

**PLAP 4500 (Section 5)**  
**Emotion and American Politics**  
**Fall 2009**

Tuesday & Thursday 9:30–10:45am  
Pavilion VIII, room 108

Course web page:  
<https://collab.itc.virginia.edu/portal>

**Professor Nicholas Winter**  
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100 Cabell Hall  
office hours: Wednesday 12–1:30pm & by appointment

This course explores the often-neglected role of emotion in shaping citizens' political thought and action. While the Western enlightenment tradition generally treats emotion and cognition as antithetical, psychological research suggests they are in fact intimately interconnected. We will draw on work from philosophy, psychology, political science to explore the nature of emotion and its interconnections with American politics and political behavior.

### **Course Requirements**

Requirements for this course include reading the assigned material before each class meeting, attending and participating in class, submitting weekly *discussion questions*, taking an in-class *midterm examination*, submitting a one-two-page research *proposal*, and a writing a final *research paper*. In addition, there may be additional brief in-class written work.

Because this course is a seminar, what we all get out of it will depend greatly on what you put into it. Therefore, I expect that you will attend all classes, do the assigned reading before each class, and participate in the discussion. Your participation grade will reflect the quality (not simply quantity!) of your class participation. If an emergency prevents you from attending class you should let me know in advance.

For the final paper you will connect material from the course with research you conduct on a political topic. I will hand out additional information on the research paper as the term progresses.

Grades will be based on the following breakdown:

Item	Proportion	Date
Attendance and participation	20 percent	(ongoing)
Discussion questions	10 percent	(weekly)
Midterm exam	30 percent	October 15
Final paper	40 percent	Wednesday, December 9 at 10am

**Papers and exams turned in late without prior arrangement will not be considered for a grade.**

## Readings

There are six required books for this course, which are (or will soon be) available at the UVa Bookstore. They are also all available from the usual online retailers; I have indicated below the date on which we will first use each book in class, so you can plan to have it in time if you order online.

Brader, Ted. 2006. *Campaigning for Hearts and Minds: How Emotional Appeals in Political Ads Work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (October 1)

Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2004. *The Politics of Disgust: the Public Identity of the Welfare Queen*. New York: New York University Press. (November 3)

Marcus, George E. 2002. *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press. (December 1)

Marcus, George E., W. R. Neuman, and Michael MacKuen. 2000. *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (September 15)

Miller, William I. 1997. *The Anatomy of Disgust*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (October 22)

Robin, Corey. 2004. *Fear: the History of a Political Idea*. New York: Oxford University Press. (November 10)

All other readings for the course are available through Collab.

## Discussion Questions

Each week, for the Thursday class meeting, you will prepare a set of two (2) discussion questions that you will email to me before class. I will use these as feedback to me about what you are taking from the reading and to help structure class discussions. They also will also help you to read and think carefully about the material before getting to class.

Your questions will be based on the reading for that Thursday. (If the Thursday class is a continuation of a topic that we discussed on Tuesday, your questions may also reference the earlier readings as long as they focus on the Thursday readings.)

Each week's questions are due by 5am on the day of class, and must be submitted by email to me at [nwinter@virginia.edu](mailto:nwinter@virginia.edu). You should include your name, the date, and your questions *in the body of the email*, not as an attachment. For each question, indicate which reading or readings the question is based on.

**The subject line of your email should read "PLAP4500 Discussion Questions-[date]-[your name]."**

There will be twelve sets of discussion questions (one for each Thursday between 8/27 and 12/3, except for the Thanksgiving and the week of the midterm). You may skip one without penalty; after that your grade will suffer. I will not assign a formal grade to your questions, but will give you feedback if your questions need improvement or are particularly insightful. Feel free to get in touch if you want more feedback.

In formulating your questions, you should go with issues, concerns, comparisons, questions, or confusions that struck you when reading the material. If none struck you while reading, go back and read more carefully!

### Good Discussion Questions

Good discussion questions are not answered by “yes” or “no” or some simple statement of fact. Instead they lead to higher order thinking (comparison, evaluation, analysis, synthesis) about the work and the issues it raises.

