

# **Identities and Elections: Canada in Comparative Perspective**

**2021-2022**

INSTRUCTOR	Randy Besco
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OFFICE LOCATION:	Zoom, 3110 Sid Smith Building
OFFICE HOURS:	Wednesday 11:00-12:00, or by appointment
CLASS TIME:	Wednesday 2:00-4:00
CLASS LOCATION	Zoom, 2114 Sid Smith Building

## ***Course Description:***

This course will examine the link between social identities and political behaviour. Multiple 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>	% of final grade
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:

For at least part of the term, class will be simultaneous online using Zoom. This means you should login during class-time. Make sure you have a computer with a camera and microphone, and a Zoom account linked to you UofT email.

You should expect to have your camera and microphone on all or most of the time, since it is a discussion-based seminar and you will be regularly talking with your fellow students.

### 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](http://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](http://www.utoronto.ca/privacy) or contact the University's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Office at 416-946-5835. Address: Room 201, McMurrich 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.

If students are unable to attend in-person class due to quarantine requirements, alternate arrangements will be made.

## **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 asterisks (\*\*\*) are suggested but not required.*

### **Week 1 – Introduction**

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.

### **Week 2 – 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 – Partisanship**

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

Merkley, E., 2020. Polarization Eh? Ideological Divergence and Partisan Sorting in the Canadian Mass Public. Working Paper.

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

\*\*\*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

\*\*\*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.

\*\*\*Greene, Steven. "Understanding party identification: A social identity approach." *Political*

*Psychology* 20.2 (1999): 393-403.

\*\*\*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 – 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.

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

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.

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.

\*\*\*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).

\*\*\*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.

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

#### **Week 5 – 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.

Bai, Hui. "Politicians' Ideology Matters More Than Their Race in Determining the Association Between White Identity and Evaluation of the Politicians." *Social Psychological and Personality Science* (2020): 19485506211039396.

\*\*\*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>

----- Reading Week-----

**Week 6 – Indigenous People**

Dabin, S., Daoust, J. F., & Papillon, M. (2019). Indigenous peoples and affinity voting in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52(1), 39-53.

Lalonde, Richard N., Jorida Cila, and Maya Yampolsky. "Canada, a fertile ground for intergroup relations and social identity theory." In *Understanding peace and conflict through social identity theory*, pp. 261-276. Springer, Cham, 2016.

Harell, Allison, Dimitrios Panagos, and J. Scott Matthews. "Explaining Aboriginal turnout in federal elections: Evidence from Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba." (2010)

Herrick, Rebekah. "Growing up on a reservation and American Indians' political attitudes." *The Social Science Journal* 57, no. 2 (2020): 135-150.

**Week 7 – Geographic Identities**

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

Bilodeau, Antoine, Audrey Gagnon, Stephen E. White, Luc Turgeon, and Ailsa Henderson. "Attitudes toward Ethnocultural Diversity in Multilevel Political Communities: Comparing the Effect of National and Subnational Attachments in Canada." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 51, no. 1 (2021): 27-53.

Borwein, Sophie, and Jack Lucas. "Municipal identity and city interests." *Political Behavior* (2021): 1-20.

\*\*\*Brigevich, 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.

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

\*\*\*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.

\*\*\*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.

## **Week 8 – Gender**

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

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).

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.

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

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.

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

## **Week 9 – 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, Erik O. Kimbrough, and Eline A. de Rooij. "Expressive politics as (costly) norm following." *Political Behavior* (2021): 1-21.

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 10 – Discrimination and Threat**

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

Bilodeau, Antoine. "Mobilisation or demobilisation? Perceived discrimination and political engagement among visible minorities in Quebec." *Political Science* 69, no. 2 (2017): 122-138.

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 11 – Identity Change**

Egan, Patrick J. 2020. "Identity as Dependent Variable: How Americans Shift Their Identities to Align with Their Politics." *American Journal of Political Science* 64(3): 699–716.

Cassino, Dan, and Yasemin Besen-Cassino. 2020. "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*.

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.

Besco, Randy, Sergio Garcia-Rios, Julius Lagodny, Nazita Lajevardi, Kassra Oskooii, Erin Tolley "How Do Political Attacks Change Racial and Ethnic Self-Identities?" (working paper, on Quercus)



## **Week 12 – 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.

\*\*\*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.

## 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>