



PLD

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
FACULTY OF ARTS

**POLI 429 – L01**  
**Electoral Behaviour**  
*Winter 2018*

<b>INSTRUCTOR</b>	Melanee Thomas
<b>TELEPHONE</b>	(403) 220-5992
<b>OFFICE</b>	SS 714
<b>EMAIL</b>	thomasm@ucalgary.ca
<b>OFFICE HOURS</b>	Wednesday 2-4 pm or by appointment
<b>COURSE DAY/TIME</b>	TR 2 – 315 PM
<b>COURSE LOCATION</b>	PF 120

**PRE-REQUISITES:** POLI 321 or POLI 399

**COURSE DESCRIPTION**

Politics in most representative democracies revolve around elections. This course focuses on the factors that shape voting behaviour in Canada, and the debates highlighted throughout the term will be examined in light of recent Canadian federal elections.

By the end of the course, students should:

- Have a basic understanding of the dynamics and psychology of election campaigns;
- Understand the historical and institutional context for elections;
- Be able to see past journalistic accounts of elections and campaigns to foundational aspects of Canadian political behaviour.

**COURSE FORMAT**

Students are expected to complete readings prior to class sessions, and to arrive prepared to discuss the material.

**ACCOMMODATIONS**

I endeavour to ensure that this course is inclusive of people with a variety of learning styles and abilities. Nonetheless, some students may require additional accommodations.

Students with a documented disability who may require academic accommodation **must** be registered with the Student Accessibility Services (SAS) in order to be eligible for formal academic accommodation (see below). They can be contacted at (403) 220-8237 or access@ucalgary.ca. If you are a student with accommodations granted through SAS, please come discuss your needs with me *as soon as possible* after an Accommodation letter has been issued.

Accommodations for acute illness and emergencies, as well as accommodations on

protected grounds (race; colour; ancestry; place of origin; religious beliefs; gender — including pregnancy and gender identity; marital status; family status; source of income; and sexual orientation) will be addressed on a case by case basis in accordance with University of Calgary policy (see <https://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/student-accommodation-policy.pdf>).

### **REQUIRED READINGS**

Most of the assigned readings are academic journal articles. Each article can be accessed on campus or with your University of Calgary VPN from the library, or from Google Scholar. These readings are marked with an “\*”. Other readers are chapters available from e-books in the library. These readings are marked, “*E-book, available from the library.*” Other readings are available on **D2L**. Finally, readings that are not available in an online format are on reserve at the library (**Reserve**). Our time in class will be best spent if you take the time to read the material in *before* coming to class.

Students should feel free to use the required readings as a starting point for their research paper.

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING**

<b>Assignment</b>	<b>Due Date</b>	<b>Weight</b>
Midterm examination	March 1, in class	25%
Research Paper Topic and Thesis	February 16, to Dropbox on D2L	10%
Research Paper	March 30, to Dropbox on D2L	35%
Final examination	Scheduled by registrar	30%

### **GRADE SCALE**

A+ = 90-100   B+ = 75-79   C+ = 63-66   D+ = 53-56  
A = 85-89   B = 70-74   C = 60-62   D = 50-52  
A- = 80-84   B- = 67-69   C- = 57-59   F = 0-49

### **Writing Statement:**

Written assignments are often required in Political Science courses, including this one, and the quality of writing skills, including but not limited to such elements as grammar, punctuation, sentence structure, clarity, citation, and organization, will be taken into account in the determination of grades. Students are encouraged to make use of the services offered through Writing Support Services in the Student Success Centre (3<sup>rd</sup> floor of the Taylor Family Digital Library) or at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/ssc/writing-support>.

### **LATE POLICY**

Extensions will only be granted for the Research Paper in exceptional, documented instances of illness or personal/family emergencies. Late Research Papers will be deducted a letter gradation per day (A to A-, A- to B+, and so on) including weekend days. **Research Papers will not be accepted 7 calendar days after the due date.**

Late research paper proposals will be assessed as a failed submission.

