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Experiments in Political Science: perspective taking, proposals, and how  
experiments contribute to political research

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by

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## ABSTRACT

Experiments in Political Science: perspective taking, proposals, and how  
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This thesis is broken into three parts. First, a study of perspective taking is presented. Employing an experimental approach, this study (Study 1) attempts to examine whether the cognitive mechanism of “perspective taking” can make participants’ attitudes toward opposing political groups and viewpoints more positive, and make political ideology and stances on fiscal and social issues more moderate. Second, two proposals enhancing the original design are put forward, incorporating some of the lessons learned during Study 1. The third section discusses experiments and their contributions to political science. While they are not presented as the ultimate method within the diverse methodological toolbox in political science, this thesis does contend that some previous notions regarding experiments within the discipline are misguided.

## Part I: Perspective Taking

Americans today are deeply divided in their attitudes toward a number of issues, ranging from taxation to abortion, from warfare to welfare. As a result, the current political atmosphere in the United States is characterized by extreme rhetoric, anger, and even violence. Partisans on both the right and the left have difficulty understanding the beliefs of those on the “other side,” and each side derogates the other for their beliefs. A substantial body of research in political science has examined political polarization among U.S. citizens and elites, addressing both its prevalence and potential causes (e.g., Abramowitz & Saunders, 1998; Fiorina & Abrams, 2008). Relatively little research in political science, however, has attempted to gain an understanding of partisan conflict on an *individual* level, such as the attitudinal, emotional, and behavioral consequences.

Experimental research in social psychology using the “minimal group paradigm” has shown that intergroup tension is inherent to basic group dynamics, and can occur even among groups formed on the basis of arbitrary characteristics (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This research suggests that political groups can be fruitfully studied from an intergroup perspective. In the following studies, the goal was, and is, to apply theory and research on social cognition and intergroup relations to study the dynamics of political conflict at the interpersonal level. Employing an experimental approach, the first study was designed to examine whether *perspective taking* had an effect on participants’

attitudes toward opposing political groups and viewpoints, as well as their own political beliefs.

In the following sections, I discuss research on political polarization and political persuasion. I then discuss psychological research on perspective taking as a potential way to shift individuals' attitudes toward partisan opponents as well as various social and fiscal issues.

Subsequently, I describe the rationale, hypotheses, methods, and results of the first study. After a discussion of these results, I propose a design for a follow-up study aimed at investigating the same relationship between perspective taking and political attitudes. While this may seem redundant, I believe that some of the unpromising results from the first study may have been due to design deficiencies, as opposed to issues with the general research premise. This proposed design incorporates valuable lessons from the first attempt and utilizes techniques previously unused. Finally, I discuss the role of experiments within political science.

### **Political Polarization**

What is political polarization? According to some scholars, a polarized population has voters split between the two ends of a political spectrum (e.g. liberal-conservative). The intensity of polarization increases as the views of these two groups of partisan voters approach the end points of the spectrum. In contrast, in a non-polarized population, the bulk of citizens hold moderate political beliefs.

While this is a useful way to view polarization, it may not capture the intricacies of the phenomenon (Fiorina & Abrams, 2008). Not all political attitudes or behaviors fall under the simple dichotomy of a liberal-conservative spectrum. The appearance of a bimodal distribution of voter partisanship, without taking into account the spread and size of each mode, does not provide the evidence required to infer that voters are polarized (DiMaggio, Evans, & Bryson, 1996). Additionally, a single spectrum makes it difficult to assess the level of disagreement with regard to specific issues. Some scholars have suggested that polarization may be isolated to a certain set of hot-button issues, such as abortion and same-sex marriage. In these “issue publics,” both sides vehemently disagree with one another over a single issue that they both consider to be the most important. However, while they place particular importance on a single issue, they may not be as divided on others (Key, 1955; Schattschneider, 1960; Burnham, 1965; Sundquist, 1983). By measuring across relevant political issues, as opposed to the liberal-conservative spectrum, we may be able to compile a more comprehensive picture of voter polarization.

When discussing polarization, we must consider the role of political parties. Over the past several decades, the United States has seen a rise “party-sorting,” an increased correlation between policy views and partisan identification (Fiorina & Abrams, 2008). What this means is, more so than in the past, the major political parties are strongly identified with holding certain positions on certain issues. Essentially, the association of the Democratic Party

with a liberal ideology, and the Republican Party with a conservative ideology, has grown much stronger since the 1980s (Abramowitz & Saunders, 1998). While this suggests that the parties themselves have become more polarized as institutions, it is not clear whether the voters are also polarized.

Scholars disagree on this very question, whether or not American voters are actually polarized. Some contend that the electorate is generally moderate, but appears polarized because it must select viable candidates from polarized choices (Fiorina, Abrams, & Pope, 2004). Other scholars, in contrast, point to voters' ability to distinguish between political parties (Hetherington, 2001), identify liberal or conservative viewpoints (Abramowitz & Saunders 2008), and respond to elite-led polarization (Brewer & Stonecash, 2006) as evidence of a polarized public. While the debate continues, both sides seem to agree that polarization exists amongst elites (Fiorina & Abrams, 2009; Abramowitz, 2010), and that this division can influence voters' attitudes and behavior and lead to hostility and conflict (Hetherington, 2001).

While there is a lack of consensus, let us consider what a polarized public, or a public responding to polarized elites, would mean for partisan attitudes. Would such a public be less willing to politically compromise or engage in substantive discussions with the opposing side? Essentially, we are discussing the durability of polarization. May voters' attitudes be so deeply entrenched that persuasion is infeasible, or are there mechanisms that are capable of efficiently altering individuals' political attitudes? The first study presented will be one way



to examine the durability of polarization, should it be prevalent amongst voters. The study will investigate whether perspective taking has the capacity to make individuals feel more warmly toward opposing political groups and more positive toward opposing viewpoints. In this regard, we are examining the persuasive power of perspective taking.

### **Persuasion**

One way to reduce polarization among political opponents is to change their political beliefs. Much research in political science on persuasion has investigated how media affects voters' preferences in elections (Iyengar & Simon, 2000). With ever growing election seasons and endless campaigns in the United States, there is an abundance of material for researchers to examine. Much of this campaign material focuses on single issues, catering to the aforementioned "issue publics." These agendas try to capitalize on voters who traditionally identify with the opposite party, but will vote for or against a candidate (or party) based on their position on the salient issue.

If we're attempting to study techniques capable of shifting political attitudes, we have to consider that each individual may have different issues that they consider most important. These differences have the potential to make some people more amenable to persuasion on certain issues than on others. This is referred to as "issue salience" within political science and "attitude importance" in social psychology (e.g. Gorn, 1975; Krosnick, 1988b; Schuman & Presser 1981).

Attitude importance is defined as a person's subjective self-perception of the degree of personal importance attached to a particular attitude (e.g. Boninger, Krosnick, Berent & Fabrigar, 1995; Krosnick, 1988b; Fiske, Gilbert, & Lindzey, 1999)." Jon Krosnick (1988b) demonstrated that an individual's personal policy attitudes have an effect on his or her candidate preference, and that this effect depends on the personal importance of the issue being presented. This would intuitively make sense, as the more personally important a voter finds an issue, the more it will influence how he or she will vote. This tendency also seems to hold true when measuring how resistant individuals are to persuasion. The more importance an individual places on a particular issue, the more resistant he or she will be to change his or her position on that issue (Zuwerink & Devine, 1996). Such attitude importance, or issue salience, is critical in an examination of attitude change. If a participant is asked to take the perspective of someone who holds an opposing viewpoint on an issue, the personal importance of the issue may determine whether or not perspective taking is effective at shifting attitudes.

This discussion ties in to some of the classic political science literature on attitude stability. In Philip Converse's *The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics* (1964), he demonstrates that most citizens do not form political opinions for specific issues based on a coherent ideological belief system. What this might suggest is that voters' issue stances may be more susceptible to change. For example, while an individual might feel strongly about one or two political

issues, his views on others may be more malleable. If he were to adhere to a cohesive ideology, it would seem to be more difficult to shift his opinions. Indeed, Converse contends that only the most politically sophisticated, or those with a high “level of conceptualization,” have comprehensive belief systems that are ideologically constant across issues, and that hold stable views across repeated questioning. Christopher Achen (1975) displays a similar point of view, claiming that “there can be little doubt that the sophisticated electorates postulated by some of the more enthusiastic democratic theorists do not exist, even in the best educated modern societies...Agreement is widespread that citizens have, at most, a general grasp of political issues without having well-developed opinions on every question of public policy (1975).” However, in Achen’s own survey research, he did not find “Converse’s select group of sophisticates divided from the mass population.” Even with this difference in findings, both Converse and Achen demonstrated that the vast majority of subjects surveyed were not forming opinions based on an ideological model. What this means for attitude stability is that a shift in opinion on one issue may not reflect in any sort of shift on another political issue.

