

# Political Psychology

This goal of this course is for students to be able to effectively use psychological theory and research in the study of political phenomena and to design original research to successfully test psychological theories of politics.

Professor Ryan D. Enos  
office: CGIS K406  
office hours: Thursday 3:40–5:30PM and by appointment  
email: renos@gov.harvard.edu

class meeting:  
Tuesdays, 2-4PM, CGIS K109

## 1 Topics by Date

1. Introduction to class
  - **January 27**: canceled
2. Predispositions
  - **February 3**: Ideology (and introduction to course)
  - **February 10**: Genetic and other biological roots
  - **February 17**: Personality
  - **February 24**: Socialization
3. Political Cognition
  - **March 3**: Decision-Making
  - **March 10**: Emotion
  - **March 24**: Moral Cognition
4. **March 31**: Identity
5. **April 7**: International Relations (guest seminar leader)
6. Stimuli
  - **April 14**: Interpersonal
  - **April 21**: Mass mediated
7. **April 28**: Wrap-up and presentations

## 2 Assignments

### 2.1 participation

All students are expected to attend every class and participate by talking during every class. You are also, occasionally, expected to make contributions to the wiki. The latter

requirement will be easy if you simply remain an active reader of the wiki, which will enrich your experience with the course.

## 2.2 research journal

Each week, reflect in writing on how the weekly topic is applicable to your substantive interests. Propose a related research design. Do this before class. Update it after class with any additional insight.

## 2.3 primary course wiki contribution

Because this is a research course and your instructor does not have a monopoly on knowledge, we will maintain a course wiki that is intended to supplement our weekly meetings. This wiki will be a repository for resources related to the course. Resources include, but are not limited to, insights, relevant articles not included in the syllabus, research by other scholars, and data sources. Each student will be tasked with being the primary contributor to this wiki during an assigned week. Contributions should be substantial, useful, and should teach us things we might not have known otherwise.

Included in this contribution, you should add clarity and background to any social and cognitive psychology theories that are discussed in, and seem central to, the reading. As we go through readings and in class discussions, we will come across theories or research paradigms from cognitive or social psychology in service to a particular political psychology study. When you are making your wiki contribution, if the theories seem important, write up a brief summary of the theory or paradigm and cite major literature around the topic.

You will be expected to briefly and unceremoniously present your wiki contributions to the class during the week of your assignment.

After the class meeting, you should update the wiki with any other additionally useful material that came to light during the discussion.

We will assign weeks as enrollment is set.

## 2.4 original research

Your final project in this course is to pilot an original research project. This project should be testing a political psychology theory—either an existing theory or your own. This means gathering enough data to make initial inferences about the validity of the design. Data can be gathered in anyway you see fit.

*A note on this: often in graduate school you are asked to write a research proposal. This is probably a useful exercise, but I have found that critical thinking about theory and design usually only occurs when you actually have to implement research.*

When you have designed and completed your research, turn in a paper (probably about 5–10 pages) describing the motivation, design, results, and any changes that would be made for a full-scale implementation.

You can collaborate on this, but each student must turn in his or her own paper.

This is due May 14, 2015.

### 3 Grades

Grades for this class will be based on participation, research journal, primary wiki contribution, and the final project. All are weighted equally toward the final grade.

### 4 Collaboration

Collaboration is allowed in this class. You should do your own research journal, because otherwise that'd be pretty pointless.

### 5 Books

Obtain:

Jonathan Haidt. *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion*. Pantheon, New York, 2012.

Leonie Huddy, David O Sears, and Jack S Levy. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Donald R. Kinder and Cindy D. Kam. *Us Against Them: Ethnocentric Foundations of American Opinion*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2009.

Milton Lodge and Charles S Taber. *The rationalizing voter*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto. *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 2001.

### 6 Readings by Date

Readings should be completed by the dates below. “Handbook” refers to *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. Readings not in the books listed above are available on the course website. Those under “related readings” are optional.

- **February 3:**

- Handbook, chapter 19

- Phillip E. Converse. The nature of belief systems in mass publics. In David E. Apter, editor, *Ideology and Discontent*. Free Press, New York, 1964.

- John T Jost, Jack Glaser, Arie W Kruglanski, and Frank J Sulloway. Political conservatism as motivated social cognition. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(3):339, 2003.

Shanto Iyengar, Gaurav Sood, and Yphtach Lelkes. Affect, not ideology a social identity perspective on polarization. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 76(3):405–431, 2012.

John R Hibbing, Kevin B Smith, and John R Alford. Differences in negativity bias underlie variations in political ideology. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 37(03):297–307, 2014.

William G Jacoby. Is there a culture war? conflicting value structures in american public opinion. *American Political Science Review*, 108(04):754–771, 2014.

Related Readings:

Stephen Ansolabehere, Jonathan Rodden, and James M Snyder. The strength of issues: Using multiple measures to gauge preference stability, ideological constraint, and issue voting. *American Political Science Review*, 102(02):215–232, 2008.

