

University of Western Ontario
Department of Political Science
PS 9537 2023

Partisanship, Polarization and Populism: Old Loyalties and New Challenges

Time: Wednesday, 9:00a-12:00p

Place: SSC 7200

Instructor: Laura Stephenson (laura.stephenson@uwo.ca)

Office Hours: Wednesday 1:30p-3:30p or by appointment

Overview

Some scholars believe that politics without political parties is “unthinkable”. It is true that much of what we understand about political behaviour comes from how people identify with (or against) political parties and how that shapes their views of politics. Increased polarization in party systems around the world has led to interesting consequences for more than just the political realm. Further, in many countries traditional party systems have come under fire from populist impulses that have upended much of what we understand about political competition. Partisanship, polarization and populist parties can be a dangerous triad. In this course, students will undertake a survey of the literature that details how people come to identify with a political party, the political and social consequences of that identification, how political polarization interacts with partisan competition, and how support for populist parties relates to these party attitudes, party system stability, and democracy.

Course Format

This course is designed to occur in person, but if that becomes impossible we will move the discussions online. If you are feeling ill please do not come to class. We can arrange for a hybrid option that week.

Assignments

1. Participation – 15%

This includes attending class, taking part in discussions, and sharing your ideas. Students are expected to be respectful of their peers’ views at all times. Disagreement is natural, but thoughtful consideration and listening is required.

2. CCS (Compare, contrast and synthesize) papers (5 to be submitted; 500 words maximum) – 20%

Students must submit written commentaries (3 pages or 750 words maximum) on at least 3 of the readings covered in five of weeks 2-11 (10 weeks, choose 5). Students should provide an overview of each reading, compare and contrast the theories/approaches/results, and synthesize the material to develop a position on that week’s topic.

When developing the overview of each reading, students should consider these questions (borrowed and paraphrased from Dr. Shane Singh, University of Georgia):

- Does the reading develop an original theoretical contribution, or does it apply a theory developed elsewhere to a new case?
- What are the assumptions of the theory? Are they plausible?
- Are the hypotheses logical extensions of the theory?
- What data source(s) are used? Are they appropriate?
- What are the dependent and independent variable(s)? How are they measured? Do the measures used correspond to the theoretical concepts?

- What empirical method(s) are used to test the hypotheses? Are there better alternatives?
- Is the interpretation of results sensible and do the results support the expectations?
- Are there other observable implications of the theory that could be examined?

Due: By start of class (9am)

3. Critical Book Review (5 pages) – 15%

Students must write a critical review of a scholarly monograph. The review should cover the main research question, methods and findings. You will be asked to provide a 5-minute (maximum) overview of the book for your colleagues during the class session. The monographs that students can choose from for this assignment are ones for which a chapter is already assigned as a reading (asterisks below). If you have another book in mind that corresponds to a weekly topic, check with me first.

Due: Variable. By start of class (9am) the week the book chapter is assigned.

4. Blog post (3 pages or 750 words maximum) - 10%

Students will use materials from the course to analyze and comment on a current event (in Canada or elsewhere). These should be written in a style similar to what is posted on The Monkey Cage (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/monkey-cage/>) or Mischiefs of Faction (<https://www.mischiefsoffaction.com/>). Some general tips are here: <https://americasmith.org/guidelines-for-writing-blog-posts/>.

Due: October 18 (11:59pm)

5. Original research paper (15-20 pages) – 40%

This is the major assignment of the course. Students are expected to develop and empirically test (quantitatively or qualitatively) a theoretically-driven hypothesis related to the general topic of the course. Papers should include an introduction, literature review, discussion of data and methodological choices, presentation of results, and discussion/conclusion. For examples of such structure, students can consult a recent issue of *Political Behavior* or *Electoral Studies* or another similar journal.

Students will submit a proposal for their paper on week 9 (November 8) and will verbally present in class to get feedback. Full paper drafts will be presented during the last class (December 6). Feedback from your peers will be valuable as you revise the draft for final submission one week later (December 13).

Due: Proposal – November 8, start of class (9am); Draft – December 6 (9am); Final – December 13 (11:59pm)

Absences, Accommodations and Late Assignments

Students are expected to come to class and submit assignments on time. However, illnesses and other events may occur. In those cases, please contact me. If you are too ill to come to campus but can work at home, virtual participation can be arranged. If you cannot complete your work on time, alternative due dates can be arranged. I am willing to work with you to make sure you can complete your coursework *but only if you maintain communication*. If you simply do not hand in work, with no notice or contact in a reasonable time frame, you will receive a grade of 0 for the assignment. If you miss an alternative deadline without notice, the same consequence will occur.

