

Identities and Elections: Canada in Comparative Perspective

2020-2021

INSTRUCTOR Randy Besco
EMAIL ADDRESS: randy.besco@utoronto.ca
OFFICE LOCATION: Zoom
OFFICE HOURS: Wednesday 11:00-12:00, or by appointment
CLASS TIME: Wednesday 2:00-4:00
CLASS LOCATION: Zoom

Course Description:

This course will examine the link between social identities and political behaviour. Multiple kinds of identities will be examined, including ethnic, gender, national, and party identities, among others. These identities affect politics and public opinion, and are in turn influenced by political events and social context. The course will draw on political science and social-psychology research from both Canada and other countries.

<i>Assessment</i>	<i>% of final grade</i>
Participation	20
Reading Commentaries x 9 (each worth 3.3%)	30
Essay Review x 2 (each worth 5%)	10
Final Essay	40

Course Evaluation

Participation (20%)

Since this is a seminar, classes will be primarily constructed around the discussion among students. Unlike a lecture course, where you learn the content in lecture, in a seminar you will learn the basic material outside the class through assigned readings, and in class we debate its merit, or explore its implications for other situations.

Since active participation is essential, attending but not participating will result in a low mark.

Commentaries on Readings (9x3.3% = 30%)

The commentaries are a summary analysis of the readings along with questions or critique. They will be used as an evaluation of how well you learn and comprehend class material, taking the place of an exam. In addition, the questions generated in the commentaries will be the basis for in-class discussion.

The make-up of each commentary should be as follows. For each reading, there should be roughly one paragraph that briefly summarizes the research question, theoretical framework, key points of the argument, evidence, and findings. This should be uploaded to Quarcus **in the Assignment Section**.

In addition, you should include 2-3 comments or questions, a sentence or two in length, which may critique a reading, compare readings, draw connections across weeks, etc. This should be uploaded to Quarcus **in the Discussion Section**.

Commentaries must be submitted on Monday night, for the readings to be discussed that Wednesday. Late assignments will not be accepted for any reason because they cannot be used for class discussion. However, you have two “spare” weeks (best 9 of 11 weeks will be counted) in case you are sick or otherwise unable to complete an assignment.

Paper Review (2 x5%= 10%)

To help you learn both how to critique, and respond to criticism, you will have the opportunity to review each other’s papers. Completed papers will be brought to class and distributed to peers for review, with comments returned the following week. **This must be a complete paper.** You will then have an additional week to revise your paper, before submitting a final version. Details will be discussed in class.

Term Paper (40%)

The major term paper may be on a topic of your choosing, so long as it is related to the general course themes. The paper should be argumentative, take an original position, and be deeply rooted in existing research. This may include data analysis, but this is not required.

The paper should be 15-20 pages in length. You may use a citation style of your choosing, but the style must be stated on the front page, along with name and student number. Do not use end-notes.

Late Assignments

Late Reading Commentaries will not be accepted, since they cannot then be used for class discussion. Late paper reviews will also not be accepted, since other students will need sufficient time to respond to your comments. If a term paper to review is not provided, that student will receive a grade of zero on the paper review assignments. For the final paper, after revisions, there will be a late penalty of 3% per day (including weekends)

Class Structure:

As we all know, this year things are a little different. This class will be online. This means lots of changes for me, and for you. No doubt there will be some complications, but we'll all just have to do our best.

Class will be simultaneous online using Zoom. This means you should login during class-time. Since it is a discussion-based seminar, you should expect to have your camera and microphone on, since you will be regularly talking with your fellow students.

Technology Requirements: You will need a computer with a microphone and camera, and reliable internet access. Details: <https://www.viceprovoststudents.utoronto.ca/covid-19/tech-requirements-online-learning/> If you can't afford these, there maybe bursaries you can apply for. You will also need Zoom account, and you should sign up with your UofT email - if you have an old account link to your personal, change it.

Accessibility

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the AccessAbility Resource Centre as soon as possible.

AccessAbility staff are available by appointment to assess specific needs, provide referrals and arrange appropriate accommodations. Contact information is available at www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as/contact-us

Notice of Collection

The University of Toronto respects your privacy. The information on medical certificates is collected pursuant to section 2(14) of the University of Toronto Act, 1971. It is collected for the purpose of administering accommodations for academic purposes based on medical grounds. The department will maintain a record of all medical certificates received. At all times it will be protected in accordance with the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act.

