POLITICAL CONTESTATION IN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

POLITICAL SCIENCE 891

Fall 2023

Professor Liesbet Hooghe
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Office Hours (HM 369): TBA

Class (Greenlaw 319): Monday 3:00-6:00pm

Welcome!

This course is specifically designed to cater to MA students aiming to gain a comprehensive understanding of political conflict in Europe and the United States. It delves into the underlying causes of intense partisanship, the radicalization of conservative political parties, and the emergence of influential green and nationalist parties. By exploring the ongoing debates among political and social scientists, the course aims to elucidate the factors driving these phenomena. A key question is the extent to which elites and their behavior bear responsibility for these developments, or if political conflict and polarization are primarily driven by voter grievances. Additionally, the course examines whether a new cleavage has emerged and, if so, the precise stakes involved.

Throughout the course, considerable emphasis is placed on your active engagement. All assignments center around in-class preparation or participation, encompassing both prepared and extemporaneous oral contributions as well as written work. An added benefit is that there are no final exams, final papers, or midterms once the classes conclude.

Professor Liesbet Hooghe

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Assignments and Grading

The emphasis in this course is on your active engagement: all assignments center on in-class preparation or participation, orally (prepared or extemporaneous) and written. The flipside is that you're done once classes end – no final exam, no final paper, no midterm.

1.   **Presentation and leading discussion on ONE reading twice a semester, shared with a classmate [30%** of the course grade]. Your team's goal is twofold:

     A) prepare a PPT that summarizes the key arguments.

     - Explain the research question/ puzzle

     - What are the contending expectations/ alternative explanations (if any)?

     - What evidence does the author bring to bear, and how does the author substantiate their claims?

     - What is the "take-away" from this article/(set of) chapters?

     - What (if any) are the open questions remaining?

     - Use 5-7 slides for a reading, and please use large font (28 point is generally best). **Your PPT presentation is around 10 minutes.**

     B) select **three questions** from those submitted by your classmates, and use these to introduce class discussion

     PLEASE COORDINATE CLOSELY WITH THE PERSON(S) WITH WHOM YOU ARE SHARING THE PRESENTATION. **Please send your PPT presentation to hooghe@unc.edu by Sunday eve 7pm.**

2.   **Weekly submission of a question on the readings [20%].** Upload your question to Canvas **by Sunday 7pm** before each discussion session [not required if you present that week**]. Please pay attention to the following two requirements:**

     - Please write down which reading you focus on;

     - Limit your question to maximum 50 words**.**

3. Weekly participation in seminar discussion [20%]. This is a seminar-style course involving discussion and debate. Please come to class fully prepared to discuss the readings for that week.

4.   **Two discussion papers [2x15%=30%]** on the readings for any two weeks of the class except the weeks in which you present (c. 400 words). **ONE OF THESE PAPERS IS DUE BEFORE OCTOBER 16.** The discussion paper should cover the key arguments, contribution, and limitations of ONE of the required readings for a particular week. Post on Canvas your

discussion paper by **7pm Sunday prior to class**. Discussion papers sent later will not be graded. Your discussion paper should engage the following topics:

- What is the research question/ puzzle?

- Summarize the argument in a sentence or two, and then break this argument down into its chief components.

- How does the author go about "making" their case? Is the author using evidence, and is this evidence appropriate for the inquiry?

- What is the chief strength of this research design? What is the chief weakness in the design or argumentation?

- What is the big take-away?

Class attendance is mandatory. If you need to miss class for some reason, such as a personal emergency, please email me as soon as it practicable to do so. I grant excused absences in reasonable circumstances, but I may ask you to complete an additional assignment.

Key books:

Catherine De Vries and Sara B. Hobolt. 2020. *Political Entrepreneurs: The Rise of Challenger Parties in Europe*. Princeton: PUP.

Arlie Russell Hochschild. 2018. *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right*. New York: The New Press.

Nathan P. Kalmoe and Liliana Mason. 2022. *Radical American Partisanship.* Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

Martin Wolf. 2023. *The crisis of democratic capitalism*. Penguin Press.

BOOKS AND READINGS

All readings will be posted on Canvas.

<u>*Note on readings:*</u> *EVERYONE READS CORE READINGS*

*** core reading – a team of two introduces the reading*

 # highly recommended, but optional

August 21: Introduction and organization

PART ONE: CHANGING CLEAVAGE POLITICS IN EUROPE

August 28: Cleavage Theory

**Ford, Robert and Will Jennings. 2020. The Changing Cleavage Politics of Western Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 23:295-314.

**Marks, Gary, David Attewell, Liesbet Hooghe, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen. 2022. The social bases of political parties: A new measure and survey. *British Journal of Political Science* (online Feb 2022 || https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123421000740).

Resources

#Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1990. Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments. In Peter Mair, ed. *The West European Party System* (pp. 91-138). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

#Kriesi, Hanspeter. 1998. The transformation of cleavage politics: the 1997 Stein Rokkan lecture. *European Journal of Political Research* 33(2): 165–185.

Bartolini, Stefano. 2000. *The Class Cleavage: The Electoral Mobilisation of the European Left 1860–1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bartolini, Stefano. and Peter Mair. 1990. *Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability: The Stabilisation of European Electorates, 1885–1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Best, Robin E. 2011. The declining electoral relevance of traditional cleavage groups. *European Political Science Review* 3(2): 279-300.

