# political psychology

PSCI 5901.001/7901.001 Fall 2005 M 1:00-3:30 P.M. 116 Ketchum webct.colorado.edu Dr. Jennifer Wolak
136 Ketchum Hall
wolakj@colorado.edu
Hours: W 9 A.M - 12 P.M.
& by appointment

This course is about bringing psychological understandings to political questions, and appreciating how political contexts influence the ways people behave politically. We will begin with an overview of the field of political psychology and the ways that questions of political psychology are studied. Next, we will briefly overview the psychology of elite political behavior, including factors such as personality and decision-making. We will then spend the largest share of the course on the political psychology of individual judgment and choice, from the nature of attitudes to the ways people evaluate information to the mechanisms of political decision-making. Finally, we will consider aspects of collective political behavior, including social identity and group interactions.

#### reading assignments

Most of the course readings include book chapters and journal articles, available on e-reserves or online journals. Four books have also been assigned and are available at the University Bookstore.

- Marcus, George E., W. Russell Neuman, and Michael B. MacKuen. 2000. Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sears, David O., Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis. 2003. Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Walsh, Katherine Cramer. 2003. Talking about Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Zaller, John. 1992. The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion. New York: Cambridge University Press.

For more background on theories of social psychology, a classic text is the following:

- Fiske, Susan T., and Shelley E. Taylor. 1991. Social Cognition. New York: McGraw Hill. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

#### requirements

#### participation (worth 20% of your final grade)

It is essential that you not only attend class, but also actively engage in class discussions. For two of the weeks, you will also be responsible for leading class discussion.

#### **six short papers** (each worth 5% of your final grade)

Throughout the course, you will be responsible for six short papers in response to a week's readings. These response papers should be two to three pages in length, and turned in before we discuss that week's set of readings. Papers should not be summaries of the readings, but instead add some novel insights to the points raised in the readings. For instance, you might critique the theory or methods of the research, discussing the implications of these limitations for the authors' findings. You might extend points raised in the readings, suggesting questions we might ask if we pushed these arguments further. You might also synthesize readings on a topic with other theories covered in this class or other course. Or you could discuss points of conflict between the readings, and discuss how to resolve these disagreements.

#### **experimental design** (worth 10% of your final grade)

Early in the semester you will be responsible for developing a short research proposal, in the style of proposals for Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (www.experimentcentral.org). Papers should be three to five pages in length. Begin by discussing a question that interests you and its importance, and then suggest how this question might be tested experimentally. (Providing the specific questions and stimuli as in an actual TESS proposal is optional.)

#### research design (worth 40% of your final grade)

The final project for this class will be to develop a research design to test an interesting question of political psychology. You do not need to conduct the study itself, but you will develop the other parts of a research project, including motivating your question, conducting a review of relevant literature, developing theory, and discussing how to test these questions. The paper should be 15-20 pages in length.

#### special accommodations

If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please submit to me a letter from Disability Services in a timely manner so that your needs may be addressed. You can contact the Disability Services office for more information at www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices.

#### some important comments on academic integrity

- Plagiarism and other academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. If you are not familiar with the rules of citing sources in written work or what constitutes plagiarism, you should contact me or refer to the University Honor Code at www.colorado.edu/academics/honorcode.
- All papers are expected to be original work, not previously or simultaneously handed in for credit in another course (unless prior approval of all instructors involved is obtained).

# class schedule - PSCI 4028

First class session. Monday, August 22.

# What is political psychology?

#### 1. About political psychology

Overview of the field. Background on political behavior. Experimental methods.

#### Monday, August 29

- Kinder, Donald R. 2004. "Pale Democracy: Opinion and Action in Postwar America." In Edward D. Mansfield and Richard Sisson, eds., *The Evolution of Political Knowledge*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- Rahn, Wendy M., John L. Sullivan, and Thomas J. Rudolph. 2002. "Political Psychology and Political Science." In James H. Kuklinski, ed., *Thinking about Political Psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lane, Robert E. 2003. "Rescuing Political Science from Itself." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kinder, Donald, and Thomas Palfrey. 1993. "On Behalf of Experimental Political Science." Experimental Foundations of Political Science. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. p. 1-39.
- McDermott, Rose. 2002. "Experimental Methodology in Political Science." *Political Analysis* 10:325-342.

#### Other resources:

- Krosnick, Jon A. 2002. "Is Political Psychology Sufficiently Psychological? Distinguishing Political Psychology from Psychological Political Science." In James H. Kuklinski, ed., *Thinking about Political Psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sears, David O., Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis 2003. "The Psychologies Underlying Political Psychology." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology New York: Oxford University Press.

Monday, September 5 Class does not meet – Labor Day. Work on experimental design assignment.