## **RESEARCH PAPER/PAPER PROPOSAL**

The research paper will be no more than 3500 words, double spaced, and typed in 12-point font with one-inch (2.5 cm) margins. Please include the word count on your title page. Your bibliography does not count toward the work limit. Your paper can address a question of your choice related to the course material. It can focus on Canada and/or another democracy, or it can be focused thematically.

Students may wish to include data analysis of in their research reports. Data from the 2015 election are available on D2L, but students are welcome to analyse different data, should they wish. Those who do wish to use data are encouraged to meet with me as soon as possible to discuss.

Your research paper proposal is due on **February 16 to Dropbox**. The paper proposal will include the following components:

- A clear statement of the research **question** (not topic) you have chosen. The answer to this question should form your paper's thesis statement.
- A one-paragraph explanation of why the research question is relevant and of interest.
- A one to two paragraph explanation of how you plan to conduct your research.
- A preliminary bibliography that includes at least five **academic** sources. Academic sources are books and journal articles; websites, blogs, and newspaper/magazine articles may be useful to you, but they are **not** academic sources.
- An indication if data from the 2015 election campaign will be analysed (available on D2L).

The paper proposal will be graded as a pass/fail assignment. Students who pass receive the full 10%; students who fail will receive a 0.

The purpose of your proposal is to ensure that your paper topic is workable. If I am not satisfied with the first version of the proposal, I will send it back to you for revisions. You will fail the assignment if you do not produce an acceptable proposal after receiving **TWO** sets of comments.

The final draft of the paper is due to the instructor on D2L by **March 30**. You are responsible for keeping a copy of your paper – electronic or hard copy – should any disaster befall the copy you provide to me.

## **MIDTERM and FINAL EXAMINATIONS**

An in-class midterm will be held on March 1, and will be cover all the material addressed thus far in the class. The Office of the Registrar schedules the final exam. The final exam is cumulative (2 hours). No aids, such as textbooks or notes, are permitted during the exams. More information about the exam format will be provided in class.

## **PARTICIPATION**

Some class time will be devoted to small group discussion. Students are expected to come to class prepared, having done the readings and ready to discuss them. You are not expected to agree with the material: each reading will have its strengths and weaknesses, and the research may be missing something you think ought to be included. These strengths, weaknesses,

and holes should form the basis of your classroom participation.

Note that most, if not all professors can tell if you're adrift on your technology (phones, tablets, computers, etc). Not only does this dramatically cut down on your ability to participate in class, but it also contributes to a negative learning environment for your colleagues. Given this, students who abuse technology in the classroom will be asked to stop; students who persist in their abuse of technology in the classroom will be asked to leave.

### **EMAIL POLICY**

My policy is to respond to e-mails within 24-48 hours on weekdays. Students should not expect email responses on weekends. Emails should contain a salutation and a signature. More information about the email policy will be provided on D2L.

### **COURSE SCHEDULE AND REQUIRED READINGS**

*This schedule is tentative and subject to change. Not all topics will be given equal time of weight.*

- Introduction to the Course
- Topic 1 – Foundations and Models of Voting Behaviour
  - Cameron Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson. 2010. “The Puzzle of Elections and Voting in Canada.” In Cameron Anderson and Laura Stephenson, eds., *Voting Behaviour in Canada*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, pp. 2-14 **D2L**
  - Harold Clarke, Allan Kornberg and Thomas Scotto. 2009. *Making Political Choices: Canada and the United States*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 18-24 **D2L**
- Topic 2 – Are Voters Fools?
  - Larry M. Bartels. 2008. The Irrational Electorate. *Wilson Quarterly* 32: 44-50.
  - Elisabeth Gidengil, André Blais, Neil Nevitte, and Richard Nadeau, *Citizens*, Chapters 3 and 4. **ebook, available from the library**
  - Jason Roy. 2009. “Voter Heterogeneity: Informational Differences in Voting.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 42: 117-37.
- Topic 3 – Are Canadian Voters Ideological?
  - Ronald D. Lambert, James E. Curtis, Steven D. Brown, and Barry J. Kay. 1986. “In Search of Left/Right Beliefs in the Canadian Electorate.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 19: 541-63
  - Michael Lusztig and J. Matthew Wilson (2005) “A New Right? Moral Issues and Partisan Change in Canada.” *Social Science Quarterly* 86(1): 109-28
- Topic 4 – Are Canadians Partisans?
  - Richard Johnston. 2006. Party Identification: Unmoved Mover or Sum of Preferences? *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 329-351.
  - Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte, André Blais, Joanna Everitt and Patrick Fournier. 2012. *Dominance and Decline: Making Sense of Recent Canadian Elections*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, chapter 4. **ebook, available from the library, and D2L**

