

**Instructor:** George E. Marcus  
e-mail: [George.E.Marcus@Williams.edu](mailto:George.E.Marcus@Williams.edu)  
Centre Américain, Sciences Po  
117 Bvd Saint-Germain, 75006 Paris  
Tel : (33) 1 45 49 89 19

**Course Title:** Political Affect: the Emotional Foundation of Thinking and Feeling in Politics

**Course Abstract:** The central thesis of this course is that the topic of emotion is essential to understand not only what people feel but also explains when and why they think and act. This view of emotion is increasingly shared by political psychologists and political scientists. New work on emotion executed over the past twenty years is of particular interest in the fields of public opinion and political behavior, electoral politics, conflict and conflict resolution. This course will review the prevailing theories of emotion and the empirical work reported in the literature. A central feature of some of these theories is the claim that affective processes occur prior to and determinative of cognitive processes. This has important implications for theories of politics, generally, and democratic politics in particular. The course will examine the following topics: the role of emotions in political learning, political judgment, voting behavior, and emotional reactions to international crises, with special attention to American perceptions and reactions to the war in Iraq.

The fundamental premise of the field of political psychology is that the scientific study of human nature can inform our understanding of politics. That premise is widely displayed in western political thought (Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and, more recently, Hobbes, Hume, Smith, Montesquieu, among many others). To put the matter more simply, what we do depends on what we are and what is within our capabilities. The study of emotion is central to the study of human nature but the reasons for that centrality have shifted from assuming that emotion is a contentious and upsetting influence to the otherwise calm reliance on reason to guide our actions to a new view. That new view now conceives of emotion as necessary and complimentary to reason, a view that will be explored in full in this course.

Although the primary focus of the course is on the neuroscience of emotion and the implications for political judgment and political behavior, the course will also cover some additional topics. In particular the course will enable students to contrast the theory of affective intelligence (one of the principal applications of the neuroscience of emotion to politics) to two principal alternative accounts: the theory of rational choice (from economics) and prospect theory (from social psychology). Additionally, as described below, the course will enhance the research capabilities of students by a joint collaborative class research project.

### **Research Component of this course**

**Suggested project:** developing and validating a French language PANAS scale (the principal measure of emotion with verbal self-report in English). The scale measures anxiety and enthusiasm. But we must consider adding aversion, the emotions of hatred, anger and contempt. There are many targets that can be used to assess the emotional reactions they provoke. The possible foci for this course: French political parties (how do people feel about them), EU, EU and the proposed Constitution, major French political figures, French political Parties, contemporary issues (35 hour week, unions, immigration, terrorism, dress codes in school, etc.).

***Each student must do the following to get VALIDATION.***

The following are the major tasks that students will need to complete to obtain validation:

- 1) Attendance at lectures (prior approval for absence is a valid excuse).
- 2) Mastery of the assigned readers as evidenced by class performance (i.e., discussion of the main points and their implications). All class readings will be made available to the class as PDF files.
- 3) Participation in the research exercise (including design and execution of the class project, preparation of an oral report on the project and its major findings, preparation of a written report on the project).

**Recommended readings for those who wish to explore the topics of this course in greater depth:**

*General history of the study of emotion in psychology*

Cornelius, Randolph R. 1996. The Science of Emotion: Research and Tradition in the Psychology of Emotions. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

*Popular treatments of emotion and neuroscience*

Nørretranders, Tor. 1998. The User Illusion. Translated by J. Sydenham. New York: Viking.

Damasio, Antonio R. 1994. Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason and the Human Brain. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

LeDoux, Joseph E. 1996. The Emotional Brain: The Mysterious Underpinnings of Emotional Life. New York: Simon & Schuster.

*General review of Decision-making and Neuroscience*

Fellows, Lesley K. 2004. The Cognitive Neuroscience of Human Decision Making: A Review and Conceptual Framework. *Behavioral and Cognitive Neuroscience Reviews* 3 (3):159-172.

*Emotion and Human Biology*

Öhman, Arne, and Susan Mineka. 2001. Fears, Phobias, and Preparedness: Towards an Evolved Module of Fear and Fear Learning. *Psychological Review* 108 (3):483-522.

LeDoux, Joseph E. 2000. Emotion Circuits in the Brain. In *Annual Reviews Neuroscience*. Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews.

Rolls, Edmund T. 1999. The Brain and Emotion. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Gray, Jeffrey A. 1987. The Psychology of Fear and Stress. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cacioppo, John T., and Wendi L. Gardner. 1999. Emotion. *Annual Review of Psychology* 50:191-214.