If you have questions, please refer to www.utoronto.ca/privacy or contact the University's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Office at 416-946-5835. Address: Room 201, McMurich Bldg., 12 Queen's Park Crescent, Toronto, ON, M5S 1A1.

Turnitin:

Normally, students will be required to submit their assignments 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. If you have an objection to the use of Turnitin for the submission of your work, please make an appointment to speak personally with the Course Instructor to discuss alternative arrangements.

Accommodations:

From time-to-time, students request various accommodations – for example, an extension on a term paper or a re-scheduled midterm. **The policy in this course is to grant accommodations only in the event of a properly documented illness or personal emergency.** This means that the following arguments for accommodations, among others, will not be accepted: to participate in a voluntary campus activity (sporting events, student politics, etc.); to coordinate with travel arrangements; to attend work or a job interview; a heavy workload from other courses, and so on.

Course Schedule:

Note: This schedule depends in part on the progress and interests of students. Changes to the schedule will be discussed in class and updated on Quercus.

*Readings Marked in an asterisk (***) are suggested but not required.*

Week 1 – January 13: Introduction

Besco, Randy. "Rainbow coalitions or inter-minority conflict? Racial affinity and diverse minority voters." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*

Week 2 – January 20: Social Identity Theory

Tajfel, Henri and John Turner. 1986. "The Social Identity Theory of Group Behavior" (Book Chapter, on Quercus).

Hornsey, Matthew J. "Social identity theory and self-categorization theory: A historical review." *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 2, no. 1 (2008): 204-222.

Huddy, Leonie. "From social to political identity: A critical examination of social identity theory." *Political Psychology* 22, no. 1 (2001): 127-156.

Week 3 – January 27: Partisanship

Huddy, Leonie, Lilliana Mason, and Lene Aarøe. "Expressive partisanship: Campaign involvement, political emotion, and partisan identity." *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 1 (2015): 1-17.

Solaz, Hector, Catherine E. De Vries, and Roosmarijn A. de Geus. "In-Group Loyalty and the Punishment of Corruption." *Comparative Political Studies* (2018): 0010414018797951.

Mason, Lilliana. *Uncivil agreement: How politics became our identity*. University of Chicago Press, 2018. Especially chapters 3 and 5. E-book available through the library

***Greene, Steven. "Understanding party identification: A social identity approach." *Political Psychology* 20.2 (1999): 393-403.

***Klar, Samara. "Partisanship in a social setting." *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 3 (2014): 687-704.

***Michelitch, Kristin. "Does electoral competition exacerbate interethnic or interpartisan economic discrimination? Evidence from a field experiment in market price bargaining." *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 1 (2015): 43-61.

Week 4 – February 3: Racial and Ethnic Minorities

Valenzuela, Ali A., and Melissa R. Michelson. "Turnout, status, and identity: Mobilizing Latinos to vote with group appeals." *American Political Science Review* 110, no. 4 (2016): 615-630.

Laird, Chryl. "Black Like Me: how political communication changes racial group identification and its implications." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* (2017): 1-23.

Lee, Taeku. "Race, immigration, and the identity-to-politics link." *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 11 (2008): 457-478.

***Wilcox-Archuleta, Bryan. "Local Origins: Context, Group Identity, and Politics of Place." *Political Research Quarterly* (2017): 1065912918772933.

***Green, Donald P. "Mobilizing African-American voters using direct mail and commercial phone banks: A field experiment." *Political Research Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (2004): 245-255.

Week 5 – February 10: White Identity

Beauvais, Edana "Canadian White Identity Politics" (working paper, on Quercus)

Petrow, Gregory A., John E. Transue, and Timothy Vercellotti. "Do white in-group processes matter, too? White racial identity and support for black political candidates." *Political Behavior* 40, no. 1 (2018): 197-222.

