

## **Chapter 2: Public Opinion**

### **2.1 DEFINITION**

The concept of public opinion was first introduced by Jean Jacques Rousseau, a French political philosopher, on the eve of the French Revolution. It is a difficult concept to define. Eminent writers like Jeremy Bentham, James Bryce, A.L. Lowell and Walter Lippmann made serious efforts to define the concept but have not been able to reach an agreement on the definition. The problem lies with the question of whose opinion should be described as public opinion: is it the opinion of all the people within the state, the electorate, the elite, the politically active voters, or of the articulate minority? In spite of this controversy and difficulty, public opinion conveys a certain meaning in politics and government.

*Public opinion can be defined as the beliefs, values and attitudes which are commonly held and expressed by a majority of the people on a given public issue.*

It is an opinion that is commonly shared by a majority of the people concerning the way they are governed.

### **2.2 CHARACTERISTICS**

Public opinion has certain characteristics. First, the opinion is commonly shared by many citizens of the state. Although public opinion is defined as the opinion of the majority of all the citizenry (and that is what it should be), in practice, public opinion is the opinion of the articulate and politically conscious citizens. It may not necessarily be the opinion of majority of the people. What is necessary is that the opinion should be widely held and should exert a great influence on government. This implies that government should feel the existence of such an opinion. An opinion that is so insignificant, that is not felt at all by government, is not public opinion.

Secondly, public opinion involves only public issues. It is concerned with how the government is run. It is a reaction against or in favour of existing policies and law, their implementation or non-implementation, and the way the laws are adjudicated. Public opinion is based on the idea that government belongs to the people. Thus, the people should participate in the process of their government through the expression of their opinion on how best they should be governed.

Thirdly, public opinion is an expression by private citizens on affairs that concern them. Public opinion is therefore not expressed by government or public officials. What government does is to utilize public opinion to improve its policies and actions.

Fourthly, public opinion is in a state of flux. It is dynamic in nature and changes with time and circumstance. When people get more information about a public issue, their opinion may change as a result of the new information. On the other hand, time and circumstance change the attitude and values of the people.

Fifthly, information plays a crucial role in the formation of public opinion. Thus, the quality of public opinion depends on the amount of relevant information available to the public. Thus, the theory of public opinion assumes that the public is well informed on public issues.

Sixthly, public opinion is generally held on a given public issue. One and the same opinion is not held by the public on all public issues. Opinions, therefore, are for individual public issues.

### **2.3 FORMATION**

The formation of public opinion is a complicated process. It is formed through the interplay of communication and social interaction. Thus, public opinion is formed from information from two sources. The first source is primary source, that is, information which individuals gain through first-hand experience. Individuals gain this type of information through witnessing an event or participating in it. This is a very powerful source of information because of the direct involvement of the individuals in the

process. It has a great power in forming strong beliefs and attitudes, and thereafter, becomes difficult to change in individuals.

The second source is secondary source which individuals gain from stories and information from newspapers, radio, meetings and discussions with peer groups. Opinions formed through this source is relatively easier to change.

Public opinion often originates from a dissatisfaction or discontent with some aspects of government policy, law or action. For instance, a government decision to introduce Second Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM), to take loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to introduce one-party system, to adopt a state religion, to ban strike action by industrial unions, or to introduce socialism in the state, could be the source of dissatisfaction and the starting point in the process of public opinion formation. This might lead to intensive discussion and group action. Generally, discussion will lead to controversy and disagreements.

As the discussion heightens and spreads within the political system, dissatisfaction also spreads. At this stage, people are divided into various camps based on their own interests in the political issues at stake. Two groups will appear more distinct than those who defend a particular public policy or law and those who will oppose it. There will be an intensification of individual and group actions which may be organised or non-organised. The group action may involve protest, demonstration, lobbying and propaganda campaigns. It may involve systematic education through public lectures, symposia and public debates. Cartoons, news reports and feature articles in newspapers and magazines may also be needed. Radio and television are powerful means of propaganda and appeals for the formation of opinion. At this stage, the line is clearly drawn between the opinion in favour and the opinion against. Both sides of the opinion at this stage of formation is a blend of facts, attitudes, emotions and sentiments.