John Zaller (1992) went a bit deeper in his examination of issue salience, as well as attitude formation, investigating at the effects of media discourse on public opinion. Essentially, Zaller contends that voters have multiple views on any given issue, and that the salient view is determined by what the voter sees as most important when he or she is called on to form an opinion. Zaller reached

this conclusion by examining the effect of elite communications on public opinion, arguing that mass opinion is largely determined by the media's discussion of the issues. If we use Zaller's model, it would seem that for a large portion of the voting public, attitudes are somewhat malleable depending on information exposure and what each voter deems to be the most pertinent factor. Taking this into account, it would appear as if a political attitude is indeed capable of shifting in the short term, though the effect that this might have on other political issues is a bit less clear.

Considering the political science and social psychology literatures, an examination of perspective taking could contribute to the study of persuasion on several levels. Single-issue malleability (the likelihood of shifting an individual's attitude on one political issue), and the effects that this might have on other political attitudes could shed new light on attitude stability and the power of perspective taking as a technique of persuasion.

### **Perspective Taking**

In contrast to a media-effect approach to persuasion, I attempt to study the cognitive mechanism of *perspective taking* as a way to shift individuals' attitudes regarding political opponents and issues.

Perspective taking refers to cognitively considering the world from another individual's viewpoint (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). Research has shown that instructing people to take the perspective of another individual (e.g., trying to understand what he or she is thinking, discerning his or her interests

and purposes) results in a variety of beneficial effects compared to other conflict-reduction strategies such as stereotype suppression or empathy (Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne, & Jetten, 1994; Wegner, 1994). For example, Galinsky and Moskowitz (2000) found that perspective taking was a successful strategy for “debiasing” social thought. People instructed to engage in perspective taking expressed more positive evaluations of an out-group individual (e.g., ‘skinheads’ & ‘elderly’), as well as stereotyped them less and exhibited lower in-group bias compared to those not so instructed. In a negotiation setting, buyers and sellers instructed to take the perspective of the other were more likely than a control group and a group instructed to empathize to reach a deal with mutually positive outcomes (Galinsky, Maddux, Gilin & White, 2008). Perspective taking appears to produce such positive effects by increasing the overlap between the self and the target. According to Galinsky and Moskowitz, (2000), “representations of the [out-]group are assimilated to the activated self-concept and this process decreased stereotypic responding (p. 720).” This overlap can change individuals’ cognitive representations of an out-group to be more “self-like,” and may potentially reduce hostility.

While perspective taking has demonstrated a variety of beneficial results, not all of the findings have been positive. It appears that when people are in direct competition with the target individual whose perspective they are taking, they sometimes have a reactive response, showing what researchers call “reactive egoism” (Batson, Early, & Salvarani, 1997; Epley, Caruso, & Bazerman,

2006; Vorauer, Martens, & Sasaki, 2009). In such a reaction, “the consideration of others’ thoughts and perspectives actually increases egoistic (selfish) behavior, such that people actually take more of available resources (Epley et al, 2006, p. 872).” For example, in an experiment in which participants negotiated (face-to-face) with another person how much of a fishery harvest they deserved, those who engaged in perspective taking ended up taking the most for themselves, despite reporting that they deserved a share equal to that of their counterpart (Epley, Caruso, & Bazerman, 2006). This reaction seems to be unique to a competitive context. In an experiment using a cooperative exercise, Epley et al (2006) showed that egoistic behavior was attenuated by perspective taking.

Further inquiry into perspective taking has shown that there are two forms of perspective taking, each of which has distinct emotional consequences. One is imagining how another individual feels, and the other is imagining how you would feel in another individual’s position. The first leads to empathy, whereas the latter leads to a combination of empathy and distress. The latter combination of empathy and distress has been found to spur egoistic motivation, which can result in disproportionately selfish behavior (Batson et al., 1997; Epley et al, 2006).

Considering the above findings, one might assume that empathy is the key aspect of perspective taking that is responsible for the beneficial outcomes it produces in negotiations. However, recent studies have demonstrated that this is

not the case. In the negotiation experiments by Galinsky et al (2008), some participants were told to empathize with the target individual, other participants were told to take the perspective of the target individual, and a third group of participants (the control group) was told to focus on their own role in the negotiation. Perspective takers demonstrated a distinct advantage in reaching deals with mutually beneficial outcomes. In contrast, empathizers did not differ significantly from the control condition in any of the three experiments (2008). The key to perspective taking's beneficial outcomes seems to be finding a way to harness the "self-other overlap," while avoiding the selfish behavior that can arise from direct competition with the person whose perspective one takes.

### **Study 1**

The first study attempted to examine whether perspective taking was an effective way to shift individuals' attitudes toward political opponents, potentially reducing political conflict. It also aimed to examine whether perspective taking moderates stances on social and fiscal political issues and makes attitudes toward opposing viewpoints more positive. In this study, perspective taking was contrasted with another approach to attitude change - writing a counter-attitudinal essay (Cooper & Fazio, 1984) - so as to determine whether simply considering an opposing viewpoint accounted for the beneficial effects found thus far for perspective taking. Whereas perspective taking entails imagining another target individual's point of view, interests, motivations and rationale, a counter-attitudinal essay simply asks a person to make an argument

in favor of an opposing viewpoint. A third condition tested these two techniques (perspective taking and counter-attitudinal essay) in combination, to see if together they produced a greater effect on attitude change.

Several factors distinguish this design from prior research. First, it was the first to apply perspective taking in the political realm as a way to reduce intergroup conflict associated with opposing political views. Second, by comparing perspective taking and counter attitudinal writing (both individually and combined), it aimed to clarify the unique or common effects of each. Finally, by measuring attitudes toward an array of political issues, it attempted to shed light on whether some political attitudes are more amenable than others to change as a result of perspective taking.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

Eighty white female undergraduates participated in partial fulfillment of a psychology class research requirement. The population was restricted to whites and females so that participants were matched on gender and ethnicity to the target individual (political opponent). This minimizes the extent to which factors other than political beliefs (e.g., race and sex) might bias responses.

### **Design**

Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: *perspective taking (PT)*, *counter-attitudinal essay (CA)*, *combined (PT + CA)*, or *control*.



## Procedure

Participants arrived at a Psychology Department laboratory, where they were seated at a computer terminal. After being informed that the study was about political opinions, they were asked to sign an informed consent form. All participants were then given an identical questionnaire. The questionnaire measured participants': (1) political knowledge; (2) ideology; (3) partisanship; (4) stances on social and fiscal issues; and (5) attitude toward opposing viewpoints (see below). The order of the questions within each of these topics was randomized.

Since the goal of the study was to assess the effectiveness of perspective taking on change in attitudes and feelings toward issues and opponents, it would be optimal to have assessed participants' attitudes towards these topics at an earlier time. Unfortunately, this was not feasible given limited resources and time. Thus, procedures were designed to measure incremental attitude change. Several steps were taken to minimize the extent to which participants would remember their precise answers on the first questionnaire. First, after completing the questionnaire, all participants completed a "filler task" consisting of three 5-minute games of boggle, one after another. The filler task was designed to put participants under a mild cognitive load, and thus interfere with their memory for their prior answers. Second, in order to make it more difficult for participants to remember their exact previous answers, most of the items on the questionnaire (except for the feeling thermometer) were answered on 12-

point scales that did not have markers except for the endpoint anchors (e.g., 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'). A long scale and blank selections may make it more difficult to remember precisely which selection was made during Time-1.

After the 15 minute filler task, participants received different treatments corresponding to their assigned condition. In each of the four conditions, participants saw a picture of a white female in her early 20's. Three pictures of white females were pre-tested and matched on likeability and attractiveness. The three pictures were randomized across conditions to limit any effects that could be unique to a certain photograph.