Jardina, Ashley, Nathan P. Kalmoe, and Kimberly Gross. "Disavowing white identity: How Trump's election made white racial identity distasteful." Published online December 2020 in Political Psychology Link: <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12717>

-----February 17 Reading Week-----

Week 6 – February 24: Co-ethnic Voting

Adida, Claire, Jessica Gottlieb, Eric Kramon, and Gwyneth McClendon. "Overcoming or Reinforcing Coethnic Preferences? An Experiment on Information and Ethnic Voting." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* (2017).

McConaughy, Corrine M., Ismail K. White, David L. Leal, and Jason P. Casellas. "A Latino on the ballot: Explaining coethnic voting among Latinos and the response of White Americans." *The Journal of Politics* 72, no. 4 (2010): 1199-1211.

Besco, Randy. "Rainbow coalitions or inter-minority conflict? Racial affinity and diverse minority voters." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique* 48, no. 2 (2015): 305-328.

***Manzano, Sylvia, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. "Take one for the team? Limits of shared ethnicity and candidate preferences." *Political Research Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (2010): 568-580. 908.

***Dunning, Thad, and Lauren Harrison. "Cross-cutting cleavages and ethnic voting: An experimental study of cousinage in Mali." *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 1 (2010): 21-39.

Week 7 – March 3: Gender

Bittner, Amanda, and Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant. "Digging deeper into the gender gap: Gender salience as a moderating factor in political attitudes." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique* 50, no. 2 (2017): 559-578.

Huddy, Leonie, and Johanna Willmann. "Partisan sorting and the feminist gap in American politics." (*Working Paper*).

Holman, Mirya R., Monica C. Schneider, and Kristin Pondel. "Gender targeting in political advertisements." *Political Research Quarterly* 68, no. 4 (2015): 816-829.

***Bittner, Amanda, and Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant. "Sex isn't gender: Reforming concepts and measurements in the study of public opinion." *Political Behavior* 39, no. 4 (2017): 1019-1041.

***Klar, Samara. "The influence of competing identity primes on political preferences." *The Journal of Politics* 75, no. 4 (2013): 1108-1124

Week 8 – March 10: Nationalism, Patriotism, and Tolerance

-----Discuss Paper and Review Assignments-----

Huddy, Leonie, and Nadia Khatib. "American patriotism, national identity, and political involvement." *American journal of political science* 51, no. 1 (2007): 63-77.

Breton, Charles. "Making national identity salient: Impact on attitudes toward immigration and multiculturalism." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 48, no. 2 (2015): 357-381.

Citrin, Jack, Richard Johnston, and Matthew Wright. "Do patriotism and multiculturalism collide? Competing perspectives from Canada and the United States." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 45, no. 3 (2012): 531-552.

Mummendey, Amelie, Andreas Klink, and Rupert Brown. "Nationalism and patriotism: National identification and out-group rejection." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 40, no. 2 (2001): 159-172.

Week 9 – March 17: Nationalism and Regionalism

Brigeovich, Anna. "Regional identity and support for Europe: distinguishing between cultural and political social identity in France." *Regional & Federal Studies* 26, no. 4 (2016): 475-507.

Raney, Tracey, and Loleen Berdahl. "Birds of a feather? Citizenship norms, group identity, and political participation in Western Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*., no. 1 (2009): 187-209.

Anderson, Cameron, and Michael McGregor. "National identity, attentiveness and the two sides of partisanship: the case of the 2015 Canadian federal election." *National Identities* 22, no. 3 (2020): 347-366.

***Fitjar, Rune Dahl. "Explaining variation in sub-state regional identities in Western Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 49.4 (2010): 522-544.

Week 10 – March 24: Norms

-----Draft Paper Due-----

Toff, Benjamin, and Elizabeth Suhay. "Partisan Conformity, Social Identity, and the Formation of Policy Preferences." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* (2017).

Pickup, Mark and Kimbrough, Erik O. and de Rooij, Eline A., Expressive Politics as (Costly) Norm-Following (October 12, 2018). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2851135> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2851135>

White, Ismail K., Chryl N. Laird, and Troy D. Allen. "Selling out?: the politics of navigating conflicts between racial group interest and self-interest." *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 4 (2014): 783-800.

***Gerber, Alan S., Donald P. Green, and Christopher W. Larimer. "Social pressure and voter turnout: Evidence from a large-scale field experiment." *American political Science review* 102, no. 1 (2008): 33-48.