The final stage is the actual channeling of the opinion to the relevant organ of government which makes the ultimate decision on how to make use of public opinion. The way government uses available public opinion determines to a great extent its popularity and effectiveness.

## **2.4 AGENTS OF INSTITUTIONS THAT HELP IN THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION**

Public opinion is a social phenomenon. It is formed through the aid of social institutions and agents. These institutions and agents are the family, the church, the school, radio and television, newspaper and magazines, motion pictures, political parties, pressure groups, peer groups, and social clubs.

### **The Family**

An individual starts his development from the family. His first contact is his parents, sisters and brothers. He observes their behaviours and listens to their expressions. He imitates their behaviours and copies their ideas. These behaviours and ideas shape the individual's general beliefs, attitudes and values, including those that are political. The family environment is generally the 'school' where the individual is indoctrinated with certain prejudices. Through political discussions by parents and brothers in the family the individual may develop political attributes that favour democracy, freedom of expression, and public accountability. Family discussions on politics is a powerful source of political education to a family member. The instruction which is given in the family is informal but the individual child accepts it as an article of faith.

Related to the family is the individual's small community. Here, the individual has a close contact with members of the community. He has free conversation and discussions in village squares, places of meetings, places of recreational activities and market places. These interactions, conversations and discussions shape his opinion on specific public issues.

### **The Church**

The church is the powerful instrument for moulding and influencing public opinion. The source of its power lies in the belief of the faithfuls that the church is the only means of their salvation and their

eternal happiness in paradise. Consequently, the participants and believers of the church's doctrines stick rigidly to the preaching of the church. Thus, the church and religion are very powerful in shaping the attitudes, beliefs, values and behavioural pattern of members. The church has vested interests in political, social, economic and cultural issues. For instance, the state take-over of schools; the right of the church to establish schools, colleges and universities; the right of individuals to practise a religion of his choice; the introduction of socialism or communism, the introduction of state religion; etc. are public issues that affect the church and religion.

The church uses indoctrination to impart into its followers the political attitudes which are acceptable to it on a wide range of political issues. The individual churchmen and women grow with these political prejudices, beliefs, attitudes and norms. They therefore, consider other opposing political beliefs and values as wrong. For instance, the Christian community in Nigeria considers the membership of Nigeria in the Organisation of Islamic Community (O.I.C.) as a bad public policy while the Moslem Community has the opinion that it is a good and acceptable public policy. The church applies indoctrination and propaganda to promote and mobilise public opinion in favour or against a particular public issue depending on its vested interest.

### **The School**

Individuals acquire formal education in schools, colleges and universities. In Nigeria, billions of naira are invested in education, and it is regarded as the largest industry in the country. Before an individual enters school, he has acquired some political beliefs, attributes and values from his family and home. The school then modifies these beliefs, attitudes and values and builds new ones. The three forces of influence in the schools are the nature of the curriculum, the teacher, and the individual's class and schoolmates.

