

**University of Toronto  
Department of Political Science**

**POL 314H1F L0101  
Public Opinion and Voting**

**Fall 2017  
Monday 10-12  
UC 163**

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Office Hours: Wednesday 2 - 4 pm, or by appointment

**Introduction:**

The goals of the course are twofold: First, to discuss some major theories of public opinion, participation and voting. And second, to provide an opportunity to sharpen analytical and empirical skills.

**Prerequisite Requirement:**

Completion of POL 242 (Intro to Research Methods)

The expectation is that students are able to open a dataset and perform basic statistical tests without assistance.

**Datasets:**

The course encourages students to use data from the 2011 Canadian Election Study or the 2005 World Values Survey datasets for your research paper. The datasets can be downloaded from Blackboard.

1. Canadian Election Study. [dataset]
2. World Values Survey 2005 Official Data File. World Values Survey Association. [dataset]

**Course Format:**

One two-hour lecture per week. A graduate student T.A. will be available by appointment to assist students with methodological questions or practical issues regarding the use of the datasets.

**Course Requirements:**

Research Proposal (due October 2)	20%
Research Paper (due December 7)	50%
Final Exam (TBA)	30%

(Late papers will be taxed at 3% per day)

**Plagiarism:**

Plagiarism is a serious academic offense and professors are required to report these offenses to the Office of Student Academic Integrity. It is not sufficient merely to list your sources in the bibliography or to only use footnotes. You must ensure that you identify and attribute all of your sources in text, whether you are quoting them directly or paraphrasing them.

For a more complete explanation please see <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize> and <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/documentation> for two important documents entitled *How Not to Plagiarize* and *Standard Documentation Formats* respectively.

If you require further assistance concerning how to properly reference and footnote your work, please consult one of the many guides available in the library or the Writing Center.

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to **Turnitin.com** for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the turnitin.com web site.

**Texts:**

The course textbooks are available for purchase at: U of T Bookstore, Koffler Centre, 214 College Street (northwest corner of St. George and College). The course texts will also be available on Course Reserves (Short Term Loan) at Robarts Library.

**Required:**

Gidengil, E., Nevitte N., Blais A., Everitt J & Fournier P. (2012). *Dominance & Decline: Making Sense of Recent Canadian Elections*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

The Course textbook can be purchased at:

U of T Bookstore  
Koffler Centre, 214 College Street  
(NW corner of St. George and College)

**On Reserve:**

Dalton, R. J. (2008). *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Washington, D.C: CQ Press.

Glynn, C. J., et al. (1998). *Public Opinion: Politics, Communication, and Social Process* (2nd ed.). Boulder: Westview Press.

Erikson, R., & Tedin K. (2011). *American Public Opinion: Its Origins, Content, and Impact* (8th ed.).

Niemi, R. G., & Weisberg, H. F. (Eds.). (1993). *Classics in Voting Behavior*. Washington, D.C: CQ Press.

Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anderson, C. & Stephenson, L. (Eds.) (2010). *Voting Behaviour in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Nevitte, N. (1996). *The Decline of Deference: Canadian Value Change in Cross-National Perspective*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Niemi, R. & Weisberg H.F. (Eds.). (2001). *Controversies in Voting Behavior* (4th Ed.) Washington DC: CQ Press.

## SYLLABUS

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Readings marked below with a © are available on Blackboard.

### **Week 1: PUBLIC OPINION: THE LANDSCAPE**

September 11

#### **Required Reading:**

- © Converse, P., (1964). The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics. In David E. Apter (Ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.
- © Verba, S. (1996). The Citizen as Respondent: Sample Surveys and American Democracy. *American Political Science Review*, 90(1), 1-7.

#### **Recommended Reading:**

- Glynn C.J., et al., (1999). *Public Opinion*. Boulder: Westview Press. Pages 6-32.
- Price, V. (1999). *Public Opinion*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications. Ch 3 & 4.
- Burke, E. (1774). Speech to the Electors of Bristol.