- Topic 5 – Cleavage Politics (class, religion, language)
  - Elisabeth Gidengil. 2002. “The Class Voting Conundrum.” In Douglas Baer, ed., *Political Sociology: Canadian Perspectives*, Don Mills, Oxford University Press, pp. 307-324. **ebook, available from the library**
  - André Blais. 2005. “Accounting for the Success of the Liberal Party of Canada.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 38(4): 821-40
  - Arend Lijphart. 1979. “Religious vs Linguistic vs Class Voting: The “Crucial Experiment” of Comparing Belgium, Canada, South Africa, and Switzerland.” *The American Political Science Review* 73(2): 442-458.
  
- Topic 7 – Ethnicity and Voting
  - André Blais. 2005. “Accounting for the Success of the Liberal Party of Canada.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 38(4): 821-40
  - Allison Harell. 2013. “Revisiting the ‘Ethnic’ Vote: Liberal Allegiance and Vote Choice among Racialized Minorities.” In Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop, eds. *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press. <http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary/reader.action?ppg=161&docID=10645966&tm=1481748199133>
  
- Topic 8 – Territorial Divides
  - Cameron Anderson. 2010. “Regional heterogeneity and Policy Preferences in Canada, 1979- 2006.” *Regional & Federal Studies* 20: 447-68.
  - Elisabeth Gidengil, André Blais, Neil Nevitte and Richard Nadeau. 1999. “Making Sense of Regional Voting in the 1997 Federal Election: Liberal and Reform Support Outside Quebec.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 32: 247-72.
  - R. Alan Walks. 2004. “Place of Residence, Party Preferences and Political Attitudes in Canadian Cities and Suburbs.” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 26(3): 269-95.
  - *Canadian Election Analysis: Communication, Strategy, and Democracy*, eds Alex Marland and Thierry Giasson. pp 98-104. <http://www.ubcpres.ca/canadianelectionanalysis2015/CanadianElectionAnalysis2015.pdf>
  
- Topic 9 – The Gender Gap
  - Elisabeth Gidengil, Joanna Everitt, André Blais, Patrick Fournier and Neil Nevitte. 2013. “Explaining the Modern Gender Gap.” In Robert Lexier and Tamara Small, eds., *Mind the Gaps: Canadian Perspectives on Gender and Politics*, Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, pp. 48-63. **D2L**
  - Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant and Julie Croskill. 2011. “Gender Affinity Effects in Vote Choice in Westminster Systems: Assessing “Flexible” Voters in Canada.” *Politics & Gender* 7: 223-250.
  
