

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO

POLS 9532B

Public Opinion and Democratic Engagement

Winter Term 2021

INSTRUCTOR: Cameron D. Anderson

E-MAIL ADDRESS: cander54@uwo.ca

PHONE: 519-661-2111 ext.81163

OFFICE LOCATION: SSC 4217

OFFICE HOURS: Thursday 10:00am-11:00am (or by appointment) on Zoom (meeting id will be posted on OWL course site)

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

This course will explore the topics of public opinion and democratic engagement. Through the analytical lens of a political behaviour approach, we will address definitional questions of democratic engagement, theoretical explanations of various aspects of democratic engagement, and consider the influences of additional factors on engagement and public opinion including institutions, non-conscious factors, identities and macro public opinion. Lastly, we assess the relationship of engagement and public opinion with democratic representation.

COURSE READINGS:

Selection of articles and book chapters available on OWL or online through the UWO Library system.

GRADE DISTRIBUTION:

25% Participation

30% Weekly Reading Summaries (8)

45% Analytic Papers (3 x 15%) or a research paper

DISCUSSION OF COURSEWORK:

a) Class Participation - As this is a graduate seminar course, there will be no lectures and students are expected to actively participate each week. The participation grade will be based on the quality of comment, evidence of preparation, willingness to challenge accepted ideas and concern for the views expressed by others. If unable to attend, please inform the instructor in advance. Students will be given a preliminary grade for participation in the seventh week of the course. The final participation grade may change based on whether performance improves, declines or stays the same.

b) Reading Summaries - All students will be required to complete **eight** reading summaries from weeks two through twelve. These summaries should be used as a means of preparing for each week's class and are intended to provide you with an opportunity, in advance of class, to read, interact with and comment on the readings. The summary should be composed of three parts. The first part should state, in your view, the most important two or three themes arising from that week's readings. The second part should outline two or three insights gained from these readings. This is to say, what did you learn that you didn't previously know or understand? The final part of the summary should articulate questions that were generated from the readings. The summaries should not be longer than two double-spaced pages and will be due at the beginning of each class. **Please submit summaries through the OWL course page.** Each week two to three students will provide a very brief oral report of their reading summary at the beginning of each class. Late summaries will not be accepted. Summaries will be graded on a 'check system'. Acceptable summaries will receive a 'V'. Unacceptable or late summaries will receive a 'V-'. On occasion, an unusually perceptive summary may receive a 'V+'. For the term, an average of 'V' will be equivalent to an 'A-' grade of 82%.

c) Analytic Papers (or a research paper)— You are required to write 3 analytic papers: one from each of Weeks 2 and 3, Weeks 4 to 8 and Weeks 9 to 12. These papers should keep summary of the readings to a minimum and instead focus on articulating a coherent response to issues, arguments and ideas raised in the readings. You may choose to highlight how common themes are addressed throughout the readings; you might take issue with the central argument of certain authors; you might pose questions that deal with core issues of the readings or you might criticize one author based on the arguments of another and/or your own analysis. These papers will be graded on how well you interact with and develop your response to the readings. The papers should be 7-8 (double-spaced) pages long. These papers are due **February 3** (Weeks 2 and 3), **March 17** (Weeks 4 to 8) and **April 19** (Weeks 9 to 12). This paper *cannot be* written on the same week's material that you present your summary. Alternatively, in lieu of the 3 analytic papers, you may choose to write a substantive research paper of 20-25 pages on a topic related to the course content and agreed upon in consultation with the

professor. The research paper will be due on the date of the third analytic paper. **All papers should be submitted through the OWL course page.**

IMPORTANT COURSE POLICIES

Conduct of Classes:

All classes will be conducted virtually through the Zoom platform. The link for the zoom meetings is located in the Zoom tab on the OWL page for this course. Please ensure that you have a good internet connection and are prepared to participate in the class discussion each week. Please review this document (https://www.schulich.uwo.ca/medicine/undergraduate/docs/policies_statements/statements/VC-Etiquette-in-UME---Aug-2020.pdf) for series of expectations and guidelines regarding proper etiquette and best practice for participation in this class through Zoom.

Submission of Assignments:

Assignments (both reading summaries and analytic papers) are due at the beginning of class and will be submitted through the OWL course page. The third analytic paper and research paper will be due at **12pm on April 19.**

Academic Offences:

Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site: <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/scholoff.pdf>. All papers must be submitted through the turnitin program portal on the OWL course page.