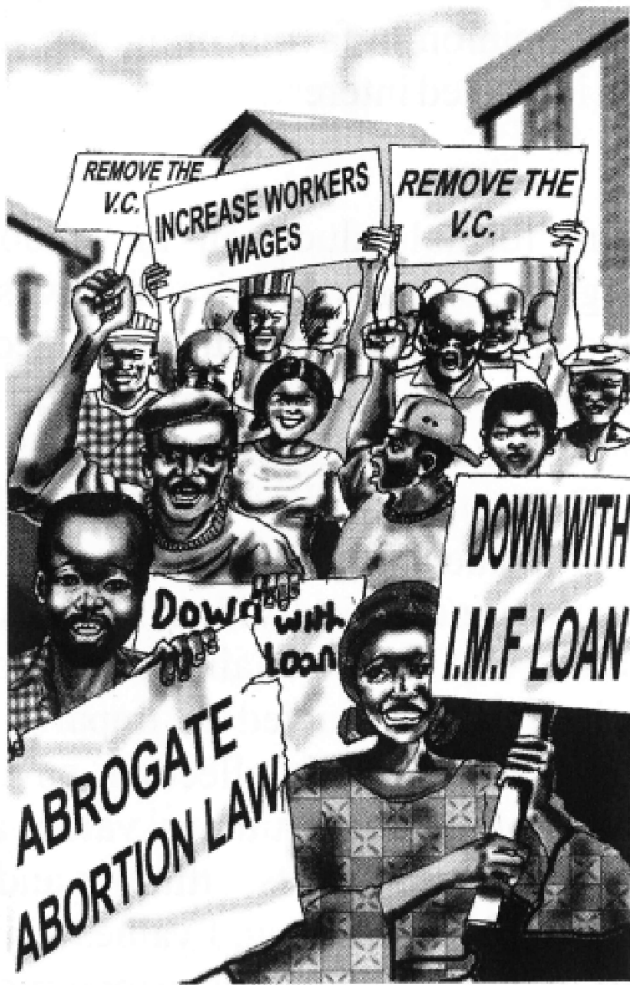
The curriculum which to a certain extent is a reflection of the values of the society, is constructed to impart values, skills and knowledge. It also creates an intellectual environment for the formation and change of beliefs, attitudes, values and interpretation of facts based on the acquired beliefs, attitudes and values. Teachers possess their own beliefs, attitudes and values which they use their influence to impart to their students. The economic, social, religious and political situation of the country determines the nature of political attitudes which the teacher imparts to the students.

### **Work Groups**

Individuals spend a great time at their work places. At this place, they exchange views on current political issues. Sometimes, they form groups to discuss latest political developments, government policies and actions.

Through these discussions, the more politically enlightened ones educate the less politically informed ones.

Arguments are often generated and public opinion is formed and mobilized. For instance, if the government announces an intention to reduce workers' salaries in a morning news bulletin, the workers throughout the country would discuss the issue in their work places in groups during that day and the subsequent days, opposing the policy and mobilizing public opinion against government on the issue.



**Fig. 2.1: A picture showing demonstrators carrying placards**

### **Radio and Television**

Radio and television (electronic media) are powerful media of communication. Their influence in the formation of public opinion is tremendous. Radio and television transmit information with minimum delay. Frequently, they give the most current information. This facilitates urgent formation and modification of public opinions on political issues. It is important to note that, as radio and television do influence public opinion, public thinking, on the other hand, influences the information given on radio and television. It is also observed that in most countries like Nigeria and Britain, radio and television are monopolized by the government, and are therefore often regulated and manipulated to favour the government. When this happens, there are negative results. Radio as a communication medium is of great importance in public opinion formation and modification as it offers political leaders direct access to the masses. Although television does not reach a majority of the masses as radio does, particularly in developing nations, television has the great advantage of combining the transmission of sight and sound at the same time. This greatly enhances its capacity in influencing public opinion.

### **Newspapers and Magazines**

Newspapers and magazines (print media) are essential media for the dissemination of information. They influence public thinking by informing, educating and indoctrinating the people through news-reports, feature articles, editorial opinions cartoons, etc.

Daily newspapers are widely circulated throughout the country and are read by citizens in cities and localities. The newspapers and magazines inform the people on various public issues. They create, build, develop and change political beliefs and values. For the press to serve as a viable and objective instrument of public opinion formation, it should be independent of government control, impartial and non-partisan.

Newspapers should not be owned by government, or be subjected to government censorship. Freedom of the press is the hallmark of a democratic government. Objective and genuine public opinion can be easily identified and measured in a state where there is freedom of press and expression.