### **Week 2: CHANGING CAPACITIES**

September 18

#### **Required Reading:**

- © Luskin R., (1987). "Measuring Political Sophistication." *American Journal of Political Science* v31: 856-99.
- © Dalton R. (1984). "Cognitive Mobilization and Partisan Dealignment in Advanced Industrial Democracies." *Journal of Politics*, 46: 264-84.
- Mercier, Hugo. "The Argumentative Theory of Reasoning." Available at <https://sites.google.com/site/hugomercier/theargumentativetheoryofreasoning>
- Zaller, J. and Feldman, S. (1992). A Simple Theory of the Survey Response: Answering Questions versus Revealing Preferences. *American Journal of Political Science*. 36: 579-616.

#### **Recommended Reading:**

- See Erikson, and Tedin. Ch 2 & 3.
- Sniderman, P. (2000). Taking Sides: A Fixed Choice Theory of Political Reasoning. In Lupia A. et al. (eds.), *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and Reason: The Bounds of Rationality*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pg 67-84.

### **Week 3: WAYS OF PARTICIPATING**

September 25

#### **Required Reading:**

- Dalton, R. *Citizen Politics*. Ch. 3
- © Inglehart, R. (1971). "The Silent Revolution in Europe." *The American Political Science Review*, 65(4): 991-1017.

#### **Recommended Reading:**

- See Inglehart and Norris, *Rising Tide*, Ch 5.
- Barnes, S. H., & Kaase, M. (1979). *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*. Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications.
- Inglehart, R. (1979) "Political Action: The Impact of Values, Cognitive Level and Social Background." In S. Barnes & M. Kaase (Eds.), *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies* (Pg. 343-80). Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Nevitte, N. (1996). *The Decline of Deference*. Ch 4.

**Week 4:** **TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE?**  
**Research Proposal is due this week**

October 2

**Required Reading:**

- © Niemi & Weisberg (1993), Why Don't More People Vote? In Niemi & Weisberg (Eds.) *Controversies in Voting Behavior*. CQ Press. Pg 14-21.
- © Blais, A. et al. (2004). "Where does turnout decline come from?" *European Journal of Political Research*, 43(2): 221-236.

**Recommended Reading:**

- Wattenberg, M.P. (2012). *Is Voting For Young People?* Boston: Pearson Press.
- Rubenson, D. et al. (2007). "Does Low Turnout Matter? Evidence from the 2000 Canadian Federal Election." *Electoral Studies*, 26(3): 589-97.
- White, S. et al. (2006). "Making Up for Lost Time: Immigrant Voter Turnout in Canada." *Electoral Insight*, 8(2): 10-16.

**Week 5:** **NO CLASS (Thanksgiving holiday)**

October 9

**Week 6:** **VOTING: "WHERE YOU SIT": THE COLUMBIA SCHOOL**

October 16

**Required Reading:**

- Dominance and Decline*, Ch 1 & 2.
- © Lipset, S.M. (1981). *Political Man: the Social Bases of Politics*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press. Chapter 8.
- © Van Ham, C.T. and Smets, K. (2013). The Embarrassment of Riches: A Meta-analysis of Individual-level Research on Voter Turnout. *Electoral Studies*, 32(2), 344-359.
- © Brodie, J. and Jenson, J. (1989). "Piercing the Smokescreen: Brokerage Politics and Class Politics." In A. Gagnon & A. B. Tanguay (Eds.), *Canadian Parties in Transition: Discourse, Organization, and Representation* (24-44). Scarborough: Nelson Canada.

**Recommended Reading:**

- Pammett, J. (2008). "Class Voting and Class Consciousness in Canada." *Canadian Review of Sociology*, 24(2): 269-290.

**Week 7:** **"WHAT YOU BELIEVE": VALUES AND BELIEFS**

October 23

**Required Reading:**

- Dominance and Decline*, Ch 3.
- © Nevitte, N. (1996). *The Decline of Deference*. Ch 2.

**Recommended Reading:**

- Gidengil et al. (2003). "Women to the Left? Gender Differences in Political Beliefs and Preferences." In Tremblay M. & Trimble L. (Eds.), *Women and Electoral Politics in Canada* (140-160). Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Nevitte, N. and C. Cochrane. (2007). "Value Change and the Dynamics of the Canadian Partisan Landscape" in Gagnon A-G and Tanguay A.B. (Eds.), *Canadian Parties in Transition* (255-275). 3rd Ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

**Week 8:**  
October 30

**THE MICHIGAN SCHOOL – “WHO YOU LIKE”**

**Required Reading:**

*Dominance and Decline*, Ch 4.