Late penalty:

Late assignments will be penalized at a rate of 5% per day. Assignments that are more than 1 week late will **not be accepted** for grading.

Extensions:

Extensions are not given. However, when there are genuine and unavoidable family or medical circumstances an extension may be granted at the discretion of the professor.

Part I Introductory Topics

Week 1. January 13 – Course Introduction, Political Behaviour and studying politics, and Democratic Engagement

Sanders, D. 2010. "Behavioural Analysis." In Marsh and Stoker (eds.) *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. 3rd edition Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hilygus, S. 2016. "The Practice of Survey Research: Changes and Challenges." In A. Berinsky (ed.) *New Directions in Public Opinion*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

Norris, P. 2007. "Political Activism: New Challenges, New Opportunities." In Boix and Stokes (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: OUP.

Available online:

<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199566020.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199566020>

Thomassen, J. 2007. "Democratic Values." In Dalton and Klingemann (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: OUP.

Available online:

<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199270125.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199270125>

Suggested Readings:

Chapters on Survey Research, Survey Questionnaires, Field Experiments in Leighley (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*. Oxford: OUP.

Available online:

<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199235476.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199235476>

Part II Sources of Democratic Engagement

Week 2. January 20 – Democratic Satisfaction and Support

Aarts, K., C. van Ham and J. Thomassen. 2017. "Modernization, Globalization and Satisfaction with Democracy." In van Ham et al. (eds.). *Myth and Reality of the Legitimacy Crisis: Explaining Trends and Cross-National Differences in Established Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Armingeon, K., and K. Guthmann. 2014. "Democracy in Crisis? The Declining Support for National Democracy in European Countries, 2007-2011." *European Journal of Political Research* 53 (3): 423-42.

Birch, S. 2008. "Electoral Institutions and Popular Confidence in Electoral Processes: A Cross-National Analysis." *Electoral Studies* 27 (2): 305-20.

Blais, A., Morin-Chassé, A., & Singh, S. P. (2017). Election outcomes, legislative representation, and satisfaction with democracy. *Party Politics*, 23(2), 85-95.

Curini, L., W. Jou, and V. Memoli. 2012. "Satisfaction with Democracy and the Winner-Loser Debate: The Role of Policy Preferences and Past Experience." *British Journal of Political Science* 42 (2): 241-61.

Nemčok, M., & Wass, H. (2020). As time goes by, the same sentiments apply? Stability of voter satisfaction with democracy during the electoral cycle in 31 countries. *Party Politics*,

Week 3. January 27 – Attitudes about Democratic Values – (in)equality

Bastian Becker (2021) Temporal change in inequality perceptions and effects on political attitudes, *Political Research Exchange*, 3:1, 1-21,
DOI: [10.1080/2474736X.2020.1860652](https://doi.org/10.1080/2474736X.2020.1860652)

Franko, W.W., 2017. Understanding public perceptions of growing economic inequality. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 17(3), pp.319-348.

Gimpelson, V. and D. Treisman . 2018. "Misperceiving Inequality." *Economics & Politics* 30 (1): 27–54. doi:[10.1111/ecpo.12103](https://doi.org/10.1111/ecpo.12103).

Macdonald, D., 2020. Class Attitudes, Political Knowledge, and Support for Redistribution in an Era of Inequality. *Social Science Quarterly*, 101(2), pp.960-977.

Newman, B. J., C. D. Johnston, and P. L. Lown . 2015. "False Consciousness Or Class Awareness? Local Income Inequality, Personal Economic Position, and Belief in American Meritocracy." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (2): 326–340. doi:[10.1111/ajps.12153](https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12153).

Week 4. February 3 - Turnout

Anderson, C. J. and P. Beramendi. 2012. "Left Parties, Poor Voters, and Electoral Participation in Advanced Industrial Societies." *Comparative Political Studies*. 45, 6, 714-46.

Brady, Verba, and Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation." *American Political Science Review*. 89, 2, 271-294.

Blais, A. and D. Rubenson. 2013. "The Source of Turnout Decline." *Comparative Political Studies*. 46, 1, 95-117.

Kostelka, Filip. 2017. "Does democratic consolidation lead to a decline in voter turnout? Global evidence since 1939." *American Political Science Review*. 111, 4, 653-667.

Kostelka, F., & Blais, A. (2018). The chicken and egg question: satisfaction with democracy and voter turnout. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 51(2), 370-376.