Chadly Stern, Tessa V West, John T Jost, and Nicholas O Rule. The politics of gaydar: Ideological differences in the use of gendered cues in categorizing sexual orientation. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 104(3):520, 2013.

John T Jost and David M Amodio. Political ideology as motivated social cognition: Behavioral and neuroscientific evidence. *Motivation and Emotion*, 36(1):55–64, 2012.

• **February 10:**

Handbook, chapters 7 and 8

Douglas R Oxley, Kevin B Smith, John R Alford, Matthew V Hibbing, Jennifer L Miller, Mario Scalora, Peter K Hatemi, and John R Hibbing. Political attitudes vary with physiological traits. *Science*, 321(5896):1667–1670, 2008.

Evan Charney and William English. Candidate genes and political behavior. *American Political Science Review*, 106(01):1–34, 2012.

Peter K Hatemi, Rose McDermott, Lindon J Eaves, Kenneth S Kendler, and Michael C Neale. Fear as a disposition and an emotional state: A genetic and environmental approach to out-group political preferences. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57:279–293, 2013.

David Cesarini, Magnus Johannesson, and Sven Oskarsson. Pre-birth factors, post-birth factors, and voting: Evidence from swedish adoption data. *American Political Science Review*, 108(01):71–87, 2014.

Rose McDermott, Dustin Tingley, and Peter K Hatemi. Assortative mating on ideology could operate through olfactory cues. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(4):997–1005, 2014.

Related Readings:

James H. Fowler and Christopher T. Dawes. Two genes predict voter turnout. *The Journal of Politics*, 70(3):579–594, 2008.

James H Fowler and Christopher T Dawes. In defense of genopolitics. *American Political Science Review*, 107(02):362–374, 2013.

Evan Charney and William English. Genopolitics and the science of

genetics. *American Political Science Review*, pages 1–14, 2013.

Peter K Hatemi. The influence of major life events on economic attitudes in a world of gene-environment interplay. *American Journal of Political Science*, 2013.

John R Hibbing, Kevin B Smith, and John R Alford. *Predisposed: Liberals, Conservatives, and the Biology of Political Differences*. Routledge, 2013.

- **February 17:**

Handbook, chapter 2

Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto. *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 2001.

– read chapters 1–4 and 9–11, skim chapters 5–8

Marc Hetherington and Elizabeth Suhay. Authoritarianism, threat, and americans support for the war on terror. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(3):546–560, 2011.

Jeremy A Frimer, Danielle Gaucher, and Nicola K Schaefer. Political conservatives affinity for obedience to authority is loyal, not blind. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 2014.

- **February 24:**

Handbook, chapter 3

Rachel Milstein Sondheimer and Donald P Green. Using experiments to estimate the effects of education on voter turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 54(1):174–189, 2010.

Robert S Erikson and Laura Stoker. Caught in the draft: The effects of vietnam draft lottery status on political attitudes. *American Political Science Review*, 105(02):221–237, 2011.

Seth K. Goldman and Daniel J. Hopkins. Past threat, present prejudice: The impact of early-life racial context on white racial attitudes. American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, August 2014.

Guy Grossman, Devorah Manekin, and Dan Miodownik. The political legacies of combat: Attitudes towards war and peace among israeli ex-combatants. *International Organization*, 2015.

Related Readings:

James Sidanius, Shana Levin, Colette. Van Laar, and David O. Sears. The diversity challenge.

- **March 3:**

Handbook, chapters 5 and 17

Michael Bang Petersen. Social welfare as small-scale help: Evolutionary psychology and the deservingness heuristic. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(1):1–16, 2012.

Milton Lodge and Charles S Taber. *The rationalizing voter*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

– chapters 1–7

Michael Bang Petersen and Lene Aarøe. Politics in the mind's eye: Imagination as a link between social and political cognition. *American Political Science Review*, 107(2), 2013.

Related Readings:

Jason C Coronel, Kara D Federmeier, and Brian D Gonsalves. Event-related potential evidence suggesting voters remember political events that never happened. *Social cognitive and affective neuroscience*, 2012.

Jason C Coronel, Melissa C Duff, David E Warren, Kara D Federmeier, Brian D Gonsalves, Daniel Tranel, and Neal J Cohen. Remembering and voting: Theory and evidence from amnesic patients. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(4):837–848, 2012.

Brian C Rathbun, Joshua D Kertzer, and Mark Paradis. Homo diplomaticus: Mixed-method evidence of variation in strategic rationality. 2014. Working Paper, University of Southern California.

Fernanda Leite Lopez de Leon and Renata Rizzi. A test for the rational ignorance hypothesis: Evidence from a natural experiment in Brazil. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 6(4):380–398, 2014.

Michael Bang Petersen. Evolutionary political psychology: On the origin and structure of heuristics and biases in politics. *Advances in Political Psychology*, 2015.