© Campbell et al. “The Impact and Development of Party Identification.” *Classics in Voting Behaviour*. Pg 224-33.

**Recommended Reading:**

Nie, N., Verba S., and Petrocik J., (1993). “The Decline of Partisanship.” In R. Niemi, & H. Weisberg (Eds.), *Classics in Voting Behaviour* (235-246). Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Blais, A. et al. (2001). “Measuring Party Identification: Canada, Britain and the United States”. *Political Behavior*, 23:5-22.

White, S. et al.(2008). “The Political Resocialization of Immigrants: Resistance or Lifelong Learning?” *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2):268-281.

**Week 9:**  
November 6

**NO CLASS (Fall break)**

**Week 10:**  
November 13

**IT’S THE ECONOMY STUPID!**

**Required Reading:**

*Dominance and Decline*, Ch 5.

© Lewis-Beck and Paldam (2000), “Economic voting: an introduction.” *Electoral Studies*, 19: 113-121.

Nadeau et al. (2012). “Economics and Elections Revisited.” *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(5):551-573.

**Recommended Reading:**

Anderson C. (2012). “Economic Voting in Canada: Assessing the Effects of Subjective Perceptions and Electoral Context.” In C. Anderson & L. Stephenson (Eds), *Voting Behaviour in Canada* (139-162). Vancouver: UBC Press.

**Week 11:**  
November 20

**WHERE YOU STAND: ISSUE VOTING**

**Required Reading:**

*Dominance and Decline*, Ch 6.

© Downs, A. (1957), “An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy.” *Journal of Political Economy*, 65: 135-150.

Fournier et al. (2012), “Reading the Orange Wave: Leadership, Values, Issues, and the 2011 Canadian Election.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 46(4):863-897.

**Recommended Reading:**

Downs, A. (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Ch 14. New York: Harper & Row.

Rabinowitz, G. & Macdonald S. E. (1989). “A Directional Theory of Issue Voting.” *The American Political Science Review*, 83(1): 93-121.

Blais, A. et al. (2001). “The Formation of Party Preferences: Testing the Proximity and Directional Models.” *European Journal of Political Research*, 40(1): 81-91.

Fournier, P. et al. (2003). “Issue Importance and Performance Voting.” *Political Behavior*, 25(1): 51-67.

**Week 12:**  
November 27

## **MY LEADER RIGHT OR WRONG: LEADERS**

### **Required Reading:**

*Dominance and Decline*, Ch 7.

© “Women as Political Leaders.” in *Rising Tide*. Pg. 127-146.

© Baltz, S. and Nevitte, N. (2017). *Leader Evaluations, Affective Dissonance, and Voter Turnout*.  
Under review at *Electoral Studies*.

### **Recommended Reading:**

Bittner, A. (2010). “Personality Matters: The Evaluation of Party Leaders in Canadian Elections.”  
In Anderson and Stephenson (Eds.), *Voting Behaviour in Canada* (Pg 183-202). Vancouver:  
UBC Press.

Blais, A. et al. (2003). “Does the Local Candidate Matter? Candidate Effects in the Canadian  
Election of 2000.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 36(3): 657-664.

**Week 13a:**  
December 4

## **IT’S RATIONAL: STRATEGIC VOTING**

### **Required Reading:**

*Dominance and Decline*, Ch 8.

© Merolla, J.L. & Stephenson, L.B. (2007). “Strategic Voting in Canada: A Cross Time  
Analysis.” *Electoral Studies*, 26(2): 235-246.

### **Recommended Reading:**

Blais, A. & Nadeau, R. (1996). “Measuring Strategic Voting: A Two-Step Procedure.” *Electoral  
Studies*, 15(1):39-52.

**Week 13b:**  
December 7

## **SINGLE ISSUE POLITICS? THE ENVIRONMENT, GENDER AND MOVEMENTS**

### **Required Reading:**

*Dominance and Decline*, Ch 9.

### **Recommended Reading:**

Inglehart, R. & Norris, P. “Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World.” in *Rising  
Tide*. Pg. 75-100.

Young, L. (2004). “Women (Not) in Politics: Women’s Electoral Participation.” In J. Bickerton &  
A.G. Gagnon (Eds.), *Canadian Politics* (Pg 287-304). Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Mill, J. S. (1869). *The Subjection of Women* (Chapter 1).