Stockemer, D. (2017). What Affects Voter Turnout? A Review Article/Meta-Analysis of Aggregate Research. *Government and Opposition*, 52(4), 698-722.
doi:10.1017/gov.2016.30

Week 5. February 10 - Parties and Partisanship

Bartels, L. M. (2018). Partisanship in the Trump era. *The Journal of Politics*, 80(4), 1483-1494.

Garzia, Diego. 2013. "Changing Parties, Changing Partisans. The Personalization of Partisan Attachments in Western Europe." *Political Psychology* 34, 1, 67-89.

Huddy, L., Bankert, A., & Davies, C. (2018). Expressive versus instrumental partisanship in multiparty european systems. *Political Psychology*, 39, 173-199.

Theodoridis, A. G. (2017). Me, myself, and (I),(D), or (R)? Partisanship and political cognition through the lens of implicit identity. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(4), 1253-1267.

West, E. A., & Iyengar, S. (2020). Partisanship as a social identity: Implications for polarization. *Political Behavior*, 1-32.

Zmigrod, L., Rentfrow, P. J., & Robbins, T. W. (2020). The partisan mind: Is extreme political partisanship related to cognitive inflexibility?. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 149(3), 407.

***** February 17 - No Class - Reading Week *****

Week 6. February 24 - Voting and Elections

Anderson and Stephenson. 2010. *Voting Behaviour in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
Chapter 1

Bartels, L. M. 2000. Partisanship and voting behavior, 1952-1996. *American Journal of*

Political Science.

Clarke et al. 2016. "It's Spring Again! Voting in the 2015 Federal Election." In Pammett and Dornan (eds.) *The Canadian Federal Election of 2015*. Toronto: Dundurn. pp. 327-356.

Fournier, P., Cutler, F., Soroka, S., Stolle, D. and Bélanger, É., 2013. Riding the orange wave: leadership, values, issues, and the 2011 Canadian election. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*, 46(4), pp.863-897.

Hobolt, S.B., 2018. Brexit and the 2017 UK general election. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(S1), pp.39-50.

Mutz, D.C., 2018. Status threat, not economic hardship, explains the 2016 presidential vote. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115(19), pp.E4330-E4339.

Week 7. March 3 - Protest Politics

Gleditsch, K. and M. Rivera. 2015. "The Diffusion of Nonviolent Campaigns," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, 5, 1120-45.

Jost, J.T., Barberá, P., Bonneau, R., Langer, M., Metzger, M., Nagler, J., Sterling, J. and Tucker, J.A., 2018. How social media facilitates political protest: Information, motivation, and social networks. *Political psychology*, 39, pp.85-118.

McClendon, G. 2014. "Social Esteem and Participation in Contentious Politics: A Field Experiment at an LGBT Pride Rally." *American Journal of Political Science* 58, 2, 279-290.

Norris, P., S. Walgrave, and P. Van Aelst. 2005. "Who Demonstrates? Antistate Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone?" *Comparative Politics* 37, 2, 189-205.

Rudig, W. and G. Karyotis. 2014. "Who Protests in Greece? Mass Opposition to Austerity." *British Journal of Political Science* 44, 3, 487-513.

Rucht, D. 2009. "The Spread of Protest Politics." In Dalton and Klingemann (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: OUP.

Part III Public Opinion, Engagement and Politics

Week 8. March 10 - Institutional Effects

Anderson, C. J., and C. Guillory. 1997. "Political Institutions and Satisfaction with

Democracy: A Cross-National Analysis of Consensus and Majoritarian Systems.” *American Political Science Review*. 91 (1): 66-81.

Anderson, C. J. 2009. “The Interaction of Structures and Voter Behavior.” In Dalton and Klingemann (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: OUP.

Karp and Banducci. 2008. “Political Efficacy and Participation in Twenty-seven Democracies: How election systems shape political behaviour.” *British Journal of Political Science*. 38, 2, 311-334.

León, S., Jurado, I. and Garmendia Madariaga, A., 2018. Passing the buck? Responsibility attribution and cognitive bias in multilevel democracies. *West European Politics*, 41(3), pp.660-682.

Schmitt, H., Sanz, A., Braun, D. and Teperoglou, E., 2020. It all happens at once: Understanding electoral behaviour in second-order elections. *Politics and Governance*, 8(1), pp.6-18.