Participants were told that this individual responded to a related survey earlier. Beneath the picture they saw a statement ostensibly made by that individual that was contrary to the participant's own political beliefs about environmental policy. Using MediaLab software, we were able to automatically produce a statement that was opposite to the participant's stance on this issue. Thus, for example, if the participant agreed with the statement "*I believe that the U.S. needs more regulation aimed at environmental protection*", they saw that the individual on the computer screen disagreed with this statement. The extent to which the opponent disagreed was not indicated.

After the statement, one of four sets of instructions for the participant appeared on the bottom half of the screen, depending on condition. A text-box was provided under the instructions for participants to craft their response. The

writing task (and subsequently, their recorded answers) provided a check against participants simply advancing through the screens without following instructions. They were given 5 minutes to respond before automatically being advanced to the next screen.

The condition instructions were as follows.

**Perspective taking:** *“Whether you agree with this statement or not, try to understand what this person is thinking. Imagine what it would be like to be this person and hold her views on this issue. Put yourself in her perspective and imagine how she thinks about this issue. In the space provided below, please write about what you have been asked to imagine above.”*

**Counter-Attitudinal Essay:** *“Whether you agree with this statement or not, write a strong argument **in favor** of the point of view of the individual above. Please use the space provided below.”*

**Combined Instructions:** *“Whether you agree with this statement or not, try to understand what this person is thinking. Imagine what it would be like to be this person and hold her views on this issue. Put yourself in her perspective and imagine how she thinks about this issue. Write a strong argument **in favor** of the point of view of the individual above. In the space provided below, please write about what you have been asked to do above.”*

**Control:** Participants in the control condition saw an identical screen to the experimental conditions, except for the target individual’s statement and subsequent instructions. Participants in this condition saw a neutral statement

ostensibly made by the individual in the photograph, rather than a statement expressing an opposing political belief. Specifically, they read: *“Some people seem to prefer dogs, while others prefer cats. I can’t seem to figure out why.”*

Participants in the control condition then saw the following instructions:

*In the space provided below, please give us your point of view on this topic.*

After 5 minutes elapsed, participants in all four conditions were asked to complete (on the computer) the same questionnaire they received during Time-1 (see below). After completing it, they were asked to rank all of the political issues mentioned in the questionnaire, in order of personal importance. This information was gathered to determine whether the personal importance of the operative political issue (stance on environmental policy) altered the effect of perspective taking on attitude change.

## **Measures**

***Political knowledge:*** Three questions asked participants to rate their own political knowledge on current political issues, social issues, and economic issues. Ratings were made on separate 7-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (not at all knowledgeable) to 7 (extremely knowledgeable). While self-report measures aren’t as strong as some scales, they functioned well enough in this experiment, and were reliable across participants ( $r=.94$ ).

***Political ideology:*** Three questions asked participants to indicate their overall political ideology, economic ideology, and social ideology. Responses

were made on separate 11-point scales ranging from 1 (extremely liberal) to 11 (extremely conservative).

**Partisanship:** Four questions asked participants to state how “warm” they felt toward four political groups: (1) “The Democratic Party,” (2) “The Republican Party,” (3) “Liberals,” and (4) “Conservatives.” Responses for each group were made on a “feeling thermometer,” with ‘1’ indicating that they felt “extremely cold” toward a group and ‘100’ indicating that they felt “extremely warm” toward a group.

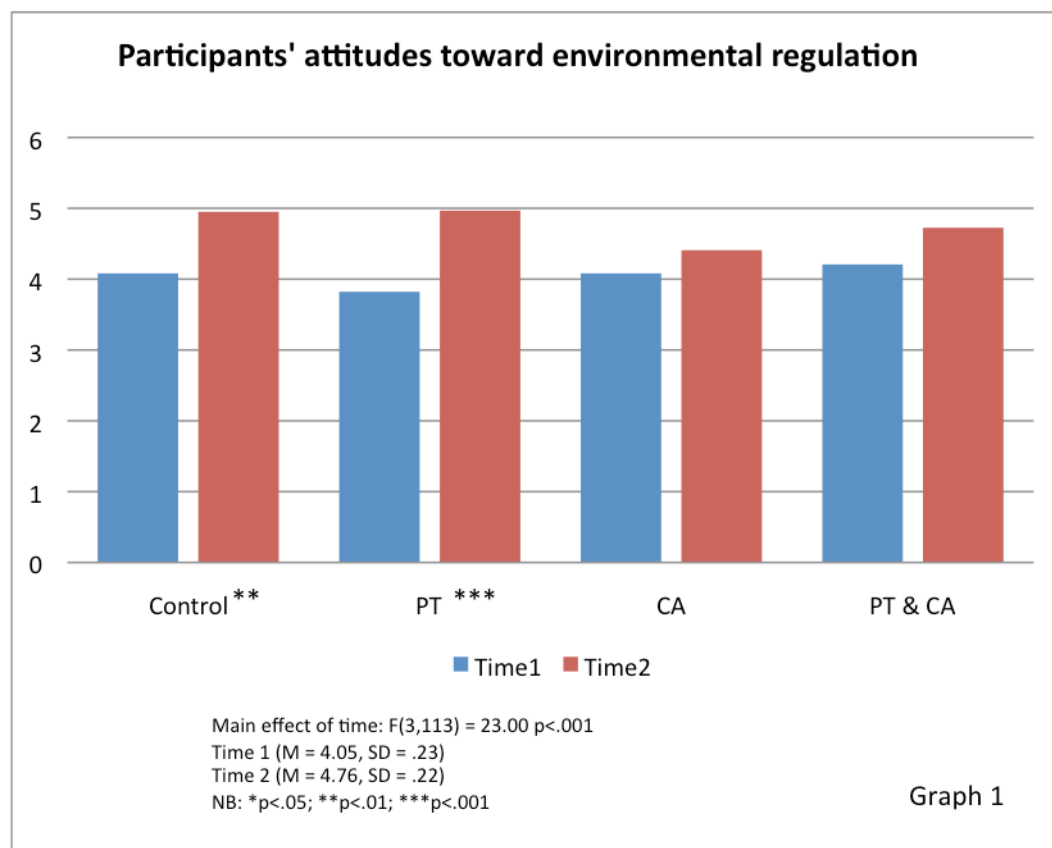
**Issue stances:** Thirteen questions asked about participants’ stances on various social and fiscal political issues. Answers were measured using a 12-point unmarked (except for anchors) response scale from 1 (“strongly disagree”) to 12 (“strongly agree”).

**Attitudes toward opposing viewpoints:** Twenty-two questions asked participants to state how reasonable they believe four groups’ (“The Democratic Party,” “The Republican Party,” “Liberals,” and “Conservatives”) positions are on a variety of political issues. Answers were recorded on a 12-point unmarked response scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 12 (strongly disagree).

## Results

Data was analyzed with a 2 (Time: pre-manipulation vs. post-manipulation) x 4 (Condition: PT, CA, PT+CA, control) mixed-model Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) with time as the within subject variable and condition as the between subject variable.

The first ANOVA is an analysis of the key variable: the participants' attitude toward environmental regulation in the United States. This was the variable that was included in the experimental manipulation, whereby all participants (except for those in the control condition) were presented with an individual who had an opposing belief on whether the United States needs more or less environmental regulation.

