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- ► How about people in your neighbourhood?
- ► How about people in your State?
- ► How about the general public?
- ► How much does the public know about current and political affairs?



Public Opinion & Political Engagement

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Outline



Public Opinion

Interest, Knowledge, Ignorance

Mass Media

Brexit and Online News

Does it matter?

Discussion

What is Public Opinion?



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- ▶ Public opinion is how society collectively views political and current affairs, policy issues and political leaders.
- ► Public opinion has a significant but somewhat unpredictable impact on politicians, politics and policy.
- ▶ Public opinion matters! at least for democratic systems

Key Questions



- ► Do people have an opinion?
- ► Is there a collective opinion on political matters? And if so, how many?
- ► What if people don't know what they want? Either due to ignorance, lack of interest, or indecisiveness.
- ► Can people express their opinion?
- ► How do people express their opinion?
- Does / How does / Should the government respond to public opinions?

Allocating Power



► Long lasting history of political leaders, scholars, etc being sceptical of the people's ability to make decisions on political matters (e.g. Socrates and Plato)

Allocating Power



Walter Lippman

in "Public Opinion" (1922), Walter Lippman suggests that the public's limited access to complex information might hinder their ability to make sound political judgments.

Joseph Schumpeter

in "Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy" (1942) argues that the public's role in decision-making is largely reduced to choosing between competing elites, rather than direct involvement in policy formulation.

Plato's Ship of State (Plato, 1982)



Imagine the governance of a state as the command of a ship. Question: who is fit to be captain of the ship? and thus command the ship?

- ► People = strong but near-sighted shipowner, who lack knowledge of seafaring and navigation
- ► Politicians and representatives = a group of arguing sailors, fighting for the title of captain, but also completely lacking knowledge of navigation
- ► Philosopher-king = navigator, stargazer, true captain

Plato's Ship of State (Plato, 1982)



► Is it irresponsible to let people vote without prior knowledge and training?

America – ratification of Constitution (1787-1788)



Federalists

Strict supporters of the Constitution and a stronger national republic

Anti-Federalists

Those in favour of small, localised government

Allocating Power



The key issue is the distribution of power — to political leaders or to the people.

- ► If the majority of people are ignorant or unable to be fully trusted with the work of governing Strong national republic seems better (Federalists)
- ➤ To protect liberty and freedom of the people, smaller localised governments are better with more participation of the masses. (Anti-Federalist)

Which argument seems justified?



- Can we ask every citizen to decide on every political decision?
- Do citizens have the time, money, and knowledge to make such decisions?
- ► What decisions should be down to the citizens? which decisions should be made by the "professionals"?
- ▶ Should some people get more votes than others?
- ▶ Who should get more votes than others?
- ► Is electing a representative just handing over your votes to that person? how is that different from giving unequal numbers of votes to people?

These are questions we will return to at the end of this lecture...

Attention, Knowledge, Ignorance



Public sphere (Habermas, 1989)

Public sphere is an accessible social space open to public debate, where general concerns and opinions are the subject of discussion and exchange.

Where does Public Opinion come from?



Where does Public Opinion come from?



- Social Network
- Mass Media
- Public figures (politicians, influencers)
- Education
- Socialisation
- ► Social/Cultural/Political Identity
- Economy
- Cognition Emotions
- Current Affairs
- ► Political Issues

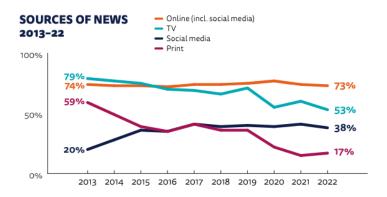
Mass Media



- ► Media landscape is changing, with Online media rising
- ► Internet facilitates a high-choice media environment (Van Aelst et al., 2017)
- ▶ Some academics express worry regarding the rising ideological segregation among the public, attributed to novel technological shifts in the consumption of online media (Anderson, 2006; Adamic and Glance, 2005; Bozdag and Hoven, 2015; Conover et al., 2011; Sunstein, 2007).

Sources of News in the UK





Sources of News in the US



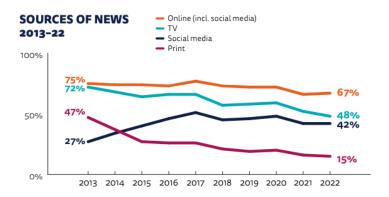
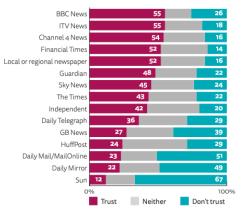


Figure: Newman et al., 2017

Trust in News in UK



BRAND TRUST SCORES



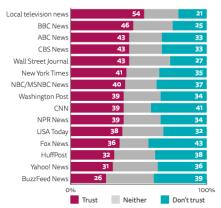
Trust = % scored 6-10 on 10-point scale, Don't trust = 0-4, Neither = 5. Those that haven't heard of each brand were excluded. Only the above brands were included in the survey so should not be treated as a list of the most trusted brands.