*More on Measurement of Emotion*

Watson, David. 1988. The Vicissitudes of Mood Measurement: Effects of Varying Descriptors, Time Frames, and Response Formats on Measures of Positive and Negative Affect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 55 (1):128-141. )

Barrett, Lisa Feldman. 2004. Feelings or Words? Understanding the Content in Self-Report Ratings of Experienced Emotion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 87 (2):266–281.

Phan, K. Luan, Tor Wager, Stephan F. Taylor, and Israel Liberzon. 2002. Functional Neuroanatomy of Emotion: A Meta-Analysis of Emotion Activation Studies in PET and fMRI. *NeuroImage* 16 (2):331-348.

*Memory*

Rolls, Edmund T. 2000. Memory Systems in the Brain. *Annual Review of Psychology* 51:599-630.

Tulving, Endel. 2002. Episodic Memory: From Mind to Brain. *Annual Review of Psychology* 53:1-25.

*On rationality*

Shafir, Eldar, and Robyn A. LeBoeuf. 2002. Rationality. *Annual Review of Psychology* 53 (1):491-517.

*On Consciousness*

- Gray, Jeffrey Alan. 2004. Consciousness : creeping up on the hard problem. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Greenfield, Susan A. 1995. Journeys to the Centers of the Mind: Toward a Science of Consciousness. New York: W. H. Freeman and Company.
- Libet, Benjamin. 2004. Mind time : the temporal factor in consciousness, Perspectives in cognitive neuroscience. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Weiskrantz, Lawrence. 1997. Consciousness Lost and Found: A Neuropsychological Investigation. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

*Alternative theories of emotion: Appraisal theories*

- Frijda, Nico H., Peter Kuipers, and Elisabeth ter Schure. 1989. Relations Among Emotion, Appraisal, and Emotional Action Readiness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 57 (2):212-228.
- Lazarus, Richard S. 1991. Emotion & Adaptation. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ortony, Andrew, Gerald L. Clore, and Allan Collins. 1989. The Cognitive Structure of Emotions. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Roseman, Ira. 1984. Cognitive Determinants of Emotions: A Structural Theory. In Review of personality and social psychology, edited by P. Shaver. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Scherer, Klaus R., Angela Schorr, and Tom Johnstone. 2001. Appraisal Processes in Emotion : theory, methods, research, Series in affective science. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

### Class Schedule

#### Class 1 – Wednesday, October 5<sup>th</sup> (Salle 21, 27 rue Saint Guillaume) 10:15-12:15

##### *Part A: Introduction*

Syllabus

Class Goals:

- a. The affective revolution: affect, behavior, and cognition – reconceived
- b. Theory, recent applications, future prospects
- c. Research applications

Discussion and questions

Readings: Syllabus and where to find course readings

##### *Part B: Substantive – what the study of emotions can tell us as demonstrated in a recent study*

Reading: 2005 ISPP paper

Structure of emotion (enthusiasm, anxiety, and aversion)

Emotion as preconscious appraisal and systems of motivation

#### Class 2 - Wednesday, October 12<sup>th</sup>

*Part A: Measuring emotions with verbal self-report (e.g., in experiments or surveys) – the readings describe the principal method for measuring emotional reactions. The PANAS scale is one of the more widely used measures in the United States.*

Readings:

- 1) Watson, David, Lee Anna Clark, and Auke Tellegen. 1988. Development and Validation of Brief Measures of Positive and Negative Affect: The PANAS Scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 54 (6):1063-1070.
- 2) Marcus, George E., Michael MacKuen, Jennifer Wolak, and Luke Keele. forthcoming. The Measure and Mismeasure of Emotion. In *Feeling Politics*, edited by D. Redlawsk and R. Boynton: Palgrave.