• **March 10:**

Handbook, chapter 6

George E Marcus and Michael B MacKuen. Anxiety, enthusiasm, and the vote: the emotional underpinnings of learning and involvement during presidential campaigns. *American Political Science Review*, 87(03):672–685, 1993.

Leonie Huddy, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav. Threat, anxiety, and support of antiterrorism policies. *American journal of political science*, 49(3):593–608, 2005.

Jonathan McDonald Ladd and Gabriel S Lenz. Reassessing the role of anxiety in vote choice. *Political Psychology*, 29(2):275–296, 2008.

Alan S Gerber, Donald P Green, and Christopher W Larimer. An experiment testing the relative effectiveness of encouraging voter participation by inducing feelings of pride or shame. *Political Behavior*, 32(3):409–422, 2010.

Nicholas A Valentino, Ted Brader, Eric W Groenendyk, Krysha Gregorowicz, and Vincent L Hutchings. Election nights alright for fighting: The role of emotions in political participation. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(01):156–170, 2011.

• Related Readings:

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

George E Marcus. *Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*. Penn State Press, 2010.

Jonathan McDonald Ladd and Gabriel S Lenz. Does anxiety improve voters' decision making? *Political Psychology*, 32(2):347–361, 2011.

- **March 24:**

Jonathan Haidt. *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion*. Pantheon, New York, 2012.

– chapters 1–8

Peter DeScioli, Maxim Massenkoff, Alex Shaw, Michael Bang Petersen, and Robert Kurzban. Equity or equality? moral judgments follow the money. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 281(1797):20142112, 2014.

Related Readings:

Joshua D Kertzer, Kathleen E Powers, Brian C Rathbun, and Ravi Iyer. Moral support: How moral values shape foreign policy attitudes. *The Journal of Politics*, pages 1–16, 2014.

Scott Clifford. Linking issue stances and trait inferences: A theory of moral exemplification. *The Journal of Politics*, pages 1–13, 2013.

Joshua Greene. *Moral Tribes: Emotion, Reason and the Gap Between Us and Them*. Atlantic Books Ltd, 2014.

- **March 31:**

Handbook, chapters 23 and 25

Donald P. Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2004.

– chapter 2

Donald R. Kinder and Cindy D. Kam. *Us Against Them: Ethnocentric Foundations of American Opinion*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2009.

– read chapters 1–3, skim chapters 4–10

Shanto Iyengar and Sean J Westwood. Fear and loathing across party lines: New evidence on group polarization. *American Journal of Political Science*, 2014.

Ryan D. Enos and Noam Gidron. Intergroup behavioral strategies as contextually determined: Experimental evidence from israel. Midwest Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 2014.

Related Readings:

Gordon W. Allport. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Addison-Wesley, Cambridge, MA, 1954.

Maya Sen and Omar Wasow. Race as a bundle of sticks: designs that estimate effects of seemingly immutable characteristics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 2014.

- **April 7:**

TBA

- **April 14:**

Handbook, chapter 21

- Christopher F Karpowitz, Tali Mendelberg, and Lee Shaker. Gender inequality in deliberative participation. *American Political Science Review*, 106(03):533–547, 2012.
- Cyrus Samii. Perils or promise of ethnic integration? evidence from a hard case in burundi. *American Political Science Review*, 107(03):558–573, 2013.
- Gregory Huber and Neil Malhotra. Dimensions of political homophily: Isolating choice homophily along political characteristics. 2013. Working Paper: Yale University.
- Michael J LaCour and Donald P Green. When contact changes minds: An experiment on transmission of support for gay equality. *Science*, 346(6215):1366–1369, 2014.

• **April 21:**

- Handbook, chapter 18
- John R. Zaller. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 1992.
- chapters 3–4
- John G. Bullock. Elite influence on public opinion in an informed electorate. *American Political Science Review*, 105(3):496–515, 2011.
- Matthew S Levendusky. Why do partisan media polarize viewers? *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(3):611–623, 2013.
- Chad Kendall, Tommaso Nannicini, and Francesco Trebbi. How do voters respond to information? evidence from a randomized campaign. *American Economic Review*, 105(1):322–353, 2015.
- Michael Tesler. Priming predispositions and changing policy positions: An account of when mass opinion is primed or changed. *American Journal of Political Science*, 2015.

Related Readings:

- Jonathan M Ladd. *Why Americans hate the media and how it matters*. Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Emily K Vraga. How party affiliation conditions the experience of dissonance and explains polarization and selective exposure. *Social Science Quarterly*, 2014.
- Gregory J. Martin and Ali Yurukoglu. Bias in cable news: Real effects and polarization. *NBER Working Paper*, (w20798), 2014.
- Jeffrey Conroy-Krutz and Devra C Moehler. Partisan media and engagement: A field experiment in a newly liberalized system. *Working Paper*, Michigan State University, 2014.

• **April 28:**

- Ryan reserves the right to add readings