# Political psychology of elites

#### 2. Elite decision-making

Political psychology and international relations. Personality. Groupthink. Prospect theory.

#### Monday, September 12

#### Experimental design assignment due.

- Levy, Jack S. 2003. "Political Psychology and Foreign Policy." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology New York: Oxford University Press.
- Barber, James David. 1985. *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. Chapters 1 and 2.
- Tetlock, Philip E., Randall S. Peterson, Charles McGuire, Shi-jie Chang, and Peter Feld. 1992. "Assessing Political Group Dynamics: A Test of the GroupThink Model." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 63:403-425.
- Quattrone, George A., and Amos Tversky. 1988. "Contrasting Rational and Psychological Analyses of Political Choice." *American Political Science Review* 82:719-736.
- Levy, Jack. 2003. "Applications of Prospect Theory to Political Science." Synthese 135:215-241.

#### Other resources:

- Tetlock, Philip E. 1998. "Social Psychology and World Politics." In Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske, and Gardner Lindzey, eds., *Handbook of Social Psychology* (4th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- McDermott, Rose. 2004. *Political Psychology in International Relations*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Mercer, Jonathan. 2005. "Prospect Theory and Political Science." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8:1-21.

### The political psychology of individual citizens

#### 3. Personality determinants of attitudes

The role of genetics. Authoritarianism. Social dominance orientation.

#### Monday, September 19

- Alford, John R., Carolyn L. Funk, and John R. Hibbing. 2005. "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" *American Political Science Review* 99:153-167.
- Winter, David G. 2003. "Personality and Political Behavior." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology New York: Oxford University Press.

- Feldman, Stanley, and Karen Stenner. 1997. "Perceived Threat and Authoritarianism." *Political Psychology* 18: 741-770.
- Pratto, Felicia, Jim Sidanius, Lisa M. Stallworth, and Bertram F. Malle. 1994. "Social Dominance Orientation: A Personality Variable Predicting Social and Political Attitudes." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 67:741-763.
- Henry, P. J., Jim Sidanius, Shana Levin, and Felicia Pratto. 2005. "Social Dominance Orientation, Authoritarianism, and Support for Intergroup Violence Between the Middle East and America." *Political Psychology* 26:569-584.

#### Other resources:

- Sidanius, Jim, Felicia Pratto, Colette van Laar, and Shana Levin. 2004. "Social Dominance Theory: Its Agenda and Method." *Political Psychology* 25:845-880.
- Altemeyer, Bob. 1996. The Authoritarian Specter. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

#### 4. Self-interest versus values as determinants of attitudes

Values. Self-interest. Symbolic politics.

#### Monday, September 26

- Chong, Dennis. 2000. *Rational Lives: Norms and Values in Politics and Society*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Introduction, Chapters 1-2.
- Kinder, Donald R., and David O. Sears. 1981. "Prejudice and Politics: Symbolic Racism versus Racial Threats to the Good Life." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 40:414-431.
- Monroe, Kristen Renwick. 1991. "John Donne's People: Explaining Differences between Rational Actors and Altruists through Cognitive Frameworks." *Journal of Politics* 53:394-433.
- Feldman, Stanley. 2003. "Values, Ideology, and the Structure of Political Attitudes." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology New York: Oxford University Press.

#### Other resources:

- Sears, David O. 1993. "Symbolic Politics: A Socio-psychological Theory." in Shanto Iyengar and William J. McGuire, eds., *Explorations in Political Psychology*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Feldman, Stanley. 1988. "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: The Role of Core Beliefs and Values." *American Journal of Political Science* 32:416-440.

#### 5. Attitudes

Attitudes and opinions. Attitude accessibility. Attitude strength and importance.

#### Monday, October 3

- Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2.
- Cacioppo, John T., Wendi L. Gardner, and Gary G. Berntson. 1997. "Beyond Bipolar Conceptualizations and Measures: The Case of Attitudes and Evaluative Space." Personality and Social Psychology Review 1:3-25.
- Fazio, Russell H. 1995. "Attitudes as Object-Evaluation Associations: Determinants, Consequences, and Correlates of Attitude Accessibility." In Richard E. Petty and Jon A. Krosnick, eds., *Attitude Strength: Antecedents and Consequences*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Miller, Joanne, and David A. M. Peterson. 2004. "Theoretical and Empirical Implications of Attitude Strength." *Journal of Politics* 66:847-867.

Holbrook, Allyson L., Matthew K. Berent, Jon A. Krosnick, Penny S. Visser, and David S. Boninger.
 2005. "Attitude Importance and the Accumulation of Attitude-Relevant Knowledge in Memory."
 Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 88(5):749-769.