- Topic 10 – Do Canadians Vote their Pocketbooks?
  - Richard Nadeau, André Blais, Neil Nevitte and Elisabeth Gidengil (2000) “It’s Unemployment, Stupid! Why Perceptions about the Job Situation Hurt the

- Liberals in the 1997 Election.” *Canadian Public Policy* 26: 77-94.
- Kat Chzchen, Geoffrey Evans, and Mark Pickup. 2013. “When do Economic Perceptions Matter for Party Approval?” *Political Behavior* 36(2): 291-313.
  - Stuart N. Soroka, Dominik A. Stecula, and Christopher Wlezien. “It’s (Change in) the (Future) Economy, Stupid: Economic Indicators, the Media, and Public Opinion.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59(2): 457-474.
- Topic 11 – Do Issues Matter?
    - Éric Bélanger and Bonnie Meguid. 2008. “Issue Salience, Issue Ownership and Issue-Based Vote Choice.” *Electoral Studies* 27(3): 477-91.
    - André Blais, Mathieu Turgeon, Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte and Richard Nadeau. 2004. “Which Matters Most? Comparing the Impact of Issues and the Economy in American, British and Canadian Elections.” *British Journal of Political Science* 34(3): 355-63.
  - Topic 12 – Are Canadian Elections Leader-Centred?
    - Amanda Bittner, 2010. “Personality Matters: The Evaluation of Party Leaders in Canadian Elections.” In Cameron D. Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson, eds., *Voting Behaviour in Canada*, Chapter 8 **D2L**
    - Richard Johnston. 2002. “Prime Ministerial Contenders in Canada.” In *Leaders’ Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. ed. Anthony King. Oxford: Oxford University Press  
<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.1093/0199253137.003.0006>
  - Topic 13 – Do Campaigns Matter?
    - Richard Johnston, André Blais, Henry E. Brady, and Jean Crête. 1992. *Letting the People Decide: Dynamics of a Canadian Election*, Chapter 8 and Epilogue. **ebook, available from the library**
    - André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, Richard Nadeau and Neil Nevitte. 2003. “Campaign Dynamics in the 2000 Canadian Election: How the Leader Debates Salvaged the Conservative Party.” *Political Science & Politics* 36(1): 45-50.
    - Patrick Fournier, Richard Nadeau, André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil and Neil Nevitte. 2004. “Time-of-Voting Decision and Susceptibility to Campaign Effects.” *Electoral Studies* 23: 661-81.
    - Stuart Soroka, Fred Cutler, Dietlind Stolle and Patrick Fournier. Capturing Change (and Stability) in the 2011 Campaign. 2011. *Policy Options* June-July 2011: 70-77.
    - *Canadian Election Analysis: Communication, Strategy, and Democracy*, eds Alex Marland and Thierry Giasson. pp 1-9.  
<http://www.ubcpres.ca/canadianelectionanalysis2015/CanadianElectionAnalysis2015.pdf>
  - Topic 14 – Voter Turnout
    - André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte, and Richard Nadeau. 2004. “Where does turnout decline come from?” *European Journal of Political Research* 43(2): 221-236.

- Robert Bond, Christopher Fariss, Jason Jones, Adam Frammer, Cameron Marlow, Jaime Settle, and James Fowler. “A 61-million-person experiment in social influence and political mobilization.” *Nature* 489(7415): 295-298.
- Alan Gerber, Donald Green, and Christopher Larimer. 2008. “Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment.” *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 33-48.
- Allison Harell, Dimitrios Panagos, and J. Scott Matthews. 2009. “Explaining Aboriginal Turnout in Federal Elections: Evidence from Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba.” *Elections Canada*.  
<http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1407&context=aprci>
- Topic 15 – Loser’s Consent
  - Christopher J. Anderson, André Blais, Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, and Ola Listhaug. 2007. *Loser’s Consent: Elections and Democratic Legitimacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1.  
<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.1093/0199276382.003.0001>

## **IMPORTANT POLICIES AND INFORMATION**

### Absence From a Mid-term Examination:

Students who are absent from a scheduled term test or quiz for legitimate reasons (e.g. illness with the appropriate documentation) are responsible for contacting the instructor via email within 48 hours of the missed test to discuss alternative arrangements. A copy of this email may be requested as proof of the attempt to contact the instructor. Any student who fails to do so forfeits the right to a makeup test.