### **Motion Pictures**

Motion pictures (otherwise known as cinema) can also be used to form and express public opinion. Nevertheless, it is of a lesser value than radio, television and newspaper. Only very few films have political significance, as they are often designed to appeal to emotions and sentiments of the viewer. The great danger in motion pictures is that, most of them deal with crime, immoral and violent acts which can lead to formation of negative, criminal and immoral attitudes. Motion pictures which inculcate rich political attitudes and values can be shown to youths.

### **Pressure Groups**

Pressure groups are opinion moulders. They educate their members in particular, and the public in general on public issues. For this purpose, they hold meetings and public rallies. They also organize public lectures, symposia and seminars to examine current political issues that affect their interest. For instance, when the Federal Government of Nigeria threw the International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan proposals to public debate in 1985, various industrial unions and professional bodies in Nigeria organized public debates, symposia and seminars to mobilize public opinion against the loan. As a result, public opinion was against the loan and the government consequently, dropped the proposal.

The same happened during the public debate of 1985 on the best future political order for Nigeria sponsored by the Political Bureau. Various interest groups in Nigeria organized conferences, public debate symposia for the education of Nigerians on various political issues of the debate and their implications. Each group tried to mobilize public opinion in support of its views. The opinions generated by various interest groups influenced the Political Bureau in its recommendations to the government. Pressure groups also adopt protests, demonstrations, electioneering, strikes, boycotts and propaganda in order to mobilize public opinion in support of their cause.

### **Political Parties**

Political parties like pressure groups are opinion moulders. One of the functions of political parties is to educate the people on current political issues and thus, stimulate political consciousness and awareness. This in turn promotes political participation. Political parties do this through systematic public enlightenment. They organize public lectures and mass rallies where they use appropriate communication skills to impart their favoured political beliefs, attitudes and values. Political parties adopt the techniques of education, indoctrination, and appeal in order to mobilize public opinion in support of their goal. They also print pamphlets, leaflets, hand bills, posters, etc, with which they shape the opinion of the people in their desired direction. Political parties, as a result of their effective organization and structure are very powerful in shaping and mobilizing public opinion.

## **2.5 DEVICES FOR INFLUENCING PUBLIC OPINION**

There are three main techniques which are used purposely to influence public opinion. These are *propaganda*, *appeal* and *education*. Let us examine them one after the other.

### **(i) Propaganda**

Propaganda is a political technique of manipulation of opinion through emotional appeals, whipping up of prejudices and sentiments. It is a technique of implanting or changing opinions through the fabrication of informational materials, concealment of truths and distortion of facts.

It is a promotive and manipulative technique and thus, uses the skills of promotion, persuasion and influence. As a political technique, it is a well-planned and systematic form of communication which adopts appropriate skills of communication. The propagandist carefully selects only those truths which support his cause, suppresses damaging truths, distorts some of the known facts in a manner that will achieve his cause and then injects emotions, sentiments and prejudices into the whole set of information

which is directed to his target group. Propaganda applies short songs, slogans, stereotypes, rumors and appropriate pictures to mould, implant and mobilize public opinion. Propaganda is mostly used during election campaigns to mobilize public opinion in support of particular parties and candidates.

## (ii) Appeal

Appeal, as apolitical technique, is a process of soliciting for aid and support for a cause, through honest statements and explanations of the advantages or values of the cause in sympathetic and passionate expressions. Unlike propaganda, an appeal does not conceal truths or distort facts. It also does not employ fabrication of information. It depends solely on effective arrangement of facts and the employment of appropriate passionate expressions that quickly call for sympathy and support. Appeals make very skilful choice of words and expressions, and relevant data so appropriate and emotional, that they readily attract the desired aid, sympathy or support. Appeals are widely used by advertising firms, interest groups, political parties and even by government. Such captions as "Better be late than be the late", "Vote for NPN and vote for more food", "Keep your surroundings clean and live a healthier life" are appeals. Appeal makes great use of posters, handbills, television, radio and newspapers.