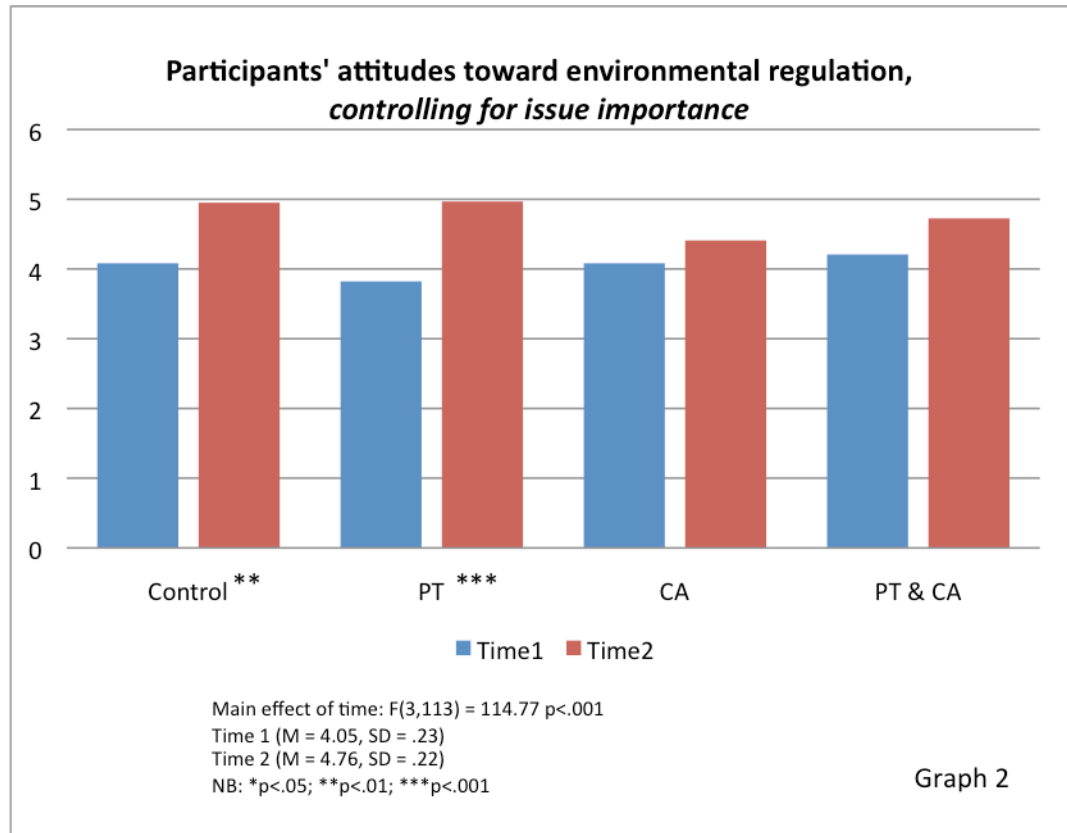


Because we had participants from both sides of the political spectrum, we had to recode several variables to take this into account. For Graph 1, a value of “0” on the baseline indicates a neutral stance toward whether the United States

should have more or less regulation aimed at environmental protection. Thus, the higher values on Graph 1 indicate stronger, or less moderate, views.

Contrary to my hypothesis, Graph 1 shows participants' views becoming *less moderate* after the manipulation for each of the conditions, including control. While two of the conditions registered significant differences between responses at Time-1 and Time-2 (Control:  $p = .003$ ; PT:  $p = .000$ ), we are statistically unable to conclude that the differences were dependent of condition, because the overall interaction was not significant ( $p = .194$ ).

The next graph is still an analysis of participants' attitudes toward environmental regulation, but with issue importance as a covariate. Essentially we controlled for how important environmental issues were to participants ("How important to you is the following political issue: Environmental policy"; Likert-type response scale) while running the ANOVA.

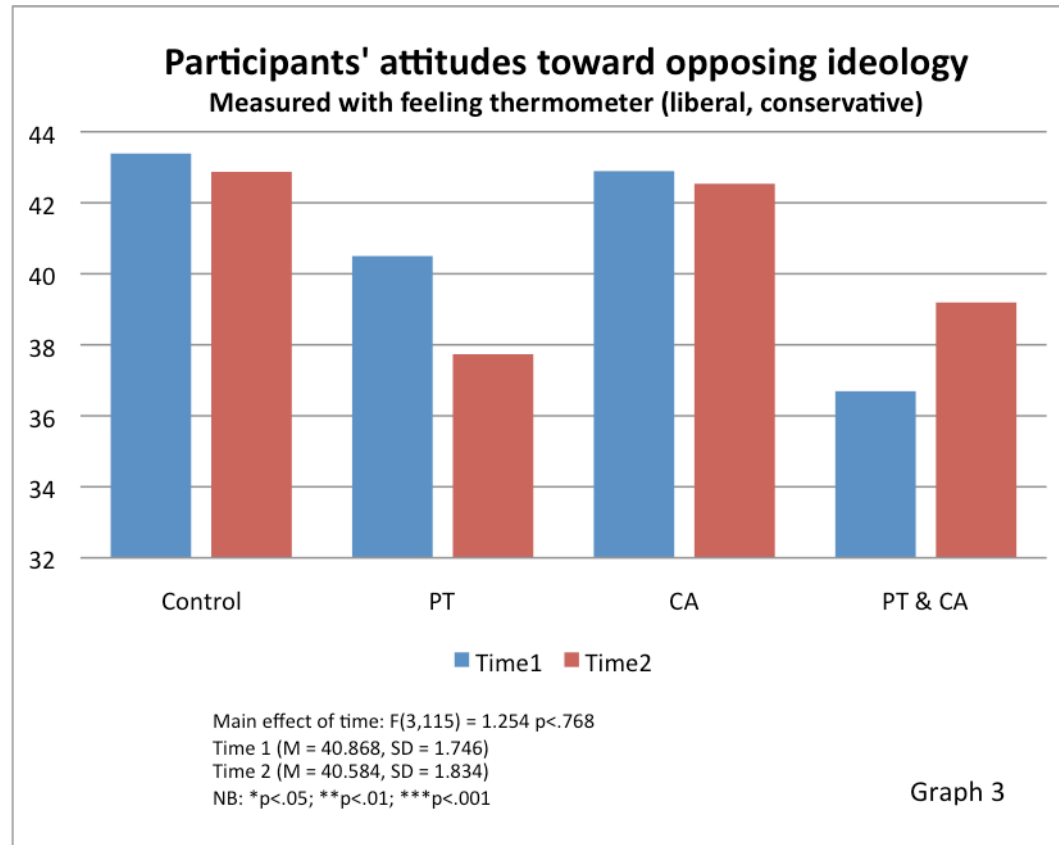


Graph 2 shows that controlling for the importance of environmental does not substantially alter the results displayed in Graph 1. Once again, the results indicate that participants' views were becoming *less* moderate after the manipulation. The Control ( $p = .003$ ) and Perspective Taking ( $p < .000$ ) conditions again registered significant differences between responses at Time-1 and Time-2, but we are not able to read into these differences, given that the main interaction was not significant ( $p = .208$ ).

The third graph depicts how participants' attitudes toward their opposing political ideology changed between Time-1 and Time-2. For example, if a



participant identifies as “liberal,” how does her attitude toward “conservatives” change after the manipulation (or control).



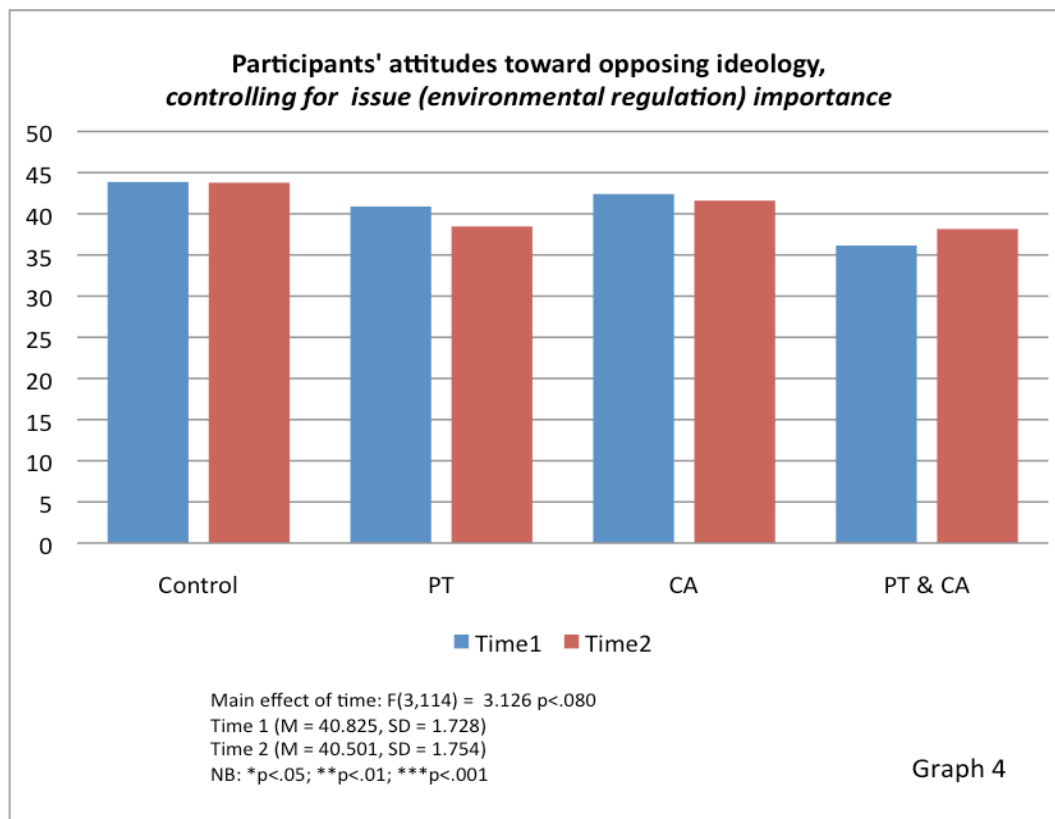
Because we had participants from both sides of the political spectrum, this graph takes into account how each individual identified, displaying only their views toward opponents. Attitudes were measure using a feeling thermometer:

*“Using a feeling thermometer, please rate the following group on a scale of 1-100. “1” indicates that you feel extremely cold toward a group, while “100” indicates that you feel extremely warm toward a group.*

*Please rate: Liberals”*

The main interaction in this ANOVA was, again, not significant ( $p = .294$ ). None of the conditions registered significant values either, though the lack of an interaction effect eliminates any inferences we could make about a potential  $p$ -value for one of our conditions.