*Part B: Research in France: developing PANAS for French applications. The PANAS scale is, of course, in English. Hence, to foster research in French speaking locales we need a translated (and validated) form of the scale. The hour will be spent on considering how to accomplish that goal.*

#### Class 3 - Wednesday, October 19<sup>h</sup>

*Part A: Conventional conceptions of emotion and reason. The reading explores the ways in which emotion, and emotion talk, is a familiar part of daily life. What impact do these presumptions do have and are they valid? Are they valid in French culture and contemporary life?*

Readings:

- 1) Marcus, George E. 2002. *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press. Read chapters 1-2

*Part B: Recent media coverage of new neuroscience work on emotions in the USA. News coverage of recent work in neuroscience, in general on emotion, is becoming more prevalent. Here we discuss four examples from the New York Times. Question for the class: Has there been coverage in France of these and similar stories?*

Readings:

- 1) New York Times stories

- a. Hard Wired for Prejudice
- b. Politics on the Brain
- c. Brain Experts
- d. What Other People Say May Change What You See

#### **Class 4 - Wednesday, October 26<sup>th</sup>**

*Part A: Neuroscience and Feeling, Thinking, and Behaving. What does neuroscience have to tell us about how the brain functions? One of the key points is that the brain operates and does many things that occur outside of consciousness (the mind). And, that time matters quite a lot if we want to understand mental processes.*

Readings:

- 1) Marcus, George E. 2002. The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press. Read chapters 3-4

*Part B: Neuroscience and Feeling, Thinking, and Behaving – “blindsight”- Blindsight is the name given to a phenomenon by which subjects who are consciously blind (in all or part of their visual field) can, nonetheless, interaction with stimuli before them relying on visual information that they consciously claim not to see. This reading is included to emphasize the importance of understanding non-conscious processes.*

Readings:

- 1) Pegna, Alan J., Asaid Khateb, Francois Lazeyras, and Mohamed L. Seghier. 2005. Discriminating emotional faces without primary visual cortices involves the right amygdala. *Nature Neuroscience* 8:24-25.

#### **Class 5 – Wednesday, November 2<sup>nd</sup>**

*Part A: Neuroscience and Feeling, Thinking, and Behaving – habit and enthusiasm. One of the more important areas in which neuroscience, and social psychology, agree is the extent to which what we do, our behavior, is largely governed by “automatic” processes (i.e., processes enacting outside of conscious attention or control) – more specifically, habit. And, as we shall see, habits and emotions have a lot to do with each other.*

Readings:

- 1) Wood, Wendy, Jeffrey M. Quinn, and Deborah A. Kashy. 2002. Habits in Everyday Life: Thought, Emotion, and Action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 83 (6):1281-1297.

*Part B: Neuroscience and Feeling, Thinking, and Behaving – the negative emotions of aversion (e.g., anger, contempt, hatred) and anxiety. But habit is not the only basis for behavior, and enthusiasm is not the only emotion related to behavior. Here we consider two other important emotions: anger and anxiety.*

Readings:

- 1) Adams, Reginald B., Jr., Heather L. Gordon, Abigail A. Baird, Nalini Ambady, and Robert E. Kleck. 2003. Effects of Gaze on Amygdala Sensitivity to Anger and Fear Faces. *Science* 300 (5625):1536.

*Part C: Discussion on Research Project – we will take some time to review the class project: what needs to be done, and who is doing it.*

**Class 6 – Wednesday, November 9<sup>th</sup>**

*Part A: The Theory of Affective Intelligence: this is one of the principal theories in political psychology that links neuroscience, and emotion, to political judgment and political behavior. It attempts to provide a comprehensive account of the antecedents to emotion and the consequential effects of specific emotional “preconscious appraisals” on political decision-making and political behavior.*

Readings:

- 1) Marcus, George E. 2002. The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press. Read chapters 5-7

*Part B: The Theory of Affective Intelligence – cont’d*

Readings:

- 1) Marcus, George E. 2002. The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press. Read chapter 8
- 2) • **Assignment:** Alexia and Marion will lead a discussion contrasting the theory of Affective Intelligence with Rational Choice theory.

**Class 7 – Wednesday, November 16<sup>th</sup>**

*Part A: The Theory of Affective Intelligence – applications*

Readings:

- 1) Marcus, George E., and Michael MacKuen. 1993. Anxiety, Enthusiasm and the Vote: The Emotional Underpinnings of Learning and Involvement during Presidential Campaigns. *American Political Science Review* 87 (3):688-701.
- 2) • **Assignment:** Olivier will lead a discussion as to whether this study, if conducted in France, would produce the same result.

*Part B: The Theory of Affective Intelligence*

- 1) Marcus, George E., W. Russell Neuman, and Michael B. MacKuen. 2000. Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Read chapters 5-6
- 2) • **Assignment:** Prof. Marcus will lead a discussion contrasting the theory of Affective Intelligence with prospect theory.