OPPOSE IMF LOAN AND SAVE NIGERIA FROM ECONOMIC DOOM		VOTE FOR UPN AND VOTE FOR FREE EDUCATION		PAY YOUR TAX TO ENJOY SOCIAL AMENITIES
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**Fig. 2.2: Captions illustrating appeal**

## (iii) Education

Education is the process of imparting knowledge to individuals through learning. Education is the pursuit and search for truth. It is the development of the individual through equipping him with knowledge, skills and ability that transform his pattern of behavior. Education is, therefore, a powerful agent of change. Education is both formal and informal. Formal education is obtained from formal schools and colleges. But informal education is received from the family, the church, interest groups, political parties and various interactions in the society. The knowledge gained in both formal and informal education plays a crucial role in influencing public opinion. Unlike propaganda which fabricates, distorts, and conceals truths to gain support; and appeal that calls for aid and support in passionate expressions, education is modest in its approach. It searches for the truth and imparts the truth in a form that will be understood by the people.

It is then obvious that the most powerful techniques of influencing public opinion is propaganda, if properly employed. This is followed by appeal because of its emotional component. Education ranks last of the three because of its modest approach.

# 2.6 FUNCTIONS OF PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinion performs essential functions in a political system. It is a means through which the people participate in the process of government. Public opinion is based on the democratic belief that, since the government belongs to the people and exists for their welfare, the people should express their opinion on how best they should be governed. Public opinion is a practical demonstration of the idea of popular sovereignty.

Government cannot always know the wishes of the people. Often, its policies are based on assumptions of what the people want i.e. public interests and the needs of the people. With this knowledge, the government is in a better position to know what best to do with available resources to satisfy the people.

Government uses public opinion to modify its policies and actions. This does not mean that government accepts public opinion as given without modification. Often, government matches public opinion with its expert information and brings out a compromise of the two

Public opinion is also a mirror through which government sees its performance. Public opinion exposes weaknesses in administration. Through public opinion, government corrects itself and thus, raises its public image. It therefore helps to promote good government.

In a democracy, public opinion checks arbitrary use of power, violation of human rights and dictatorship. In any democracy, whenever any government acts contrary to the principle of the rule of law, or the provisions of the constitution, or becomes dictatorial, opposing political parties, pressure groups and the press will mobilize public opinion against the regime. The government will be forced to change or face the grave consequence of losing political power.

One other function of public opinion is that, it strengthens the government in the execution of its favoured policies. When government policies and programmes are supported by public opinion, government executes them with confidence and fearlessness. For instance, if a political party is elected into office on the basis of a controversial policy, the resultant government would prosecute the policy with confidence and vigour, believing it has the support of the people.

Public opinion is also capable of helping to remove unpopular governments. A government that is consistently insensitive and non-responsive to the public opinion is doomed to fail. It may use the force of arms to remain in power for some time, but public opinion will continue to mount against it until ultimately it collapses and submits itself to public will. An example is Field Marshal Idi Amin of Uganda.

## **2.7 PROBLEMS AND WEAKNESSES OF PUBLIC OPINION**

Public opinion is based on a number of assumptions. The first is that, the people possess political interests and want to participate in politics. Secondly, the people are well informed about public issues. The third is that the people can rationally perceive their needs and interests. While the fourth is that they can make rational judgment on national issues in the interest of the nation.

The major weakness of public opinion then is that, these assumptions are not valid. Many citizens, possess little information about public issues on which to base their opinions. For instance, during a national public debate thrown open in 1986 by the Federal Military Government on the search for a new political order for Nigeria, some Nigerians were calling for confederation whereas they were quite ignorant of the real meaning and implications of confederalism.

Another weakness is that many citizens, especially in developing countries, are not politically conscious and thus, they are not interested in political issues. Consequently, they are not interested in expressing opinions on political issues. Thus, what is often styled public opinion is the opinion of few politically interested elites. That people in most cases do not know what is best for them is another weakness. They cannot identify real priorities.

Consequently, any government that succumbs to such irrational public opinion, however weighty it might be, is government based on monocracy.

Sometimes, what we call public opinion stems from a selfish or sectional interest which runs counter to national interest. This is always so when public opinion is created and propagated by interest groups.

