

PLAP 7500: Seminar in Political Psychology

Spring 2024

Thursday 2:00–4:30pm
New Cabell Hall 066

Professor Nicholas Winter

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Zoom office: <https://virginia.zoom.us/my/nwinter>

office hours

By appointment

This course is an introduction to a perhaps-idiosyncratic set of topics in political psychology. It focuses primarily on mass political behavior in the American case. We will consider a number of substantive topics, with particular interest in race, gender, and intersectionality. Throughout the term we will pay careful attention to issues of methodology and research design, and the role of reductionism in social science.

The latest/current version of the syllabus is always available on Canvas.

Syllabus changelog

V24.0.0—1/18/2024	Beta release
V24.1.0—1/18/2024	Updated throughout; some reading updates still TBA
V24.2.0—1/22/2024	Updated readings; added book and article links
V24.3.0—1/29/2024	Updated readings, short essay due dates
V24.4.0—2/21/2024	Added book reviews to schedule
V24.5.0—3/7/2024	Revised/replaced March 14 readings
V24.6.0—3/17/2024	Revised March 21 readings
V24.7.0—4/18/2024	Schedule update

Course Requirements

This is a Ph.D. seminar, so my expectation is that you will engage closely with the material and that you will play an active role in the course. What you get out of it will reflect what you put into it.

1. Short Essays

You will write **seven** short essays over the course of the term. You may choose when to complete each, though at least four must be completed before spring break (i.e., by February 29). You will submit each essay through Canvas by **5pm on Wednesday before class**.

a. Testable Hypothesis (2) – no more than 1.5 double-spaced pages

Your testable hypothesis can be developed from any theme in the week's readings, but you should demonstrate a grasp of the central arguments put forward by the authors and generate a question you can test empirically to determine the extent to which the argument(s) in the week's readings carry water. The paper should also identify the manner in which you will test the hypothesis (i.e., key measures, data, etc.)

b. No F'ing Way! (2) – no more than 1.5 double-spaced pages

Identify something from one of the week's readings that seems misleading, ill-considered, or just plain wrong. What is the claim (or argument, or finding) that you find suspect, and why? A strong paper will marshal evidence for your claim.

c. Response paper (3) – 2-3 double-spaced pages

Engage with the week's reading(s). There are many ways to engage, but note:

- Minimize the summary of the readings—I am most interested in your analysis of the strengths and weaknesses, overarching themes, and points of debate.
- Responses should *advance an argument*, and they should engage constructively with rather than simply criticizing the work.
- Some possible approaches: juxtapose and comment on alternative explanations or approaches to a substantive topic; evaluate the methods used and propose other strategies of research; evaluate the conceptualization and/or measurement of a particular construct; analyze the implications of a set of findings; develop similarities and contrasts with arguments or research found in the readings from previous weeks.
- Another approach: explain a fundamental argument between or among authors. Do they employ different methods, and if so, do these different differences lead to different conclusions? Would another methodological choice be better?
- You might also want to address whether there are major shortcomings in a set of readings on a topic, as well as how you might address them. Does the empirical evidence support the author(s)' claims? What questions for future research emerge from the readings, and how might we begin to answer these questions?

2. Book Review and Presentation

Each student will prepare and present a book review at some point during the term. This will involve a close reading of an empirical book that engages with some aspect of political psychology, and which we are not already reading. You will present the work in class and submit a written book review. More details TBA.

3. Final Research Paper

A final research paper is due at the end of the semester. You have a great deal of latitude here in terms of topic, objectives, and methodology as long as it deals with some aspect of political psychology. I hope that this project will serve some concrete purpose beyond the course; for example, as a first cut at a dissertation prospectus or chapter, a master's thesis, a conference paper, an article for submission to a journal, or all of the above. You will submit a proposal; more details TBA.

During the final class meeting you will each present your work for 6-7 minutes, with some time for Q&A after each presentation.

You must submit a proposal (approximately two double-spaced pages) and have it approved.

Summary of deadlines

Short essays	(due 5pm each Wednesday)	4 by February 27 7 total by April 16
Book presentation	(sign up for a date during first week)	
Book review	(one week after your presentation)	
Proposal	March 1 (or earlier)	
Final paper	end of the semester	

Grading will be based on your short essays (25%), class participation (quantity weighted by quality of participation 20%), book review and presentation (25%) and the final project (30%).

Readings

Most readings are available online; I have included links in the syllabus. Book chapters are available through Canvas. There are five books we are reading completely. I have ordered these at the bookstore and they are available from Amazon and other retailers.