Good discussion questions are open-ended, leading to a variety of responses. Good questions recognize that readers will have different perspectives and interpretations and such questions attempt to engage readers in dialogue with each other.

That said, if you are confused by something, you can and should incorporate craft a discussion question that focuses on that confusion. You should seek to develop questions that go beyond simply asking “What does author X mean on page 10 when she says Y?”

Good discussion questions depend on a careful reading of the text. They often cite particular scenes or passages and ask people to look at them closely and draw connections between these passages and the rest of the work.

Good discussion questions make (and challenge) connections between the text at issue and other works, and the themes and issues of the course.

### **Other Policies**

I respect and uphold University policies and regulations pertaining to the observation of religious holidays; assistance available to the physically handicapped, visually, and/or hearing impaired students; plagiarism; racial, ethnic, gender, sexual orientation, or religious discrimination; and all forms of harassment.

If you have (or suspect you have) a learning or other disability that requires academic accommodations, you must contact the Learning Needs and Evaluation Center (<http://www.virginia.edu/studenthealth/lhec.html>) as soon as possible, at least two to three weeks before any assignments are due. I take learning disabilities very seriously and will make whatever accommodations you need to be successful in this class but they must be properly documented by the LNEC.

Plagiarism, or academic theft, is passing off someone else’s words or ideas as your own without giving proper credit to the source. You are responsible for not plagiarizing and are expected to abide by the University of Virginia Honor Code (see <http://www.virginia.edu/honor/proc/fraud.html>).

Participation in this class implies permission from students to submit their written work to services that check for plagiarism; you may be required to submit both hard and digital copies of your papers.

## I. BACKGROUND

### WELCOME TO THE CLASS

August 25

### PHILOSOPHY OF EMOTION

August 27

Solomon, Robert C. 2008. "The Philosophy of Emotions." In *Handbook of Emotions*, ed. Michael Lewis et al. 3rd ed. New York: Guilford Press, 3-16.

Krause, Sharon R. 2008. *Civil Passions: Moral Sentiment and Democratic Deliberation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapter 1 (1-26).

Hall, Cheryl A. 2005. *The Trouble With Passion: Political Theory Beyond the Reign of Reason*. New York: Routledge, chapters 1-3 (1-38).

### PSYCHOLOGY OF EMOTION

September 1

Ledoux, Joseph E., and Elizabeth A. Phelps. 2008. "Emotional Networks in the Brain." In *Handbook of Emotions*, ed. Michael Lewis et al. 3rd ed. New York: Guilford Press, 159-79.

Haidt, Jonathan. 2001. "The Emotional Dog and Its Rational Tail: A Social Intuitionist Approach to Moral Judgment." *Psychological Review* 108(4):814-34.

Zajonc, Robert B. 1980. "Feeling and Thinking: Preferences Need No Inferences." *American Psychologist* 35(2):151-75.

Clore, Gerald L., and Andrew Ortony. 2008. "Appraisal Theories: How Cognition Shapes Affect into Emotion." In *Handbook of Emotions*, ed. Michael Lewis et al. 3rd ed. New York: Guilford Press, 628-42.

**September 3 No Class (APSA Annual Meeting)**

September 8

Scherer, Klaus R. 1994. "Emotion Serves to Decouple Stimulus and Response. In *The Nature of Emotion*, ed. Ekman and Davidson. Oxford University Press, 127-30.

Clore, Gerald C. 1994. "Why Emotions Are Felt." In *The Nature of Emotion*, ed. Ekman and Davidson. Oxford University Press, 103-111.

Gray, Jeffrey A. 1994. "Three Fundamental Emotion Systems." In *The Nature of Emotion*, ed. Ekman and Davidson. Oxford University Press, 243-47.

Shweder, Richard A. 1994. " 'You're Not Sick, You're Just in Love.': Emotion as an Interpretive System." In *The Nature of Emotion*, ed. Ekman and Davidson. Oxford University Press, 32-44.