In an effort to fully investigate any potential interactions, the ANOVA was run again, this time controlling for how important the issue of environmental regulation (the key variable) was to each participant.

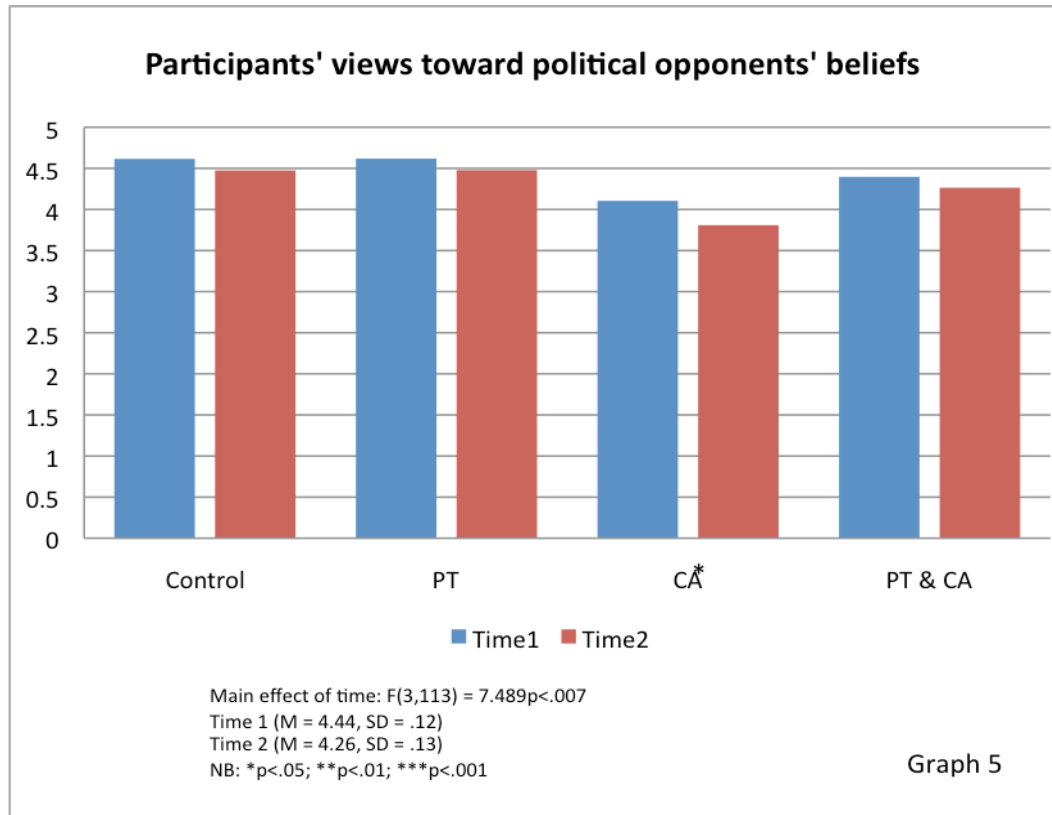


Once again, we see no significant changes in responses between Time-1 and Time-2 for any condition, and no main interaction ( $p = .410$ ).

The next graph displays participants' attitudes toward the opposing party's "typical" stances on various issues. To clarify, we asked them questions such as:

*"How reasonable do you think liberals' position is on taxation?"* (Answers: 1-11 Likert-type scales).

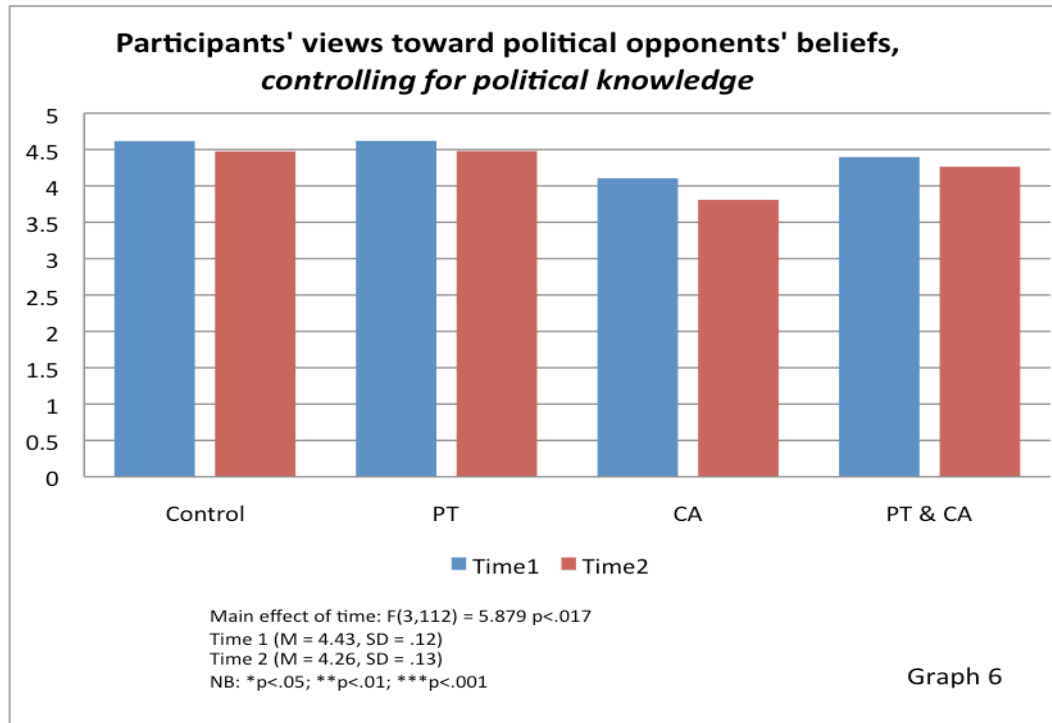
Every participant was asked about both sides' positions, with regard to each issue presented during the study (taxation, environment, marijuana, same-sex marriage, death penalty, healthcare, outsourcing, national defense budget), for a total of 16 questions. We created a composite, so that we could measure whether or not participants were becoming more open to opposing arguments.



Graph 5 indicates that after the manipulation, participants became more accepting of their political opponents' views on the issues (composite). This was the direction I had predicted to see, however while the Counter-Attitudinal condition registered as significant ( $p = .035$ ), we are unable to read into this difference because the main interaction is not significant ( $p = .810$ ).

To fully explore all potential relationships, the final graph depicts participants' views toward their political opponents' beliefs (composite), with political knowledge as a covariate. The reason for using political knowledge as a covariate, is simply that a certain level of political knowledge may be require to

understand how both sides of the political spectrum in the U.S. typically view various issues.



As depicted above, controlling for political knowledge has little effect on the results, and the main interaction remains insignificant ( $p = .788$ ).

### Discussion

Unfortunately, these results are far from inspiring. However, we should hesitate to disregard perspective taking's effect in the political arena. It appears that several design flaws may have been to blame for the poor results. Looking at graphs 1 and 2, we see that in each of the conditions (including control), participants' views became less moderate during Time-2. Considering this, as

well as my observations while personally running participants, it seems as if the length and redundancy of the experiment aggravated participants. In many cases, subjects worked for the entire hour, and wondered aloud whether they were supposed to be answering the same questions as they had earlier. While running Time-1 and Time-2 in the same hour-long time slot allowed the design to avoid the threat of attrition and history, it appears to be a primary reason for the insignificant results. Furthermore, the questionnaire itself could have been streamlined, so that there weren't so many repetitive questions.