Söderlund, P., Wass, H. and Blais, A., 2011. “The impact of motivational and contextual factors on turnout in first-and second-order elections.” *Electoral studies*, 30, 4, 689-699.

Week 9. March 17 – Biology and Non-Conscious Factors

Alford, J. R., C. L. Funk, and J. R. Hibbing. 2005. “Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?” *American Political Science Review* 99: 153-168.

Brader, T., N. A. Valentino and E. Suhay. 2008. “What Triggers Public Opposition to Immigration? Anxiety, Group Cues, and Immigration Threat.” *American Journal of Political Science* 52: 959-978.

Fowler, J. H and C. T. Dawes. 2008. “Two Genes Predict Turnout.” *Journal of Politics* 70: 579-594.

Gonzalez, F., K. Smith and J. Hibbing. 2016. “No Longer ‘Beyond our Scope’: The Biological and Non-Conscious Underpinnings of Public Opinion.” In Berinsky (ed) *New Trends in American Public Opinion*. New York: Routledge.

Mondak, J. and M. Hibbing. 2016. “Personality and Public Opinion.” In Berinsky (ed) *New Trends in American Public Opinion*. New York: Routledge.

Weber, C. 2012. “Emotions, Campaigns, and Political Participation.” *Political Research Quarterly* 66: 414-428.

Week 10. March 24 – Identities – Gender and Race

Clark, A.K., 2017. Updating the gender gap (s): A multilevel approach to what underpins changing cultural attitudes. *Politics & Gender*, 13(1), pp.26-56.

Coffé, H. and Bolzendahl, C., 2010. "Same game, different rules? Gender differences in political participation." *Sex Roles*, 62, 5-6, 318-333.

Duefel, B. and O. Kedar. 2010. "Race and Turnout in U.S. Elections Exposing Hidden Effects." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 74, 2, 286-318.

Kanthak, K. and J. Woon. 2015. "Women don't run? Election aversion and candidate entry." *American Journal of Political Science* 59: 595-612.

Rocha, R., C. Tolbert, D. Bowen and C. Clark. 2010. "Race and Turnout: Does Descriptive Representation in State Legislatures Increase Minority Voting?" *Political Research Quarterly*. 63, 4, 890-907.

Stout, C.T., Kretschmer, K. and Ruppner, L., 2017. Gender linked fate, race/ethnicity, and the marriage gap in American politics. *Political Research Quarterly*, 70(3), pp.509-522.

Recommended:

Norris, P. 2009. "New Feminist Challenges to the Study of Political Engagement." In Dalton and Klingemann (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: OUP.

Week 11. March 31 - Macro Public Opinion

Donovan, K., P. Kellstedt. E. Key and M. Lebo. 2019. Motivated Reasoning, Public Opinion and Presidential Approval. *Political Behavior*, 42 1201-1221.

Enns, P.K. and Kellstedt, P.M., 2008. Policy mood and political sophistication: Why everybody moves mood. *British Journal of Political Science*, pp.433-454.

Enns, P. K. and G. E. McAvoy. 2012. The role of partisanship in aggregate opinion. *Political Behavior*, 34, 1-25.

Kelly, N. J. , and P. K. Enns. 2010. "Inequality and the Dynamics of Public Opinion: The Self-Reinforcing Link Between Economic Inequality and Mass Preferences." *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (4): 855–870.
doi:[10.1111/j.1540-5907.2010.00472.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2010.00472.x).

Stimson, J. 2004. *Tides of Consent: How Public Opinion Shapes American Politics*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3

IV Concluding thoughts

Week 12. April 7 – Engagement, Opinion and Democratic Representation

Esaiasson, P. and Wlezien, C., 2017. Advances in the study of democratic responsiveness: an introduction. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(6), pp.699-710.

Petry, F. and M. Mendelsohn. 2004. "Public Opinion and Policy Making in Canada 1994-2001." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37, 3, 505-29.

Rosset, J., Giger, N. and Bernauer, J., 2017. I the people? Self-interest and demand for government responsiveness. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(6), pp.794-821.

Soroka, S. and C. Wlezien. 2011. "Federalism and Public Responsiveness to Policy." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 41, 1, 31-52.

Soroka, S. and C. Wlezien. 2015. "Electoral Systems and Opinion Representation." *Representation* 51, 3, 273-285.

Wlezien, C., 2017. Policy (mis) representation and the cost of ruling: US presidential elections in comparative perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(6), pp.711-738.