#### Other resources:

- Eagly, Alice H., and Shelly Chaiken. 1998. "Attitude Structure and Function." In Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske, and Gardner Lindzey, eds., *Handbook of Social Psychology* (4th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, Jeffrey Levine, William Morgan, and John Sprague. 1999. "Accessibility and the Political Utility of Partisan and Ideological Orientations." *American Journal of Political Science* 43:888-911.

#### 6. Introduction to cognitive approaches, Memory structures

Political cognition. Organization of long-term memory. Schemas. Associative networks. Belief systems.

#### Monday, October 10

- McGraw, Kathleen M. 2000. "Contributions of the Cognitive Approach to Political Psychology." Political Psychology 21: 805-832.
- Steenbergen, Marco R., and Milton Lodge. 2003. "Process Matters: Cognitive Models of Candidate Evaluation." In Michael B. MacKuen and George Rabinowitz, eds., *Electoral Democracy*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Lupia, Arthur, and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1998. *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.
- Conover, Pamela and Stanley Feldman. 1984. "How People Organize the Political World: A Schematic Model." *American Journal of Political Science* 28:95-126.
- Miller, Arthur H., Martin P. Wattenberg, and Oksana Malanchuk. 1986. "Schematic Assessments of Presidential Candidates." *American Political Science Review* 80:521-540.

#### Other resources:

- Converse, Philip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In David Apter, ed. *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: The Free Press.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1985. "Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology and Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 79: 293-304.
- Kuklinski, James H., Robert C. Luskin and John Bolland. 1991. "Where Is the Schema? Going Beyond the "S" Word in Political Psychology." *American Political Science Review*. 85:1357-1382.

#### 7. Impression formation and management

Political impressions. Attitude automaticity. Stereotypes.

#### Monday, October 17

- McGraw, Kathleen M. 2003. "Political Impressions: Formation and Management." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bargh, John A., Shelly Chaiken, Rajen Govender, and Felicia Pratto. 1992. "The Generality of the Automatic Attitude Activation Effect." *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 62:893-912.
- Devine, Patricia G. 1989. "Stereotypes and Prejudice: Their Automatic and Controlled Components." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 56:5-18.
- Chen, Serena, and Shelly Chaiken. 1999. "The Heuristic-Systematic Model in Its Broader Context." in Shelly Chaiken and Yaacov Trope, eds., *Dual-Process Theories in Social Psychology*. New York: Guilford.

- Morris, James P., Nancy K. Squires, Charles S. Taber, and Milton Lodge. 2003. "Activation of Political Attitudes: A Psychophysiological Examination of the Hot Cognition Hypothesis." *Political Psychology* 24:727-745.

#### Other resources:

- Rahn, Wendy. 1993. "The Role of Partisan Stereotypes in Information Processing about Political Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 37:472-496.
- Judd, Charles, and James Downing. 1995. "Stereotypic Accuracy in Judgments of the Political Positions of Groups and Individuals." In Milton Lodge and Kathleen McGraw, eds., *Political Judgment: Structure and Process*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

#### 8. Heuristics

Shortcuts to information processing. Inferences.

#### Monday, October 24

- Conover, Pamela Johnston, and Stanley Feldman. 1989. "Candidate Perception in an Ambiguous World: Campaigns, Cues, and Inference Processes." *American Journal of Political Science* 33:912-940.
- Lau, Richard R., and David P. Redlawsk. 1997. "Voting Correctly." *American Political Science Review* 91:585-598.
- Lau, Richard R., and David P. Redlawsk. 2001. "Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making." *American Journal of Political Science* 45:951-971.
- Kuklinski, James H., and Paul J. Quirk. 2000. "Reconsidering the Rational Public: Cognition, Heuristics, and Mass Opinion." In Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Samuel L. Popkin, eds., Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kuklinski, James H., Paul J. Quirk, Jennifer Jerit, and Robert F. Rich. 2001. "The Political Environment and Citizen Competence." *American Journal of Political Science* 45:410-24.

#### 8. Encoding and evaluation

Memory-based versus online processing. Ambivalence.

#### Monday, October 31

- Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3-5.
- Zaller, John R., and Stanley Feldman. 1992. "A Simple Theory of the Survey Response: Answering Questions Versus Revealing Preferences." *American Journal of Political Science* 36:579-616.
- Lodge, Milton, Marco R. Steenbergen, and Shawn Brau. 1995. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation." *American Political Science Review* 89:309-326.
- Lavine, Howard. 2001. "The Electoral Consequences of Ambivalence Toward Presidential Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 34:398-421.
- Steenbergen, Marco R., and Paul R. Brewer. 2004. "The Not-So Ambivalent Public: Policy Attitudes in the Political Culture of Ambivalence." in Willem E. Saris and Paul Sniderman, eds, *Studies in Public Opinion: Attitudes, Nonattitudes, Measurement Error, and Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

#### Other sources:

- Taber, Charles S. 2003. "Information Processing and Public Opinion." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology New York: Oxford University Press.