Resources

The Writing Support Centre at UWO is available to help students with their assignments (<http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/writing/index.html?main>).

Various support services are also available through UWO. You can access information about the Registrar's Office at <http://www4.registrar.uwo.ca> and Student Development Services at <http://www.sdc.uwo.ca>.

Weekly Schedule and Readings

Week	Date	Topic and Readings	Due
1	Sept 13	<u>Introduction and Overview of the Course</u>	---
2	Sept 20	<p><u>The Concept Partisanship</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> *Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. <i>The American Voter</i>. New York: John Wiley. Chapters 6 and 7. *Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. <i>Retrospective Voting in American National Elections</i>. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapter 5. Franklin, Charles H., and John E. Jackson. 1983. "The Dynamics of Party Identification." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 77 (4): 957-73. Greene, Steven. 1999. "Understanding Party Identification: A Social Identity Approach." <i>Political Psychology</i> 20 (2): 393-403. Huddy, Leonie, Lilliana Mason, and Lene Aarøe. 2015. "Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity." <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 109 (1): 1-17. <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Singh, Shane P., and Judd R. Thornton. 2019. "Elections Activate Partisanship across Countries." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 113 (1): 248-53. 	CCS Paper #1
3	Sept 27	<p><u>Partisanship in different contexts</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Converse, Philip E., and Georges Dupeux. 1962. "Politicization of the Electorate in France and the United States." <i>The Public Opinion Quarterly</i> 26 (1): 1-23. Thomassen, Jacques. 1976. "Party identification as a cross-national concept: Its meaning in the Netherlands," in Ian Budge, Ivor Crewe and Dennis J. Farlie, <i>Party Identification and Beyond</i>, 63-80. Colchester, UK: ECPR Press. *Clarke, Harold D., Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon Pammett. 1979. <i>Political Choice in Canada</i>. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson. Chapter 5. Huber, John D., Georgia Kernell, and Eduardo L. Leoni. 2005. "Institutional Context, Cognitive Resources, and Party Attachment across Democracies." <i>Political Analysis</i> 13 (2): 365-86. Vidal, D. Xavier Medina, Antonio Ugues, Shaun Bowler, and Jonathan Hiskey. 2010. "Partisan Attachment and Democracy in Mexico: Some Cautionary Observations." <i>Latin American Politics and Society</i> 52 (1): 63-87. *Lupu, Noam. 2016. <i>Party Brands in Crisis</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2 and 6. <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Butler, David and Donald Stokes. 1969. <i>Political Change in Britain</i>. London: Macmillan. Clarke, Harold D., and Marianne C. Stewart. 1987. "Partisan inconsistency and partisan change in federal states: The case of Canada." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 31 (2): 383-407. Stewart, Marianne C., and Harold D. Clarke. 1998. "The Dynamics of Party Identification in Federal Systems: The Canadian Case." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 42 (1): 97-116. 	CCS Paper #2

