Esteban McCabe, S.**, U of Michigan

"Breaking off in the middle: Partial interviews in a large telephone survey," **Olson, K.**, U of Michigan, **Murray, M. C., Cardoni, J., Battaglia, M.**, Abt Associates, & **Lepkowski, J.**, U of Michigan

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

book: Culture Wars?
Information muddy at elite level?
Page + Skypire

"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.**, **Abisaïd, 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

"Sports in the media: Perceptions of athletic behavior," **Atkin, D.**, **Jeffres, L. W.**, **Lee, J. W.**, & **Neuendorf, K.**, Cleveland State U

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 Washinton

“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

“Wartime presidents: Framing arguments to mold public opinion,” **White, H. A.**, Murray State U, & **Miller, M. M.**, Montana

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