Finally, two of the conditions (perspective taking and combined) could have used a better instruction script during the manipulation. Recall earlier discussion:

*“Further inquiry into perspective taking has shown that there are two forms of perspective taking, each of which has distinct emotional consequences. One is imagining how another individual feels, and the other is imagining how you would feel in another individual's position. The first leads to empathy, whereas the latter leads to a combination of empathy and distress. The latter combination of empathy and distress has been found to spur egoistic motivation, which can result in disproportionately selfish behavior (Batson et al., 1997; Epley et al, 2006).”*

Not wanting to select one version over the other, these two conditions used a script that combined both forms of perspective taking. By using both in combination I hoped to find a more powerful version of perspective taking. In hindsight, this was a serious flaw that very possibly could have derailed the experiment on its own. Combining the instructions should have been done in a follow up study. Given previous research, it seems plausible that the two forms, in combination, may have offset one another. All of the design features

mentioned above were created with positive intentions, but they may have contributed to the unexpected outcome.

With another experiment, we might be able to get a better picture of perspective taking's effect on political attitudes. While the predicted results did not come to fruition in the first attempt, many valuable lessons were learned.

## Part II: Proposals

Using the lessons learned from the original study, this first proposal seeks to streamline and strengthen the experimental design. In addition, some of the conditions have been dramatically restructured. Instead of using the form of perspective taking from Study 1 (a combination of imagining how another individual feels and imagining how you would feel in another's position), this study will have two distinct perspective taking conditions, and eliminate the "combined condition (perspective taking + counter attitudinal)" as well as the counter attitudinal condition, for a total of three conditions. Testing the two distinct forms of perspective taking against one another will provide a direct comparison within a non-competitive setting. Not only should this remove the concern that the two forms might offset, but observing the different effects will be of value to the perspective taking literature.

One of the major deficiencies in Study 1 was Time-1 and Time-2 being administered within the same subject-hour. To get around this, Study 2 will make use of what is known as "pre-screening" in the psychology department. Pre-screening is a mandatory survey that all Psychology 1 and Psychology 7 students (the subjects) take at the beginning of each quarter. The survey is a combination of smaller surveys from various professors and graduate students from psychology. Essentially, Study 2 will place Time 1 *within* prescreening, meaning that all of the potential subjects will take the Time-1 questionnaire at roughly the same time. The benefit will be that when subjects are recruited, only



the manipulation and the Time-2 questionnaire will need to be administered. In addition, Study 2 is designed to take less than 30 minutes, so participants shouldn't suffer from the tedium and redundancy of Study 1.

The difficult part of using pre-screening will be matching participants who sign up for the laboratory with their answers from Time-1. Some manual coding is required in the results spreadsheet from pre-screening. Two relevant variables have to be isolated and matched: how the student answered on the key question (their views on environmental policy) and something called an "ID code." How the student answered on the key question must be separated into a dichotomy (i.e. if student answered below 6, they receive condition A; if above 6, condition B). The ID-code is essentially a combination of their birthday and perm number, in a specific sequence. While this is fairly straightforward, making a detailed and informative protocol for the research assistants (if any) is crucial. As subjects arrive, the experimenter will have to construct their ID code, identify what condition to put them in, and set up their computer terminal. While it may seem a bit "clunky," it will allow Time-1 and Time-2 to be separated, alleviating some of the concerns from Study 1.

## **Study 2 - Method**

### **Participants**

One hundred and five undergraduates will participate in partial fulfillment of a psychology class research requirement. The population will be restricted to whites and females so that participants are matched on gender and

ethnicity to the target individual (political opponent). This minimizes the extent to which factors other than political beliefs (e.g., race and sex) might bias responses.

### **Design**

Participants will be randomly assigned to one of three conditions: *perspective taking 1 (PT-1)*, *perspective taking 2 (PT-2)*, or *control*.

### **Procedure**

Once participants have signed their informed consent form, been assigned a condition and stationed at a computer terminal, they will begin by immediately receiving the experimental manipulation (treatment). Participants will receive different treatments depending to their assigned condition. In each of the three conditions, participants will see a similar layout to Study 1. There will be a picture of a white female in her early 20's (pre-tested and matched on likeability and attractiveness, then randomized), along with a set of instructions.

Participants will be told that this individual responded to a related survey at an earlier time. Beneath the picture they will see a statement ostensibly made by that individual that was contrary to the participant's own political beliefs about environmental policy. For example, if the participant agreed with the statement "*I believe that the U.S. needs more regulation aimed at environmental protection*", they will see that the individual on the computer screen disagreed with this statement.

Below the statement, one of three sets of instructions will appear, depending on condition, as well as a text-box for participants to craft their response. The writing task provides a check against participants simply advancing through the screens without following instructions. They will be given 3 minutes to respond before automatically being advanced to the next screen. The condition instructions will be as follows.

***Perspective taking 1:*** “While considering this response, take the perspective of the individual who made the statement. Try to understand what they are thinking. Try to understand what their interests and beliefs are with regard to their position, as stated above. Try to imagine what you would be thinking if you held the same position.”

***Perspective taking 2:*** “While considering this response, take the perspective of the individual who made the statement. Imagine how you would feel if you were this person. If you were in their shoes, what would your interests and purposes be for holding this position? Try to imagine being this person, and what you would be thinking.”

***Control:*** Participants in the control condition will see an identical screen to the experimental conditions, except for the target individual’s statement and subsequent instructions. Participants in this condition will see a neutral political statement (ostensibly made by the individual in the photograph), rather than a statement expressing an opposing belief. Specifically, they read:

*“I have heard arguments on both sides of the environmental issue (i.e., whether the U.S. needs more or less regulation aimed at environmental protection).”*

Participants will then see the following instructions:

*“In your experience, without taking a stance, do you think that both sides of this debate are present in common political discussion with equal frequency? In addition, where have you heard this topic being discussed (i.e., personal conversations, TV, music, news, etc.)?”*

The changes to the control condition from Study 1 to Study 2 serve to increase the validity of the control condition. In Study 1, the statement by the individual in the photograph was non-political, and also ambiguous. In Study 2, the control condition discusses the same political issues as the experimental conditions, is not ambiguous, and does not take one side or the other.

#### **Measures:**

***Political knowledge:*** One question will ask participants to rate their own political knowledge on current political issues. Ratings will be made on separate 7-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (not at all knowledgeable) to 7 (extremely knowledgeable). While a self-report measure isn't as strong as some scales, it will be used in Study 2 because (1) the population should have fairly similar characteristics and (2) there is a question limit for prescreening.

**Political ideology and Partisanship:** One question will gauge participants' political ideology as well as citizenship. Participants will see the following:

*“If you had to choose, how would you categorize yourself?  
- Democrat (e.g., tend to be more liberal)  
- Republican (e.g., tend to be more conservative)”*

By combining political ideology and partisanship into a single question, as well as requiring participants to choose a side, the data analysis should be much more straightforward and the overall amount of questions will be reduced.

**Partisanship:** Two questions will ask participants to state how “warm” they feel toward two political groups: (1) “The Democratic Party,” and (2) “The Republican Party.” Responses for each group will be made on a “feeling thermometer,” with ‘1’ indicating that they feel “extremely cold” toward a group and ‘100’ indicating that they feel “extremely warm” toward a group.

**Issue stances:** Six questions will ask about participants' stances on various social and fiscal political issues. Answers will be measured using a 12-point unmarked response scale (except for anchors) from 1 (“strongly disagree”) to 11 (“strongly agree”).

**Attitudes toward opposing viewpoints:** Fourteen questions will ask participants to state how reasonable they believe four groups' (“The Democratic Party,” “The Republican Party,” “Liberals,” and “Conservatives”) positions are on a variety of political issues. Answers will be recorded on a 11-point unmarked

response scale (except for anchors) from 1 (strongly agree) to 12 (strongly disagree).

***Ideal Candidate:*** One question will ask about the participants' ideal political candidate. They will see the following:

*“On this spectrum, where would your ideal political candidate fall?”  
(Very liberal 1) -2 -3 -4 -5 -6 -7 -8- 9- 10 -(11 Very conservative)*

***Ranking the Issues (Time-2 only):*** Participants will be asked to rank all of the political issues mentioned in the questionnaire, in order of personal importance. This information was gathered to determine whether the personal importance of the operative political issue (stance on environmental policy) altered the effect of perspective taking on attitude change.