4	Oct 4	<p><u>Political and Social Aspects of Partisanship</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bartels, Larry M. 2002. "Beyond the Running Tally: Partisan Bias in Political Perceptions." <i>Political Behavior</i> 24 (2): 117-50. 2. Petersen, Michael Bang, Martin Skov, Søren Serritzlew and Thomas Ramsøy. 2013. "Motivated Reasoning and Political Parties: Evidence for Increased Processing in the Face of Party Cues." <i>Political Behavior</i> 35:831-854. 3. Mason, Lilliana and Julie Wronski. 2018. "One Tribe to Bind Them All: How Our Social Group Attachments Strengthen Partisanship." <i>Political Psychology</i> 39: 257-277. 4. Guntermann, Eric and Erick Lachappelle. 2020. "Canadian Parties Matter More Than You Think: Party and Leader Ratings Moderate Party Cue Effects." <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i> 53: 839-852. 5. Shafranek, Richard M. 2020. "Political Consequences of Partisan Prejudice." <i>Political Psychology</i> 41(1): 35-51. 6. Nordø, Å.D. 2021. "Do Voters Follow? The Effect of Party Cues on Public Opinion During a Process of Policy Change." <i>Scandinavian Political Studies</i> 44: 45-66. <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brader, Ted and Joshua A. Tucker. 2012. "Following the Party's Lead: Party Cues, Policy Opinion, and the Power of Partisanship in Three Multiparty Systems." <i>Comparative Politics</i> 44 (4): 403-420. 	CCS Paper #3
5	Oct 11	<p><u>Measurement and Stability</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. LeDuc, Lawrence, Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, and Jon H. Pammett. 1984. "Partisan instability in Canada: Evidence from a new panel study." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 78 (2): 470-484. 2. Blais, André, Elisabeth Gidengil, Richard Nadeau, and Neil Nevitte. 2001. "Measuring party identification: Britain, Canada, and the United States." <i>Political Behavior</i> 23: 5-22. 3. *Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist and Eric Schickler. 2002. <i>Partisan Hearts and Minds</i>. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 2. 4. Sanders, David, Jonathan Burton, and Jack Kneeshaw. 2002. "Identifying the true party identifiers: a question wording experiment." <i>Party Politics</i> 8 (2): 193-205. 5. Bartle, John. 2003. "Measuring party identification: an exploratory study with focus groups." <i>Electoral Studies</i> 22 (2): 217-237. 6. Baker, Andy, and Lucio Renno. 2019. "Nonpartisans as false negatives: the mismeasurement of party identification in public opinion surveys." <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 81 (3): 906-922. <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Johnston, Richard. 1992. "Party identification measures in the Anglo-American democracies: a national survey experiment." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 63: 542-559. • Paparo, A., L. De Sio and DW Brady. 2020. "PTV gap: A new measure of party identification yielding monotonic partisan attitudes and supporting comparative analysis." <i>Electoral Studies</i> 63: 102092. 	CCS Paper #4
6	Oct 18	<p><u>Negativity and Partisanship</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wattenburg, Martin P. 1982. "Party Identification and Party Images: A Comparison of Britain, Canada, Australia and the United States." <i>Comparative Politics</i> 15 (1): 23-40. 2. Rose, Richard and William Mishler. 1998. "Negative and Positive Party Identification in Post-Communist Countries." <i>Electoral Studies</i> 17 (2): 217-234. 	CCS Paper #5

		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. McGregor, R. Michael, Nicholas J. Caruana and Laura B. Stephenson. 2015. "Negative Partisanship in a Multi-Party System: The Case of Canada." <i>Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties</i> 25(3): 300-316. 4. *Klar, Samara and Yanna Krupnikov. 2016. <i>Independent Politics</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. Chapter 4. 5. *Mason, Lilliana. 2018. <i>Uncivil Agreement</i>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 6. 6. Bankert, Alexa. 2021. "Negative and Positive Partisanship in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Elections." <i>Political Behavior</i> 43: 1467-1485. <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iyengar, Shanto, Yphtach Lelkes, Matthew Levendusky, Neil Malhotra and Sean J. Westwood. 2019. "The Origins and Consequences of Affective Polarization in the United States." <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i> 22: 7.1-7.18. • Gidron, Noam, James Adams and Will Horne. 2020. "American Affective Polarization in Comparative Perspective." <i>Cambridge Elements</i>. 	Blog Post
7	Oct 25	<p><u>Polarization</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Abramowitz, Alan I. and Kyle L. Saunders. 2008. "Is Polarization a Myth?" <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 70(2): 542-555. 2. *Levendusky, Matthew. 2009. <i>The Partisan Sort</i>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 6. 3. Lelkes, Yphtach. 2016. "Mass Polarization: Manifestations and Measurements." <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i> 80 (Special Issue): 392-410. 4. Bisgaard, Martin and Rune Slothuus. 2018. "Partisan Elites as Culprits." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 62 (2): 456-469. 5. Reiljan, Andres. 2020. "'Fear and loathing across party lines' (also) in Europe: Affective polarisation in European party systems." <i>European Journal of Political Research</i> 59: 376-396. 6. Merkley, Eric. 2022. "Polarization Eh? Ideological Divergence and Partisan Sorting in the Canadian Mass Public." <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i> 86 (4): 932-943. <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • West, Emily A. and Shanto Iyengar. 2022. "Partisanship as a Social Identity: Implications for Polarization." <i>Political Behavior</i> 44: 807-838. 	CCS Paper #6
	Nov 1	FALL BREAK – NO READINGS	
8	Nov 8	<p><u>Consequences of Polarization</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. *Mutz, Diana C. 2006. <i>Hearing the Other Side</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4. 2. Davis, Nicholas T., and Johanna L. Dunaway. 2016. "Party Polarization, Media Choice, and Mass Partisan-Ideological Sorting." <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i> 80 (S1): 272-297. 3. Enders, Adam M. and Miles T. Armaly. 2019. "The Differential Effects of Actual and Perceived Polarization." <i>Political Behavior</i> 41: 815-39. 4. Cassesse, Erin C. 2021. "Partisan Dehumanization in American Politics." <i>Political Behavior</i> 43:29-50. 5. *Sirin, Cigdem V., Nicholas A. Valentino and José D. Villalobos. 2021. <i>Seeing Us in Them: Social Divisions and the Politics of Group Empathy</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2. 6. Peffley, Mark, Omer Yair and Marc L. Hutchinson. 2023. "Left-Right Social Identity and the Polarization of Political Tolerance." <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> Online first. <p>Optional:</p>	CCS Paper #7 Paper Proposal