## II. POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY OF EMOTIONS

### GENERAL APPROACHES

#### September 10

Kinder, Donald R. 1994. "Reason and Emotion in American Political Life." In *Beliefs, Reasoning, and Decision Making: Psycho-Logic in Honor of Bob Abelson*, ed. Roger C. Schank, and Ellen Langer. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 277-314.

McDermott, Rose. 2004. "The Feeling of Rationality: The Meaning of Neuroscientific Advances for Political Science." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(4):691-706.

Marcus, George E., Michael MacKuen, Jennifer Wolak, and Luke Keele. 2006. "The Measure and Mismeasure of Emotion." In *Feeling Politics: Emotion in Political Information Processing*, ed. David P. Redlawsk. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 31-45.

#### September 15

Marcus, George E., W. R. Neuman, and Michael MacKuen. 2000. *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapters 1-4 (1-64).

#### September 17

Marcus et al., *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*, chapters 5-7 (65-140).

Ladd, Jonathan M., and Gabriel S. Lenz. 2008. "Reassessing the Role of Anxiety in Vote Choice." *Political Psychology* 29(2):275-96.

### TRIGGERING EMOTION: EMOTIONAL DISPLAYS

#### September 22

McHugo, Gregory J., John T. Lanzetta, Denis G. Sullivan, Roger D. Masters, and Basil G. Englis. 1985. "Emotional Reactions to a Political Leader's Expressive Displays." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 49(6):1513-29.

Stroud, Laura R., Jack Glaser, and Peter Salovey. 2006. "The Effects of Partisanship and Candidate Emotionality on Voter Preference." *Imagination, Cognition, and Personality* 25(1): 25-44.

Kaplan, Jonas T., Joshua Freedman, and Marco Iacoboni. 2007. "Us Versus Them: Political Attitudes and Party Affiliation Influence Neural Response to Faces of Presidential Candidates: The Perception of Emotion and Social Cues in Faces." *Neuropsychologia* 45(1):55-64.

#### September 24

Sullivan, Denis G., and Roger D. Masters. 1988. "'Happy Warriors': Leaders' Facial Displays, Viewers' Emotions, and Political Support." *American Journal of Political Science* 32(2):345-68.

Mullen, Brian, et al. 1986. "Newscasters' Facial Expressions and Voting Behavior of Viewers: Can a Smile Elect a President?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 51(2):291-95.

Friedman, Howard S., M. R. DiMatteo, and Timothy I. Mertz. 1980. "Nonverbal Communication on Television News: The Facial Expressions of Broadcasters During Coverage of a Presidential Election Campaign." *Personality and Social Psychological Bulletin* 6(3):427-35.

### September 29

Bucy, Erik P. 2000. "Emotional and Evaluative Consequences of Inappropriate Leader Displays." *Communication Research* 27(2):194-226.

Lewis, Kristi M. 2000. "When Leaders Display Emotion: How Followers Respond to Negative Emotional Expression of Male and Female Leaders." *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 21(2):221-34.

Hitchon J. C., Chang C., and Harris R. 1997. "Should Women Emote? Perceptual Bias and Opinion Change in Response to Political Ads for Candidates of Different Genders." *Political Communication* 14(1):49-69.

### POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

#### October 1

Brader, Ted. 2006. *Campaigning for Hearts and Minds: How Emotional Appeals in Political Ads Work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapters 1-3 (1-72).

#### October 6 No Class (Reading Day)

#### October 8

Brader, *Campaigning for Hearts and Minds*, chapters 4-7 (73-198).

#### October 13

Scammell, Margaret, and Ana I. Langer. 2006. "Political Advertising: Why Is It So Boring?" *Media Culture Society* 28(5):763-84.

#### October 15 MIDTERM IN CLASS

## III. SPECIFIC EMOTIONS AND DEMOCRATIC POLITICS

### INTRODUCTORY CONSIDERATIONS

#### October 20

Stearns, Peter N. 2008. "History of Emotions: Issues of Change and Impact." In *Handbook of Emotions*, ed. Michael Lewis et al. 3rd ed. New York: Guilford Press, 17-31.