**Class 8 – Wednesday, November 23<sup>rd</sup>**

*Part A: Emotion and politics – recent applications – political campaigns (US)*

Readings:

- 1) 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.
- 2) 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.
- 3) • **Assignment:** Olivier will lead a discussion as to whether these studies, if conducted in France, would produce the same result.

*Part B: Emotion and politics – recent applications – negative campaigns (US)*

Readings:

- 1) Martin, Paul S. 2004. Inside the Black Box of Negative Campaign Effects: Three Reasons Why Negative Campaigns Mobilize. *Political Psychology* 25 (4):545-562.

- 2) • **Assignment:** Alexia and Frédéric of the class will lead a discussion as to whether this study, if conducted in France, would produce the same result.

### **Class 9 – Wednesday, November 30<sup>th</sup>**

*Part A: Emotion and politics – recent applications – threat (US) – 9/11*

Readings:

- 1) McCann, Stewart J. H. 1997. Threatening Times, “Strong” Presidential Popular Vote Winners, and the Victory Margin, 1924-1964. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 73 (1):160-170.
- 2) • **Assignment:** Frédéric and Marion will lead a discussion as to whether this study, if conducted in France, would produce the same result.

*Part B: Emotion and politics – recent applications – threat – cont’d*

Readings:

- 1) Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav. 2005. Threat, Anxiety, and Support of Antiterrorism Policies. *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3):610-625.
- 2) Landau, Mark J. , Sheldon Solomon, Jeff Greenberg, Florette Cohen, Tom Pyszczynski, Jamie Arndt, Dale T. Miller, Daniel M. Ogilvie, and Alison Cook. 2004. Deliver Us From Evil: The Effects of Mortality Salience and Reminders of 9/11 on Support for President George W. Bush. *Personality And Social Psychology Bulletin* 30 (9):1136-1150.
- 3) • **Assignment:** two members of the class will lead a discussion as to whether these studies if conducted in France, would produce the same result.

### **Class 10 – Wednesday, December 7<sup>th</sup>**

*Part A: Emotion and politics – recent applications – justice. Justice is one of the most central topics in politics generally, and especially so in regimes that are based on popular consent. Although justice is often presented as based on reason and principle, recent work in social psychology and neuroscience is challenging that formulation. This class is devoted to readings that advance other views of justice, both as to when the issue of justice is likely to arise and questions whether a rationalist account of justice is sufficient.*

Readings:

- 1) Miller, Dale T. 2001. Disrespect and the Experience of Injustice. *Annual Review of Psychology* 52 (1):527-553.

*Part B: Emotion and politics – recent applications – justice – cont’d*

Readings:

- 1) Haidt, Jonathan. 2001. The Emotional Dog and Its Rational Tail: A Social Instuitionalist Approach to Moral Judgment. *Psychological Review* 108 (4):814-834.
- 2) Greene, Joshua D., and Jonathan Haidt. 2002. How (and where) Does Moral Judgment Work? *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 6 (12):517-523.

### **Class 11 – Wednesday, December 14<sup>th</sup>**

*Part A: Individual differences in managing emotion. How do we explain why the similar individuals have different emotional reactions in the same situations? While this is a very broad topic, we consider two explanations in the readings below.*

**Readings:**

- 1) Gross, James J., and Oliver P. John. 2003. Individual Differences in Two Emotion Regulation Processes Implications for Affect, Relationships, and Well-Being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 85 (2):348-362.
- 2) Walton, Mark E., Joseph T. Devlin, and Matthew F. S. Rushworth. 2004. Interactions Between Decision Making and Performance Monitoring within Prefrontal Cortex. *Nature Neuroscience* 7 (11):1259-1263.

*Part B: Status reports on research on French PANAS. Next week we consider the results of the class research project. So, class time will be used to present the draft reports, with final reports due next week.*

**Class 12 – Wednesday, January 4<sup>th</sup>**

*Class research project presentations on French PANAS (elaborated)*

**Class 13 – Wednesday, January 11<sup>th</sup>**

*Summary readings on emotion as appraisal.*

**Readings:**

- 1) Cacioppo, John T., Jeff T. Larsen, N. Kyle Smith, and Gary G. Berntson. The Affect System: What Lurks Below the Surface of Feelings?
- 3) Marcus, George E. 2003. The Psychology of Emotion and Politics. In Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, edited by D. O. Sears, L. Huddy and R. Jervis. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Week of January 16 – use to prepare final research reports****Class 14 – Wednesday, January 25<sup>th</sup>**

*Summary and Conclusion*