- Lau, Richard R. 2003. "Models of Decision-Making." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology New York: Oxford University Press.
- Redlawsk, David. 2001. "You Must Remember This: a Test of the Online Model of Voting." *Journal of Politics* 63:29-58
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and John Brehm. 2002. *Hard Choices, Easy Answers: Values, Information, and American Public Opinion*. Princeton University Press.

#### 10. Motivation and bias

Motivated reasoning. Selective exposure.

#### Monday, November 7

- Granberg, Donald. 1993. "Political Perception." in Shanto Iyengar and William J. McGuire, eds., Explorations in Political Psychology. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Taber, Charles, Milton Lodge, and Jill Glathar. 2001. "The Motivated Construction of Political Judgments." In James H. Kuklinski, ed., *Citizens and Politics: Perspectives from Political Psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Redlawsk, David. 2002. "Hot Cognition or Cool Consideration? Testing the Effects of Motivated Reasoning on Political Decision Making." *Journal of Politics* 64:1021-1044.
- Lodge, Milton, and Charles S. Taber. 2005. "The Automaticity of Affect for Political Leaders, Groups, and Issues: An Experimental Test of the Hot Cognition Hypothesis." *Political Psychology* 26:455-482.
- Chaffee, Steven H., Melissa Nichols Saphir, Joseph Graf, Christian Sandvig, and Kyu Sup Hahn. 2001. "Attention to Counter-Attitudinal Messages in a State Election Campaign." *Political Communication* 18:247-272.

#### 11. Emotion

Affective intelligence. Emotion and mood.

#### Monday, November 14

- Marcus, George E., W. Russell Neuman, and Michael B. MacKuen. 2000. *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

#### Other resources:

- Marcus, George E. 2003. "The Psychology of Emotion and Politics." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology New York: Oxford University Press.

#### 12. Persuasion and attitude change

Attitude change. Conditions of persuasion. Elaboration Likelihood Model.

#### Monday, November 21

- Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 6-12.
- Petty, Richard E., and Duane T. Wegener. 1999. "The Elaboration Likelihood Model: Current Status and Controversies." In Shelly Chaiken and Yaacov Trope, eds., *Dual-Process Theories in Social Psychology*. New York: Guilford.

#### Other resources:

- Milburn, Michael A. 1991. Persuasion and Politics: The Social Psychology of Public Opinion. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Petty, Richard E., and John T. Cacioppo. 1996. *Attitudes and Persuasion: Classic and Contemporary Approaches*. Dubuque, IA: William Brown.

## Political psychology within groups

#### 13. Social identity and groups

Social identity. Intergroup relations.

#### Monday, November 28

- Huddy, Leonie. 2004. "Contrasting Theoretical Approaches to Intergroup Relations." *Political Psychology* 25:947-967.
- Huddy, Leonie. 2003. "Group Identity and Political Cohesion." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology New York: Oxford University Press.
- Coenders, Marcel, and Peer Scheepers. 2003. "The Effect of Education on Nationalism and Ethnic Exclusionism: An International Comparison." *Political Psychology* 24:313-343.
- Simon, Bernd, Michael Loewy, Stefan Stuermer, Ulrike Weber, Peter Freytag, Corinna Habig, Claudia Kampmeier, and Peter Spahlinger. 1998. "Collective Identification and Social Movement Participation." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74:646-658.
- Shamir, Michal, and Asher Arian. 1999. "Collective Identity and Electoral Competition in Israel." American Political Science Review 93:265-277.

#### Other resources:

- Conover, Pamela Johnston. 1988. "The Role of Social Groups in Political Thinking." *British Journal of Political Science* 18:51-75.
- Monroe, Kristen Renwick, James Hankin, and Renee Van Vechten. 2000. "The Psychological Foundation of Identity Politics: A Review of the Literature." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3:419-447.
- Duckitt, John. 2003. "Prejudice and Intergroup Hostility." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology New York: Oxford University Press.
- Klandermans, Bert. 2003. "Collective Political Action." In David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, eds., Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology New York: Oxford University Press.

#### 14. Social forces

Political discussion. Impersonal influence and third person effects.

#### Monday, December 5

- Walsh, Katherine Cramer. 2003. Talking about Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mutz, Diana C. 1998. *Impersonal Influence: How Perceptions of Mass Collectives Affect Political Attitudes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 7.

**Friday, December 9** Turn in research design by noon.