Herzog, Don. 1998. "The Politics of Emotion." In *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 202-243.

### DISGUST (WITH A BIT OF CONTEMPT)

#### October 22

Miller, William I. 1997. *The Anatomy of Disgust*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, chapters 1-5 (1-108).

#### October 27

Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, chapters 6-10 (109-254).

## October 29

Rozin, Paul, Laura Lowery, Sumio Imada, and Jonathan Haidt. 1999. "The CAD Triad Hypothesis: A Mapping Between Three Moral Emotions (Contempt, Anger, Disgust) and Three Moral Codes (Community, Autonomy, Divinity)." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 76(4):574-86.

Citrin, Laura B. 2004. "Disgust and 'Normal' Corporeality: How Cultural Ideologies About Gender, Race, and Class Are Inscribed on the Body." Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, pages 1-19.

Rozin, Paul, and Maureen Markwith. 1997. "Moralization and Becoming a Vegetarian: The Transformation of Preferences Into Values and the Recruitment of Disgust." *Psychological Science* 8(2):67-73.

## November 3

Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2004. *The Politics of Disgust: the Public Identity of the Welfare Queen*. New York: New York University Press, chapters 1-3 (1-7).

## November 5

Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust*, chapters 4-7 (88-157).

## FEAR AND ANXIETY

### November 10

Robin, Corey. 2004. *Fear: the History of a Political Idea*. New York: Oxford University Press, introduction and chapters 1-3 (1-94).

### November 12

Robin, *Fear*, chapters 4-5 (95-160).

### November 17

Robin, *Fear*, chapters 6-8 & conclusion (161-252).

### November 19

Pyszczynski, Tom. 2004. "What Are We So Afraid Of? A Terror Management Theory Perspective on the Politics of Fear." *Social Research* 71(4):827-48.

Dumont, Muriel, et al. 2003. "Social Categorization and Fear Reactions to the September 11th Terrorist Attacks." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 29(12): 1509-20.

Lerner, Jennifer S., Roxana M. Gonzalez, Deborah A. Small, and Baruch Fischhoff. 2003. "Effects of Fear and Anger on Perceived Risks of Terrorism: A National Field Experiment." *Psychological Science* 14(2): 144-50.

~~Newhagen, John. 1998. "TV Images that Induce Anger, Fear, and Disgust: Effects on Approach-Avoidance Responses and Memory." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 42: 265-76.~~

**November 24**

Glassner, Barry. 2004. "Narrative Techniques of Fear Mongering." *Social Research* 71(4):819-26.

Cohen, Florette, Daniel M. Ogilvie, Sheldon Solomon, Jeff Greenberg, and Tom Pyszczynski. 2005. "American Roulette: The Effect of Reminders of Death on Support for George W. Bush in the 2004 Presidential Election." *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 5(1):177-87.

Willer, Robb. 2004. "The Effects of Government-Issued Terror Warnings on Presidential Approval Ratings." *Current Research in Social Psychology* 10(1).  
<http://www.uiowa.edu/~grpproc/crisp/crisp.10.1.html>

**November 26**

No Class (Thanksgiving)

**ANGER**

**December 1**

Lyman, Peter. 2004. "The Domestication of Anger: The Use and Abuse of Anger in Politics." *European Journal of Social Theory* 7(2):133-47.

Small, Deborah A., and Jennifer S. Lerner. 2008. "Emotional Policy: Personal Sadness and Anger Shape Judgments About a Welfare Case." *Political Psychology* 29(2):149-68.

Gault, Barbara A., and John Sabini. 2000. "The Roles of Empathy, Anger, and Gender in Predicting Attitudes towards Punitive, Reparative, and Preventative Public Policies." *Cognition & Emotion* 14(4): 495-520.

~~Gross, Kimberly, and Lisa D'Ambrosio. 2004. "Framing Emotional Response." *Political Psychology* 25(1):1-29.~~

**IV. CONCLUSIONS: EMOTION AND DEMOCRATIC POLITICS**

**December 3 and 8**

Marcus, George E. 2002. *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.