### Deferral of a Final Examination:

Deferral of a final examination can be granted for reasons of illness, domestic affliction, and unforeseen circumstances, as well as to those with three (3) final exams scheduled within a 24-hour period. Deferred final exams will not be granted to those who sit the exam, who have made travel arrangements that conflict with their exam, or who have misread the examination timetable. The decision to allow a deferred final exam rests not with the instructor but with Enrolment Services. Instructors should, however, be notified if you will be absent during the examination. The Application for Deferred Final Exam, deadlines, requirements and submission instructions can be found on the Enrolment Services website at <https://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar/exams/deferred-exams>.

### Appeals:

If a student has a concern about the course or a grade they have been assigned, they must first discuss their concerns with the instructor. If this does not resolve the matter, the student can then proceed with an academic appeal. The first step in an academic appeal is to set up a meeting with the Department Head.

### University Regulations:

Students are encouraged to familiarize themselves with the University policies found in the Academic Regulations sections of the Calendar at [www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/academic-regs.html](http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/academic-regs.html).

### Student Accommodations:

Students seeking an accommodation based on disability or medical concerns should contact Student Accessibility Services; SAS will process the request and issue letters of accommodation to instructors. For additional information on support services and accommodations for students with disabilities, visit [www.ucalgary.ca/access/](http://www.ucalgary.ca/access/).

Students who require an accommodation in relation to their coursework based on a protected ground other than disability should communicate this need in writing to their Instructor.

The full policy on Student Accommodations is available at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/student-accommodation-policy.pdf>.

### Plagiarism And Other Forms Of Academic Misconduct:

Academic misconduct in any form (e.g. cheating, plagiarism) is a serious academic offence that can lead to disciplinary probation, suspension or expulsion from the University. Students are

expected to be familiar with the standards surrounding academic honesty; these can be found in the University of Calgary calendar at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/k-5.html>. Such offences will be taken seriously and reported immediately, as required by Faculty of Arts policy.

Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy (FOIP):

FOIP legislation requires that instructors maintain the confidentiality of student information. In practice, this means that student assignment and tests cannot be left for collection in any public place without the consent of the student. It also means that grades cannot be distributed via email. Final exams are kept by instructors but can be viewed by contacting them or the main office in the Department of Political Science. Any uncollected assignments and tests will be destroyed after three months; final examinations are destroyed after one year.

Evacuation Assembly Points:

In the event of an emergency evacuation from class, students are required to gather in designated assembly points. Please check the list found at [www.ucalgary.ca/emergencyplan/assemblypoints](http://www.ucalgary.ca/emergencyplan/assemblypoints) and note the assembly point nearest to your classroom.

Faculty of Arts Program Advising and Student Information Resources:

For program planning and advice, visit the Arts Students' Centre in Social Sciences 102, call 403-220-3580 or email [artsads@ucalgary.ca](mailto:artsads@ucalgary.ca). You can also visit [arts.ucalgary.ca/advising](http://arts.ucalgary.ca/advising) for program assistance.

For registration (add/drop/swap), paying fees and assistance with your Student Centre, contact Enrolment Services at (403) 210-ROCK [7625] or visit their office in the MacKimmie Library Block.

Important Contact Information:

Campus Security and Safewalk (24 hours a day/7 days a week/365 days a year)  
Phone: 403-220-5333

Faculty of Arts Undergraduate Students' Union Representatives

Phone: 403-220-6551

Email: [arts1@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts1@su.ucalgary.ca), [arts2@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts2@su.ucalgary.ca), [arts3@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts3@su.ucalgary.ca),  
[arts4@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts4@su.ucalgary.ca)

Students' Union URL: [www.su.ucalgary.ca](http://www.su.ucalgary.ca)

Graduate Students' Association

Phone: 403-220-5997

Email: [ask@gsa.ucalgary.ca](mailto:ask@gsa.ucalgary.ca)

URL: [www.ucalgary.ca/gsa](http://www.ucalgary.ca/gsa)

Student Ombudsman

Phone: 403-220-6420

Email: [ombuds@ucalgary.ca](mailto:ombuds@ucalgary.ca)