### **Significant changes from Study 1:**

Study 2, while based on Study 1, incorporates several significant changes to the original design. While they have been mentioned in the procedure above, I will briefly condense them into this section: (1) Time 1 and Time 2 have been separated via prescreening. (2) The questionnaire has been reduced in length by more than half. (3) the wording of the perspective taking manipulation has been separated into two distinct forms, and each has been designated as an independent condition. (4) Instead of four conditions, there are now only three: *perspective taking 1 (PT-1)*, *perspective taking 2 (PT-2)*, and *control*. (5) The instructions and statement read by participants in the control has been redesigned to increase the legitimacy

### Study 3 - Mechanical Turk

This proposal is essentially the same as Study 2, only geared for Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), a crowdsourcing Internet marketplace. For a relatively inexpensive cost, or even research credit, experimenters or survey researchers can utilize Mechanical Turk to host their design. The participants will only be identified through their Worker-ID. This information is stored on secure servers and only accessible to researchers, and will be removed before data analysis.

Through the use of IP address restrictions, the population can be limited in a number of ways, including a population exclusively within the United States. Demographically, the population of MTurk is 55% female, 69% American, and 64% White, with a mean age of 33 years (standard deviation = 11.5 years, N = 3006) (Buhrmester, Kwang & Gosling, 2011). This is slightly more diverse than a standard Internet sample, and dramatically more diverse than the average college population sample, as used in Study 1. Of course, the population is made up of paid subjects who choose to participate. It cannot achieve the representativeness of a randomly sampled subject pool, but for a nominal price researchers can get access to a more diverse population than American undergraduates.

While the use of a crowdsourced population whom researchers pay for participation may understandably concern some scholars, the data appears to be sound. While the amount of payment offered does impact *rates* of participation,

it does not affect the *quality* of the data (Buhrmerster et al, 2011). Some data suggests, however, that overpayment might cause some issues, however this is an easily avoidable scenario. In terms of reliability, test-retest results have been strong, leading many top psychological journals to publish studies using MTurk, and prompting Buhrmerster et al to contend, “the data obtained are at least as reliable as those obtained via traditional methods (2011).” Keep in mind, however, that the “traditional methods” Buhrmerster et al mentions are from social psychology.

As Mechanical Turk catches on, the benefits are clear. Although it is not without flaws, it combines all of the major components for survey and experimental research: a built-in participant payment system, a large population, and an efficient design for participant recruitment and data collection.

For questionnaire-based experiments in which a researcher is trying to measure cause and effect, MTurk can be a useful tool. As mentioned earlier, this proposal (Study 3) is essentially the same as Study 2, only geared for MTurk as opposed to the laboratory. As Study 2 is administered via computer terminal, however, there are very few changes that need to be made. For the sake of brevity, we can assume that the design remains exactly the same. The only differences discussed will concern the implementation of the design on MTurk.

Using the online population, Study 3 will not use prescreening. Instead, it will use have two phases, Time 1 and Time 2, separated by a time gap of 7-10



days. This gap opens the design up to threats of attrition, but using a payment plan that offers a higher rate for Time 2, the threat should be reduced.

### **Part III: Experiments in Political Science**

Shifting gears, this section directly addresses the role of experiments in political science. Much like “Experimental Methods in Political Science,” a seminal article by Rose McDermott (2002), this section does not aim to convince political scientists that experiments are a superior method for our discipline, nor does it attempt to show that other methods are somehow less scientific. The main agenda is to advocate for the increased use of experiments as a tool for political research. While experimental research has certainly become more established within political science during the past decade, there are still scholars who remain skeptical of the scientific utility of experiments. In addition, I hope to convince readers that laboratory experiments can be used for more political questions than are commonly encountered in the discipline.

Experiments have been utilized for years by the so-called “hard sciences,” like chemistry, biology and physics. Indeed, experimentation is a central tenet of the scientific method. However, obvious challenges arise when scientists move from studying chemicals, plant cells and aerodynamics, to studying human beings. From ethical considerations to the impracticality of observing and manipulating human behavior and attitudes, various difficulties have presented obstacles to the full integration of experimental methods into the social sciences.

Even so, several disciplines within social science have embraced the methodology, with excellent results. Social psychology has incorporated the use of experiments for virtually its entire existence as a field. Behavioral economics,

a rapidly growing subfield of economics, has seen experimentation brought into the study of fiscal decision-making. While these disciplines might prefer certain techniques to one another (i.e. many behavioral economists won't use "deception" in their studies), the overall method is widely embraced.

In modern political science, experiments are gradually becoming more established, yet there is room for their increased use and incorporation. Part of what accounts for the delayed acceptance of new techniques is the plethora of methodologies that fall under the umbrella of "political science." While this methodological diversity makes political science vibrant, it can also create factions among scholars with different data gathering preferences. From such scholars we might see research driven by ethnographic observation, advanced quantitative analysis, or formal modeling, to name but a few. The only common thread between each of these investigations might be that the questions being asked, or phenomena being studied, are political in nature.

A byproduct of this variety is the tremendous difficulty involved in developing a substantial knowledge of each type of political research. As a result, it may be tough to identify where a "new" method might fit into the discipline or what advantages it might add.

### **"Context" and social research**

Before discussing the merits and drawbacks of experiments, a distinction between political research and other forms of social research should be mentioned.

The role of 'context' in political science is, unsurprisingly, political. Often, these political contexts are complex situations such as social movements, revolutions, or other occurrences that can present challenges for experimental research. While there are also political questions that are relatively easy to study using experimental methods, the complex situations mentioned above lead some scholars to believe that experiments have a relatively narrow scope in political science. The scholars advancing this logic will point to other disciplines to display differences in the contextual aspect of research. For example, social psychologists might want to investigate whether a new writing technique can alter how individuals behave when presented with an out-group member. Using a fairly simple design, experimenters could have participants engage in the writing technique, then measure how far they seat themselves from an out-group member during a subsequent phase of the experiment. However, an astute observer might note that this design attempts to investigate a general phenomenon as opposed to a specific incident such as an election or social movement.

Even so, it's not as if social psychologists only focus on phenomena that lend themselves to experimentation. As leaders in experimental methods, they have become skilled at creating experimental circumstances that distill larger social conditions into a few stimuli. This step of creating a laboratory setting to mimic external conditions brings up the crux of the argument: external validity.

Much of the criticism of experimentation in political science hinges on the notion that experiments are often incapable of creating generalizable results, because the experimental setting does not accurately mirror the external circumstances. It's a legitimate concern, and one that every experimentalist must concern himself with when designing research.

### **Types of Experiments**

Experiments, especially laboratory experiments, offer unparalleled internal validity. The ability for researchers to manipulate the independent variable and measure the effect on the dependent variable is a level of control and interactivity not available in other types of research. In a laboratory setting, the absolute control over the environment allows researchers to eliminate extraneous influences and, if the study goes well, prove causality.

As mentioned previously, most of the debate over the use of experiments is centered on external validity. Many political scientists are taught that, while laboratory experiments offer exceptional internal validity, their supposed shortcomings in external validity make them ill suited for political questions. Rather, other forms of experimentation are suggested, such as field or survey-embedded experiments.

A field experiment examines phenomena *within* their natural environment (Johnson & Reynolds, 2008), in an attempt to maximize external validity. In these designs, the experimenter has only limited control beyond the

intervention being conducted (Morton & Williams, 2008). The correspondence between the researcher and participants is often conducted through mail, email, or phone calls, in an attempt to preserve a more natural environment. For example, Alan Gerber, Donald Green and Christopher Larimer (2008) conducted a field experiment investigating social pressure and voter turnout. Using a massive sample of several hundred thousand registered voters, they used a series of mailings to implement various treatments, as well as controls, to randomly assigned groups. Using this “detached” design, Gerber, Green and Larimer found that substantially higher turnout was observed among participants who received letters notifying them that their individual turnout would be publicized to their household or their neighbors. Such research demonstrates how powerful the experimental paradigm can be when combined with representative sampling methods. Indeed, Alan Gerber and Donald Green have played a significant role in establishing experiments’ role in political science, and it is the aforementioned combination of random sampling and experimental control that provides such a sound research technique.