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Martherus, James L., Andres G. Martinez, Paul K. Piff and Alexander G. Theodoridis. 2021. "Party Animals? Extreme Partisan Polarization and Dehumanization." <i>Political Behavior</i> 43: 517-540. 	
9	Nov 15	<p>Populism – Concepts, Theories and Measures</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mudde, Cas and Crisóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2018. "Studying Populism in Comparative Perspective: Reflections on the Contemporary and Future Research Agenda." <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> 51 (13): 1667-1693. Urbinati, Nadia. 2019. "Political Theory of Populism." <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i>. 22: 111-127. Rooduijn, Matthijs. 2019. "State of the field: How to study populism and adjacent topics: A plea for both more and less focus." <i>European Journal of Political Research</i> 58: 362-372. Norris, Pippa. 2020. "Measuring populism worldwide." <i>Party Politics</i> 26 (6): 697-717. Meijers, Maurits J. and Andrej Zaslove. 2021. "Measuring Populism in Political Parties: Appraisal of a New Approach." <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> 54(2): 372-407. Berman, Sheri. 2021. "The Causes of Populism in the West." <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i> 24: 71-88. 	CCS Paper #8
10	Nov 22	<p>Populism and Polarization</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Handlin, Samuel. 2018. "The Logic of Polarizing Populism: State Crises and Polarization in South America." <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i> 62 (1): 75-91. Silva, Bruno Castanho. 2018. "Populist radical right parties and mass polarization in the Netherlands." <i>European Political Science Review</i> 10 (2): 219-244. Meléndez, Carlos and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2019. "Political Identities: The missing link in the study of populism." <i>Party Politics</i>: 25 (4): 520-533. Berntzen, Lars Erik. 2020. "How Elite Politicization of Terror Impacts Sympathies for Partisans: Radical Right versus Social Democrats." <i>Politics and Governance</i> 8(3): 19-31. Roberts, Kenneth M. 2022. "Populism and Polarization in Comparative Perspective: Constitutive, Spatial and Institutional Dimensions." <i>Government and Opposition</i> 57: 680-702. Fuller, Sam, Will Horne, James Adam and Noam Gidron. 2022. "Populism and the affective partisan space in nine European publics: Evidence from a cross-national survey." <i>Frontiers in Political Science</i> 4:984238. 	CCS Paper #9
11	Nov 29	<p>Populism, Citizens and Democracy</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Van Hauwaert, Steven W. and Stijn Van Kessel. 2018. "Beyond protest and discontent: A cross-national analysis of the effect of populist attitudes and issue positions on populist party support." <i>European Journal of Political Research</i> 57: 68-92. Meléndez, Carlos and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2019. "Political identities: The missing link in the study of populism." <i>Party Politics</i> 25 (4): 520-533. Mauk, Marlene. 2020. "ebuilding Trust in Broken Systems? Populist Party Success and Citizens' Trust in Democratic Institutions." <i>Politics and Governance</i> 8 (3): 45-58. Heinisch, Reinhard, and Carsten Wegscheider. 2020. "Disentangling How Populism and Radical Host Ideologies Shape Citizens' Conceptions of Democratic Decision-Making." <i>Politics and Governance</i> 8 (3): 32-44. 	CCS Paper #10

		<p>5. Gidron, Noam and Peter A. Hall. 2020. "Populism as a Problem of Social Integration." <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> 53 (7): 1027-1059.</p> <p>6. Ridge, Hannah M. 2022. "Enemy Mine: Negative Partisanship and Satisfaction with Democracy." <i>Political Behavior</i> 44: 1271-1295.</p>	
12	Dec 6	Paper presentations	Paper Draft