One other problem is that public opinion is often manipulated either by the government or by interested individuals and groups. In such a situation, public opinion is generated to serve particularistic interests. Such deceitful public opinion is never the opinion of the people and cannot serve the general interest of the people. It is also not easy for the government to determine the actual opinion of the general public on many public issues. Often, government is forced to make estimations and forecasts of how the public would respond or react to certain proposed actions.

Moreover, it is difficult to determine what the public opinion is when there are many 'publics' holding divergent opinions. Sometimes, the opinion of the majority would be latent while the opinion of few prominent men in the society would be echoed and boomed by the press, and radio. Also, various interest groups might project their various diverse and conflicting opinions. In a situation like this, it would be difficult for government to determine the true public opinion.

## 2.8 MEASUREMENT OF PUBLIC OPINION

The weight of public opinion is determined today through a number of means. These include the constancy of an opinion on a particular political issue expressed in public discussions in various places, widespread comments on a particular public issue in the press and other media, weight of opinions expressed by members of the legislature at the floor of the House, petitions, protests, and demonstrations by pressure groups, and strength of political supporters' rallies during election campaigns.

These are easy' means of guessing what the public opinion could be, but they are not accurate indicators of public opinion. Moreover, they sometimes present misleading pictures of public opinion.

Better means of measuring public opinion are referenda, elections, public opinion polls, and attitude scales. In a *referendum*, the electorates are called out to decide on a public issue through the vote. The result of such a referendum is a precise indicator of what the public wants. In an *election*, the electorate makes a choice between various political programmes as represented by various candidates. The result of the election represents the opinion of the people.

The more general means of public opinion measurement are public opinion polls and attitude scales. *Attitude scales* are employed for the measurement of favourable, neutral or unfavourable reactions in form of responses to public policies. The statistical and sampling procedures involved in attitude survey are complex. It requires a knowledge of mathematics and statistics. A *public opinion poll* is a scientific measurement of opinion.

The procedure can be summarized in a simplified form as follows: the first thing is that the public opinion pollster or poller should know the population of the people to be polled; the population is known from census and election figures. When the population is known, the opinion poller then determines the size of the sample to be polled as it would be impossible to poll the whole population because of time and financial cost involved. The size of the sample could be about one percent of the population. However, this percentage could be reduced in a national poll involving large population. The opinion poller will then frame simple relevant questions which will elicit a true expression of the respondents' views.

The most popular sampling technique adopted is random sampling. Through random sampling, the required sample is selected and interviewed. The random selection technique may be stratified (stratified random sampling) so that the sample should contain all the factors characteristic of the population such as age, sex, education, religion, occupation, income level and political preference. In any case, the selection technique should be so effective that the sample is a true representative of the population. The interviewer then administers the questionnaires which are well and simply constructed, on his respondents. The interviewer should first create rapport with his respondents before the interview and adopt informal and conversational approach in the interview process. After the interview, the data will be processed and the result determined.

Among public opinion organizations that have gained considerable world reputation are the Roper, Crossley and the Gallup Polls in the United State of America. They have forecast the outcomes of elections and general public opinions on various political issues.

The major problem with measurement of public opinion is that it is difficult and complex. It is difficult to select a sample that will be representative of the population. On the other hand, if one chooses to poll the entire population, this would be an impossible task, particularly in national polls, as the pollster will almost certainly be overwhelmed with data. Moreover, pollsters, being human, may introduce personal biases in interpreting their results.

Furthermore, individuals have hidden motives and their attitudes are constantly changing with time and circumstance. As a result of these shortcomings, public opinion measurement can often produce misleading results. But in spite of these shortcomings, public opinion measurement has been found useful.



## KEY POINT

1. **Public Opinion** can be defined as the beliefs, values, and attitudes which are commonly held and expressed by a majority of the people on a given public issue.