Another variation of the field experiment is called a “natural” experiment. What makes this design unique is that the manipulation of the independent variable occurs “naturally.” For example, Dan Posner (2004) utilized the border between Zambia and Malawi to examine why Chewas and Tumbukas were adversaries in one country, but allies in the other. Posner focused on a handful of villages that were in close proximity and historically of the same culture, while

featuring similar levels of Chewas and Tumbukas. The border served as a “natural” manipulation, separating the subjects into two groups and allowing Posner to argue that the “sizes of the Chewa and Tumbuka communities in each country relative to each country's national political arena” was responsible for the difference in relations between the two groups in Zambia and Malawi.

Finally, a survey-embedded experiment allows researchers to use the advantages of manipulation within a survey design, a data gathering technique with a rich history in political science. By utilizing the strengths of scientific surveys – randomly gathered representative samples, random assignment, anonymity – in addition to the experimental manipulation - survey embedded designs can yield a good balance between internal and external validity.

While all of these designs are intended to strike such a balance, there are several concerns with field experiments. Though it may seem trivial in a scientific sense, financial concerns create legitimate obstacles for researchers attempting to run field experiments. The cost of field research, especially when coupled with attempts at randomization or representative samples, can be enormous. In addition, when researchers want to use naturally occurring groups, such as protesters in a movement or members of an ethnic group in a specific region, it may be difficult to recruit subjects. In the case of protesters, researchers often encounter suspicious potential subjects who are unwilling to participate. Research investigating “devious” behavior such as drug use or other illegal activity might run into the same issues. Furthermore, if a design has a

delay between time one and time two, it could be very difficult or expensive to reach the same participants. Survey research often encounters these issues as well.

While these issues provide serious obstacles, field experiments remain powerful tools for social research. In fact, field experiments have been a driving force behind the acceptance of experimental methods in political science. In addition to the studies mentioned above, designs such as David Nickerson's research on the role of the household on individual voting behavior (2008) have provided excellent templates for experimental political science. The impact that members of the same household (such as couples) have on one another's voting behavior has long been a discussion topic within the discipline. In his design, Nickerson canvassed households with two registered voters. Residents who answered the door were exposed to either a Get Out the Vote message or a message about the benefits of recycling (control condition). By viewing voting records of those who answered the door, as well as their spouses, Nickerson was able to demonstrate that sixty percent of the propensity to vote is passed on to the other member of the household. By combining a representative participant population with the control of an experimental design, Nickerson was able to strike a balance between internal and external validity. Examples such as this design, in addition to those mentioned above, demonstrate the utility that field experiments hold in political science.



While I have discussed field experiments as a way to enhance the external validity of laboratory experiments, I am *not* suggesting that laboratory experiments are without merit.

### **Laboratory experiments**

In their textbook *Political Science Research Methods*, Janet Johnson and H.T. Reynolds claim, “laboratory experiments, whatever their power for making causal inferences, cannot be used to study a lot of (if not most of) the phenomena that interest political scientists” (2008). While there are certainly some political research questions that lend themselves to other methods, such a sweeping rejection of laboratory experiments for political science is dangerous. It almost completely discards the method with the highest internal validity available, without exploring possible advantages of such a technique.

First, laboratory experiments offer tremendous value when used *in combination* with field experiments. With surprising frequency, field experiments are implemented without laboratory work preceding them. By attempting to isolate the relevant mechanism(s) in a lab, for far less cost and time, a researcher might gain valuable insight into the question or phenomenon they hope to study in the field. For example, if a script is being prepared for participants in a truth and reconciliation commission, a researcher in a laboratory might find that a certain way of wording the script is more effective for attitude change. In effect, running a laboratory experiment first maximizes the effectiveness of the field experiment.

Second, laboratory experiments offer utility on their own. In political science, I think many of us have a desire to explain entire political systems and phenomena from top to bottom. Unsurprisingly, our discipline sees many research projects with a large scope and wide-ranging results. While this is an admirable trait, research with a more limited focus has its advantages as well. The discovery of certain behavioral or attitudinal effects drives many political science experiments. Multi-study projects where each phase is attempting to explain some incremental step can produce robust findings, while also allowing the researcher to eventually make a broader claim. These incremental steps lend themselves to laboratory experiments for two reasons. First, a scholar can effectively isolate a mechanism on which his larger hypothesis depends. For example, whether Americans implicitly tend to identify American symbols (flags, statues, buildings, etc) with a particular political party. The complete control a laboratory offers allow researchers to provide strong support for their arguments, especially when referring to a key step within a larger hypothesis. The outcome makes for a more defensible research project, and allows critics to identify specific areas for improvement, rather than a rejection of the research project as a whole.

Finally, laboratory experiments, when designed well, have the potential for acceptable external validity. It is too simplistic to argue that because research occurs in a laboratory, that it must not be indicative of a “real-world” setting. After all, experimenters (or instruments of their research) must be

present when conducting a study in the field, so it is not as if fieldwork is devoid of threats to external validity. Through careful design, sometimes requiring clever strategy, laboratory experiments can create settings that mirror those outside of the lab. In 2000, Franklin Gilliam and Shanto Iyengar investigated the influence of local news' coverage on the racial attitudes of the viewing public. They designed a laboratory, furnished much like a normal family room, in which participants were free to browse through magazines and newspapers, snack on cookies, or converse with other participants – behaviors similar to what one might do in his or her own home. Participants were randomly sampled from the Los Angeles metropolitan area, avoiding the pitfalls of using “captive” populations like college students participating for course credit. Upon showing up to the laboratory, participants were shown one of four 15-minute television scripts: a story in which the alleged perpetrator of a murder was an African-American male; the same news report, but featuring a white male as the murder suspect; a news report edited to exclude information concerning the identity of the perpetrator; and a control condition in which participants saw no crime news story. Following the experimental manipulation, a questionnaire gauged participants' attitudes toward various law enforcement and incarceration policies. Gilliam and Iyengar found that exposure to the racial element of the crime script (the 15-minute television segment) increased support for punitive approaches to crime and increased negative attitudes about African-Americans among white, but not black, viewers. Using this laboratory design that mimicked

a “natural” setting, Gilliam and Iyengar achieved excellent levels of both internal and external validity.

We should embrace the challenges confronting laboratory work, because casting such a sound method aside would be detrimental to the enhancement of political research. Whether in combination with other forms of research or on their own, laboratory experiments can only enhance political science’s methodological tool chest.

## Conclusion

Voters in the United States vehemently disagree on a host of issues facing the country, intensely divided across partisan lines. The rhetoric stemming from the political arena can often reach shocking levels of vitriol, each side ardent in their position on how best to govern America. While political science has developed a considerable literature on political polarization across the population, less research has focused on the dynamics of such in-group out-group contention on a smaller scale, such as individuals. By focusing on the individual, we can incorporate the psychology of intergroup relations into the study of political attitudes, issue salience, and polarization.

Utilizing a laboratory-based experimental design, Study 1 attempted to measure whether *perspective taking* could alter participants’ attitudes toward opposing political groups and their viewpoints, as well as participants’ political ideology and issue stances. Though Study 1 did not achieve the hypothesized results, several valuable lessons were learned and improvements were taken

into consideration. These improvements, laid out in the subsequent proposals, provide a course of research for examining the effect of perspective taking on individuals' attitudes toward political opponents. In addition, by mixing a laboratory design with an Internet-based survey experiment design, the data should be more robust.

The experimental techniques presented throughout this thesis, beyond the ultimate goal of examining perspective taking and political attitudes, are intended to demonstrate the benefits of such a method. It is my opinion that our discipline should embrace new methods as they become available. This does not suggest that we should ignore any shortcomings a method may have, or that a healthy amount of scientific skepticism is unreasonable. However, we should make the effort, especially when other social scientists are using a technique with great success, to understand what such a technique can offer. While experiments have become firmly established in our discipline over the past decade, there is room for further incorporation, especially with regard to laboratory experiments.

Perspective taking, or cognitively considering the world from another individual's viewpoint (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000), has been shown to reduce stereotyping, "debias" social thought, and increase the likelihood of a compromise between individuals in various groups. Considering this, perspective taking has the potential to demonstrate similar attitudinal and behavioral shifts between political opponents. While the completed research in

this thesis did not achieve the intended results, the information gathered from running the experiment was constructive. By incorporating the lessons learned into future studies, I hope to gain a better understanding of perspective taking and political intergroup relations.

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