Anoll, Allison P. 2022. *The Obligation Mosaic: Race and Social Norms in US Political Participation*. University of Chicago Press. <https://www.amazon.com/dp/022681257X/>

Berinsky, Adam J. 2023. *Political Rumors: Why We Accept Misinformation and How to Fight It*. Princeton University Press. <https://www.amazon.com/dp/069115838X/>

Johnston, Christopher D., Howard G. Lavine, and Christopher M. Federico. 2017. *Open versus Closed: Personality, Identity, and the Politics of Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. <https://www.amazon.com/dp/1107546427/>

Kinder, Donald R., and Nathan P. Kalmoe. 2017. *Neither Liberal nor Conservative: Ideological Innocence in the American Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. <https://www.amazon.com/dp/022645245X/>

Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2008. *Dangerous Frames: How Ideas About Race and Gender Shape Public Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. <https://www.amazon.com/dp/0226902374/>

Auditing this Course

Graduate students are welcome to audit the course. I would advise you to think carefully about your motivation for auditing, however. If you are too busy this term to take the course for credit, consider whether you will really be able to commit the time necessary to get much from it. In the end the decision is yours. *Note that auditors must still complete the short essays and the book review.*

January 18 – Introduction and Overview

January 25 – Substance and Method in Political Psychology

Huddy, Leonie, David O. Sears, Jack S. Levy, and Jennifer Jerit. 2023. "Introduction: Theoretical Foundations of Political Psychology." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology: Third Edition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1–18.
<https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/51639/chapter/418863749>

Note that the entire Handbook is online: <https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/51639>

Druckman, James, James Kuklinski, and Lee Sigelman. 2009. "The Unmet Potential of Interdisciplinary Research: Political Psychological Approaches to Voting and Public Opinion." *Political Behavior* 31 (4):485–510. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40587296>

Trawalter, Sophie, D-J Bart-Plange, and Kelly M Hoffman. 2020. "A Socioecological Psychology of Racism: Making Structures and History More Visible." *Current Opinion in Psychology* 32: 47–51.
<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2352250X19300739>

Goff, Phillip Atiba, and Kimberly Barsamian Kahn. 2013. "How Psychological Science Impedes Intersectional Thinking." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 10(2): 365–84.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X13000313>

February 1 – Political Ideology I

Converse, Philip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David Ernest Apter. New York: Free Press, 206–61. Reprinted Jeffrey Friedman (ed.), *Is Democratic Competence Possible? A special issue of Critical Review* 18 (1-3):1–74.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/08913810608443650>

Kinder, Donald R., and Nathan P. Kalmoe. 2017. *Neither Liberal nor Conservative: Ideological Innocence in the American Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

February 8 – Political Ideology II

Johnston, Christopher D., Howard G. Lavine, and Christopher M. Federico. 2017. *Open versus Closed: Personality, Identity, and the Politics of Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

February 15 – Identity, Especially White

Huddy, Leonie. 2013. "From Group Identity to Political Cohesion and Commitment." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, eds. Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy. **Second ed.** New York: Oxford University Press, 737–73.
<https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/34379/chapter/291577083>

Cole, Geneva. 2020. "Types of White Identification and Attitudes About Black Lives Matter." *Social Science Quarterly* 101(4): 1627–33. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/ssqu.12837>

Jardina, Ashley, and Robert Mickey. 2022. "White Racial Solidarity and Opposition to American Democracy." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 699(1): 79–89.
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/00027162211069730>

Pérez, Efrén et al. 2023. "Manifold Threats to White Identity and Their Political Effects on White Partisans." *Social Psychological and Personality Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506231180650>.

Armaly, Miles T., David T. Buckley, and Adam M. Enders. 2022. "Christian Nationalism and Political Violence: Victimhood, Racial Identity, Conspiracy, and Support for the Capitol Attacks." *Political Behavior* 44(2): 937–60. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-021-09758-y>

Jardina, Ashley. 2021. "In-Group Love and Out-Group Hate: White Racial Attitudes in Contemporary U.S. Elections." *Political Behavior* 43(4): 1535–59. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-020-09600-x>

February 22 –White Racial Attitudes & the Implicit/Explicit Model

Skim: Devine, Patricia G. et al. 2002. "The Regulation of Explicit and Implicit Race Bias: The Role of Motivations to Respond without Prejudice." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 82(5): 835–48. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.5.835>

Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 4 & 6 (111–133 & 169–190)

Valentino, Nicholas A., Vincent L. Hutchings, and Ismail K. White. 2002. "Cues That Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes during Campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 75–90. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055402004240>

White, Ismail K. 2007. "When Race Matters and When It Doesn't: Racial Group Differences in Response to Racial Cues." *American Political Science Review* 101(2): 339–54. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055407070177>

Reny, Tyler T., Ali A. Valenzuela, and Loren Collingwood. 2020. "'No, You're Playing the Race Card': Testing the Effects of Anti-Black, Anti-Latino, and Anti-Immigrant Appeals in the Post-Obama Era." *Political Psychology* 41(2): 283–302. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/pops.12614>

Book Review: Robert Brehm

Zingher, Joshua N. 2022. *Political Choice in a Polarized America: How Elite Polarization Shapes Mass Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.

February 29 – Racial Group Norms, Individual Attitudes and Behavior

Suhay, Elizabeth. 2015. "Explaining Group Influence: The Role of Identity and Emotion in Political Conformity and Polarization." *Political Behavior* 37(1): 221–51. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-014-9269-1>

Wamble, Julian J., Chryl N. Laird, Corrine M. McConaughy, and Ismail K. White. 2022. "We Are One: The Social Maintenance of Black Democratic Party Loyalty." *The Journal of Politics* 84(2): 682–97. <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/716300>

Anoll, Allison P. 2022. *The Obligation Mosaic: Race and Social Norms in US Political Participation*. University of Chicago Press.