Week 11 – March 31: Discrimination and Threat

-----Reviews Due-----

Cassino, Dan, and Yasemin Besen-Cassino. "Political identity, gender identity or both? The political effects of sexual orientation and gender identity items in survey research." *European Journal of Politics and Gender* (2020).

Saleem, M. and Ramasubramanian, S., 2017. Muslim Americans' responses to social identity threats: Effects of media representations and experiences of discrimination. *Media Psychology*, pp.1-21.

Engelhardt, Andrew M., and Stephen M. Utych. "Grand Old (Tailgate) Party? Partisan Discrimination in Apolitical Settings." *Political Behavior* (2018): 1-21.

*** Kuo, Alexander, Neil Malhotra, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. "Social exclusion and political identity: The case of Asian American partisanship." *The Journal of Politics* 79, no. 1 (2017): 17-32.

***Schildkraut, Deborah J. "The rise and fall of political engagement among Latinos: The role of identity and perceptions of discrimination." *Political Behavior* 27, no. 3 (2005): 285-312.

Week 12 – April 7: Superordinate Identities

-----Final Paper Due-----

Berinsky, A.J., Rizzo, T., Rosenzweig, L.R. and Heaps, E., 2018. Attribute Affinity: US Natives' Attitudes Toward Immigrants. *Political Behavior*, pp.1-24.

Transue, John E. "Identity salience, identity acceptance, and racial policy attitudes: American national identity as a uniting force." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 1 (2007): 78-91.

Klar, Samara. "When Common Identities Decrease Trust: An Experimental Study of Partisan Women." *American Journal of Political Science* 62, no. 3 (2018): 610-622.

***Levendusky, Matthew S. "Americans, Not Partisans: Can Priming American National Identity Reduce Affective Polarization?." *The Journal of Politics* 80, no. 1 (2018): 59-70.

***Esses, Victoria M., Ulrich Wagner, Carina Wolf, Matthias Preiser, and Christopher J. Wilbur. "Perceptions of national identity and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration in Canada and Germany." *International journal of intercultural relations* 30, no. 6 (2006): 653-669.

A WARNING ABOUT PLAGIARISM

Plagiarism is an academic offence with a severe penalty.

It is essential that you understand what plagiarism is and that you do not commit it. In essence, it is the theft of the thoughts or words of others, without giving proper credit. You must put others' words in quotation marks and cite your source(s). You must give citations when using others' ideas, even if those ideas are paraphrased in your own words. Plagiarism is unacceptable in a university. What the university calls "plagiarism", non-university institutions might call "fraud".

The University of Toronto provides a process that faculty members must initiate when they suspect a case of plagiarism. In the Department of Political Science, suspected evidence of plagiarism must be reported to the Chair; in most cases, the Chair passes the case on to the Dean. A faculty member may not mark an assignment or assess a penalty if he or she finds evidence of plagiarism – the matter must be reported. Penalties are assigned by the Chair, by the Dean or by the University of Toronto Tribunal.

The following are some examples of plagiarism:

1. **Submitting as your own an assignment written by someone else.**
2. **Quoting an author without indicating the source of the words.**
3. **Using words, sentences, or paragraphs written by someone else and failing to place quotation marks around the material and reference the source and author.** Using either quotation marks or reference alone is not sufficient. Both must be used!
4. Adapting an author's ideas or theme and using it as your own without referencing the original source.
5. Seeking assistance from a friend or family member in respect to work you claim as your own.

Ignorance of the rules against plagiarism is not a defense; students are presumed to know what plagiarism is and how to avoid it. Students are especially reminded that material taken from the web **must** be quoted and cited in the same manner as if it came from a book or printed article.

If you are not sure whether you have committed plagiarism, it is better to ask a faculty member or teaching assistant than risk discovery and be forced to accept an academic penalty.

Plagiarism is cheating. It is considered a **serious offence** against intellectual honesty and intellectual property. Penalties can be **severe**, ranging from a mark of "0" for the assignment or test in question, **up to and including expulsion from the university.**

Some website listed below on avoiding plagiarism:

'How to Use Sources and Avoid Plagiarism' - available at:

<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>

Other Advisory Material available at: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/home>