### 2. **Characteristics**

- (i) The opinion is commonly shared by many citizens of the state,
- (ii) Public opinion involves only public issues,
- (iii) Public opinion is an expression by private persons,
- (iv) Public opinion is in a state of flux.
- (v) Information plays crucial roles in the formation of opinion,
- (vi) Public opinion is held on specific rather than on general public issues.

### 3. **Formation of Public Opinion**

Public opinion is formed from information from primary (i.e. from individual's first-hand experience) and secondary sources (i.e. from newspaper, radio, meetings, stories, etc),

- (i) Opinions originate from dissatisfaction with some aspects of government policies or actions,
- (ii) This is followed by general discussions,
- (iii) As discussion heightens and spreads, dissatisfaction spreads,
- (iv) Individuals are then divided into camps based on their interests,
- (v) Group actions such as protests, demonstrations, propaganda, etc. follow. Information media are employed by each camp to mobilize opinions,
- (vi) Opinion is channeled to governmental organs for close examination, full or partial use, or rejection.

### 4. **Agents/Institutions that Help in Formation of Public Opinions**

There are nine principal agents/institutions that help in the formation of public opinion namely, the family, the church, the school, the work group, radio and television, newspapers and magazines, motion pictures, pressure groups and political parties.

### 5. **Devices for Influencing Public Opinions**

- (i) Propaganda is a political technique of manipulation of opinion through emotional appeals, whipping up sentiments and prejudices, fabrication of informational materials, concealment and distortion of facts.
- (ii) Appeal is a technique of soliciting for aid and support for a cause through honest statements and explanations in sympathetic and passionate language influencing opinion.
- (iii) Education is the process of imparting knowledge to individuals through learning.

### 6. **Functions of Public Opinion**

- (i) People participate regularly in government through expression of their opinion,
- (ii) The wishes of the people are known by government through public opinion.
- (iii) Government uses public opinion to modify its policies,
- (iv) Government knows its popularity and the standard of its performance through public opinion.

- (v) Public opinion checks arbitrary use of power and dictatorship,
- (vi) Government is strengthened in the execution of favoured policies,
- (vii) Public opinion can remove unpopular government.

## **7. *Problems and Weaknesses of Public Opinion***

- (i) Citizens are not well informed about political issues.
- (ii) Many citizens lack political interests and thus are not interested in political issues.
- (iii) Citizens, in most cases, do not know what is best for them,
- (iv) Sometimes what is termed public opinion stems from selfish and particularistic interests,
- (v) Public opinion is often manipulated either by government or interested individuals and groups,
- (vi) It is often difficult for government to determine what public opinion is amidst an array of 'public' opinions,
- (vii) It is difficult to measure public opinion.

## **8. *Measurement of Public Opinion***

Public opinion is measured through the following means:

- (i) Referendum, (ii) election, (iii) opinion poll, and (iv) Attitude scales.

Among these, opinion poll is the most popular means of measuring public opinion on various political issues.

# **SAMPLE EXAMINATION QUESTIONS**

## **Essay Questions**

1. What are the characteristics of public opinion?
2. How is public opinion formed?
3. What is the role of public opinion in a political system?
4. Discuss five (5) of the agents which help in the formation of public opinion.
5. What are the problems and weaknesses of public opinion?

## **Objective Questions**

1. One of the characteristics of public opinion is that public opinion is

A. a phenomenon that is static. B. the opinion of public officials. C. a phenomenon that involves private issues. D. an expression by private persons.

2. A function of public opinion is A. newspaper editorials. B. Propaganda. C. removal of unpopular governments. D. attitude scales.

3. One of the institutions that help in the formation of public opinion is A. public opinion poll. B. pressure groups. C. the president of the nation. D. the Supreme Court.

4. Which of the following is not a means of measuring public opinion? A. Election B. Referendum C. Attitude scales D. Propaganda

5. Which of the following is not a problem of public opinion? A. Difficulty in manipulating public opinion B. Political apathy C. Uninformed citizens D. Difficulty in determining what constitutes public opinion

**Answers**

**1. D**

**2. C**

**3. B**

**4. D**

**5. A**