Book Review: Zach Watson

Sirin, Cigdem V., Nicholas A. Valentino, and José D. Villalobos. 2021. *Seeing Us in Them: Social Divisions and the Politics of Group Empathy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

March 7 – UVa Spring Break

March 14 – Emotion I: Introduction and Fear vs. Anger

Herzog, Don. 1998. "The Politics of Emotion." In *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 202–43.

- Brader, Ted. 2005. "Striking a Responsive Chord: How Political Ads Motivate and Persuade Voters by Appealing to Emotions." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(2): 388–405.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0092-5853.2005.00130.x>
- Valentino, Nicholas, Carly Wayne, and Marzia Ocenio. 2018. "Mobilizing Sexism: The Interaction of Emotion and Gender Attitudes in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 82(S1): 213–35. <https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfy003>
- Vasilopoulos, Pavlos, George E. Marcus, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Martial Foucault. 2019. "Fear, Anger, and Voting for the Far Right: Evidence From the November 13, 2015 Paris Terror Attacks." *Political Psychology* 40(4): 679–704. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12513>
- Jost, John T. 2019. "Anger and Authoritarianism Mediate the Effects of Fear on Support for the Far Right—What Vasilopoulos et al. (2019) Really Found." *Political Psychology* 40(4): 705–11.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12567>
- Vasilopoulos, Pavlos, George E. Marcus, Nicholas Valentino, and Martial Foucault. 2019. "Anger Mediates the Effects of Fear on Support for the Far Right—A Rejoinder." *Political Psychology* 40(4): 713–17.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12598>

Book Review: Kat Miller

Coppock, Alexander. 2023. *Persuasion in Parallel: How Information Changes Minds about Politics*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

March 21 – Emotion II: Disgust and Resentment

- Driver, Justin. 2018. "Of Big Black Bucks and Golden-Haired Little Girls: How Fear of Interracial Sex Informed Brown v. Board of Education and Its Resistance." In *The Empire of Disgust*, eds. Zoya Hasan, Aziz Z. Huq, Martha C. Nussbaum, and Vidhu Verma. New York: Oxford University Press, 41–61.
- Kam, Cindy D., and Beth A. Estes. 2016. "Disgust Sensitivity and Public Demand for Protection." *The Journal of Politics* 78(2): 481–96. <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/684611>
- Clifford, Scott, and Spencer Piston. 2017. "Explaining Public Support for Counterproductive Homelessness Policy: The Role of Disgust." *Political Behavior* 39(2): 503–25.
<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-016-9366-4>
- Reicher, Stephen, and Yasemin Ulusahin. 2020. "Resentment and Redemption: On the Mobilization of Dominant Group Victimhood." In *The Social Psychology of Collective Victimhood*, ed. Johanna Ray Vollhardt. New York: Oxford University Press, 275–94.

Book Review: Ryan Laine

Achen, Christopher H., and Larry M. Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

March 28 – Misinformation

- Marsh, Elizabeth J., and Brenda W. Yang. 2018. "Believing Things That Are Not True: A Cognitive Science Perspective on Misinformation." In *Misinformation and Mass Audiences*, eds. Brian G. Southwell, Emily A. Thorson, and Laura Sheble. Austin: University of Texas Press, 15–34.
- Berinsky, Adam J. 2023. *Political Rumors: Why We Accept Misinformation and How to Fight It*. Princeton University Press.

Book Review: Jordyn Yoder

Stephens-Dougan, LaFleur. 2020. *Race to the Bottom: How Racial Appeals Work in American Politics*. First edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

April 4 – No Class

April 18 – Sexism and Gender Stereotypes

Glick, Peter, and Susan T. Fiske. 1999. "Sexism and Other 'Isms': Independence, Status, and the Ambivalent Content of Stereotypes." In *Sexism and Stereotypes in Modern Society: The Gender Science of Janet Taylor Spence*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 193–221.

Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2023. "Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, and American Elections." *Politics & Gender* 19(2):427–456. <https://www.doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X22000010>

Smilan-Goldstein, Rachel. 2023. "Protecting Our (White) Daughters: U.S. Immigration and Benevolent Sexism." *Politics & Gender*: 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X23000521>

Christley, Olyvia R. 2021. "Traditional Gender Attitudes, Nativism, and Support for the Radical Right." *Politics & Gender*: 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X21000374>

McMahon, Jean M., and Kimberly Barsamian Kahn. 2018. "When Sexism Leads to Racism: Threat, Protecting Women, and Racial Bias." *Sex Roles* 78(9): 591–605. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11199-017-0828-x>

Book Review: Ben Bottger

Kalmoe, Nathan P. 2020. *With Ballots and Bullets: Partisanship and Violence in the American Civil War*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

April 25 – Dangerous Frames at 16

Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2008. *Dangerous Frames: How Ideas About Race and Gender Shape Public Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

April 25 – Symposium

~~A smorgasbord of your work this semester!~~