Trust in News in US



BRAND TRUST SCORES



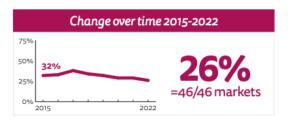
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Trust in News in US



OVERALL TRUST SCORE



Media Consumption and Age in UK

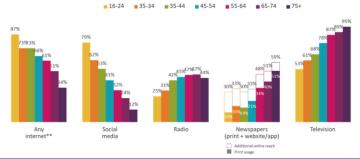


Younger age groups are more likely to use the internet and social media for news. Reach of newspapers doubles for groups aged 16-44 when online newspapers are included



Figure 2.5

Use of main platforms for news nowadays 2022* – by age All adults 16+



Source: Oftom News Consumption Survey 2022 - COMBNED F2F & ONLINE sample
Question: C1. Which of the following platforms do you set for news nowadays?
Base: All Adults 16+ 2022 W2* - Aged 16-24-442, 25-34-385, 35-44-520, 45-34-483, 55-64-412, 65-74-346, 75++223
*2022 W1 data not shown because face-to-face fieldwork was not possible during Covid-19 pandemic
**Internet figures include use of social media. podcasts and all other weeklots/apos accessed via any device

Online Media Consumption and Brexit



How polarised was online media consumption in the UK during the Brexit referendum campaign?

Clicks on Brexit News Online



Table 2: Negative Binomial Model

| | Dependent variable: Nr. of Clicks | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | | |
| | (1) Full Sample | (2) Super-Readers Excluded |
| Remain (ref. = Leave) | -0.382** | 0.035 |
| | (0.179) | (0.142) |
| Undecided | -1.394*** | -0.688*** |
| | (0.292) | (0.231) |
| Constant | 2.610*** | 1.904*** |
| | (0.137) | (0.110) |
| Observations | 202 | 197 |
| Log Likelihood | -664.194 | -570.801 |
| θ | 0.772^{***} (0.073) | 1.434^{***} (0.168) |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 1,334.389 | 1,147.602 |

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

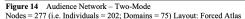
Figure: Jarnach, forthcoming

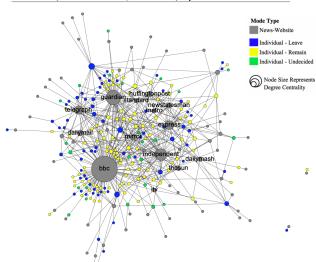


Online Audience Network of Brexit News



Jarnach (forthcoming)

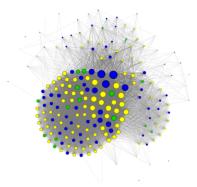




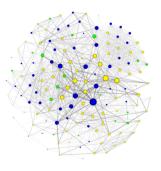
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Jarnach (forthcoming)



(a) Co-Individual Simple Projection (SP)



(e) Pruned Projection using Marginal Likelihood Filter (MLF), the top 15% of the edges are retained; Giant Component; 56 isolates are not presented

Consumption of political news is low



Jarnach (forthcoming)

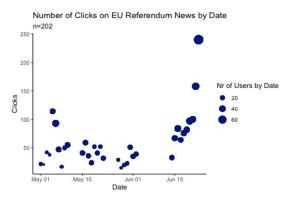


Figure 3 Number of Clicks on EU Referendum News by Date. Note: The clickstream collection period starting on 1 May to 23 June has gaps in the data from the 11 to 14 May, 23 to 26 May, and 3 to 13 June.

But does it matter? Yes



- ▶ Research by Andersen et al. (2002) concludes that political knowledge of the electorate matters, as individuals with higher knowledge are more likely to match their issue preferences to party platforms.
- ➤ Those generally more interested and engaged in politics are more likely to form an opinion and be internally coherent in their political attitudes and beliefs (e.g. Berelson et al., 1966; Lazarsfeld, et al., 1948; Baldassarri Gelman, 2008).

But does it matter? No



- ▶ Rational ignorance (Downs, 1957) refers to a situation where individuals deliberately choose not to acquire certain information or knowledge because the cost of obtaining that information exceeds the potential benefits they would gain from it.
- ▶ Political ignorance may not matter because individuals with limited knowledge can still make sound decisions by relying on informational cues (e.g. Page and Shapiro 1992; Wittman 1995; Lupia and McCubbins 1998).
- ▶ If voter ignorance is random and unbiased, it might not have a significant impact on election outcomes because uninformed voters' preferences would effectively cancel each other out. (Wittman, 1995)

Discussion



- ► Is it irresponsible to let people vote without prior knowledge and training?
- Can we ask every citizen to decide on every political decision?
- Do citizens have the time, money, and knowledge to make such decisions?
- ► What decisions should be down to the citizens? which decisions should be made by the "professionals"?
- ► Should some people get more votes than others?
- ▶ Who should get more votes than others?
- ► Is electing a representative just handing over your votes to that person? how is that different from giving unequal numbers of votes to people?
- ► Is online News bad for Democracy?



Contact



Thank you!

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