Bornschier, Simon. 2010. *Cleavage Politics and the Populist Right: The New Cultural Conflict in Western Europe*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Dalton, Russell. 2018. *Political Realignment: Economics, Culture and Electoral Change*. Oxford: OUP, chapter 1.

Franklin, Mark. 1992. The decline of cleavage politics. In M. Franklin, T.T. Mackie, and H. Valen (eds.), *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 381–402.

Goldberg AC. 2020. The evolution of cleavage voting in four Western countries: structural, behavioral, or political dealignment? *European Journal of Political Research* 59(1), 68–90.

Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2016. The Politicization of European integration. *Journal of Common Market Studies,* 54 (Annual Review): 32-47.

Marks, Gary and Carole Wilson. 2000. The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Positions on European Integration. *British Journal of Political Science* 30: 433-59.

SEPT 4 – LABOR DAY

Sept 11: The Transnational Divide

**VIDEO – TRANSNATIONAL CLEAVAGE:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VygyuJFxCt4&list=PLctYgE-cUDs4soOidLV4psrCT65ZEi5l3&index=13

**Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2018. Cleavage theory meets Europe's crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the transnational cleavage. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25 (1): 109-135.

**Jackson, Daniel and Seth Jolly. 2021. A new divide? Assessing the transnational-nationalist dimension among political parties and the public across the EU. *European Union Politics,* 22(2): 316-329.

Resources

#Hahm, Hyeonho, David Hilpert, Thomas König. 2022. Divided by Europe: affective polarisation in the context of European elections. *West European Politics, Nov 2022 https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2022.2133277*

#Marks, Gary, David Attewell, Jan Rovny, and Liesbet Hooghe. 2021. Cleavage Theory. In: *Handbook on EU Crisis*, edited by Marianne Riddervold, Jarle Trondal and Akasemi Newsome. London: Palgrave, 173-198.

Beramendi, Pablo, Silja Häusermann, Herbert Kitschelt, and Hanspeter Kriesi. eds. *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 202–30.

Boix, Carles. 2019. Democratic Capitalism at the Crossroads: Technological Change and the Future of Politics. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

De Vries, Catherine. 2018. The cosmopolitan-parochial divide: changing patterns of party and electoral competition in the Netherlands and beyond. Journal of *European Public Policy*, 25 (11): 1541-1565.

Demker, Marie and Pontus Odmalm. 2021. From governmental success to governmental breakdown: how a new dimension of conflict tore apart the politics of migration of the Swedish centre-right. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(2): 425-40.

Grande, Edgar and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2016. Conclusions: The Postfunctionalists were (almost) right. In Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande, Hanspeter Kriesi (eds). 2016. *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*, pp. 279-300. Cambridge University Press.

Häusermann, Silja and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2015. What Do Voters Want? Dimensions and Configurations in Individual-Level Preferences and Party Choice. In P. Beramendi, S. Häusermann, H. Kitschelt, & H. Kriesi (eds), *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Helbling, Marc, and Sebastian Jungkunz. 2020. Social divides in the age of globalization. *West European Politics* 43(6): 1187–1210.

Hix, Simon. 1999. Dimensions and alignments in European Union. Cognitive constraints and partisan responses. *European Journal of Political research,* 35: 69-106.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2009. A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39:1, 1–23.

Huddy, Leonie, Alexa Bankert, and Caitlin Davies. 2018. Expressive versus instrumental partisanship in multiparty European systems. *Political Psychology*, 39(3): 173–199.

Hutter, Swen, Edgar Grande, Hanspeter Kriesi (eds) 2016. *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hutter, Swen and Hanspeter Kriesi eds. 2019. *European Party Politics in Times of Crisis*. Cambridge U Press (esp. ch. 16: A critical juncture for the structuration of party systems?).

Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2019. *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit and Authoritarian Populism*. Cambridge University Press.

Iversen, Torben & David Soskice. 2019. *Democracy and Prosperity: Reinventing Capitalism through a Turbulent Century*. Princeton: PUP.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Timotheos Frey. 2006. *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lancaster, Caroline M. 2022. Value Shift: Immigration Attitudes and the Sociocultural Divide. *British Journal of Political Science*, 52(1): 1 – 20.

Lancaster, Caroline. M. 2022. Immigration and the sociocultural divide in Central and Eastern Europe: Stasis or evolution? *European Journal of Political Research*, 61(2), 544-565.

Oesch, Daniel and Line Rennwald. 2018. Electoral competition in Europe's new tripolar political space: Class voting for the left, centre-right and radical right. *European Journal of Political Research* 57 (4), 783-807.

Oesch, Daniel. 2006. Coming to Grips with a Changing Class Structure. *International Sociology,* 21 (2): 263-288.

Zollinger, Delia. 2022. Cleavage Identities in Voters' Own Words: Harnessing Open-Ended Survey Responses. *American Journal of Political Science,* Sept 2022, https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12743

Sept 18: Education and the new cleavage

**Video of TAM lecture on education and transnational divide –Hooghe & Marks
  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jhF_cTlS8iY

**Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks, Jonne Kamphorst. 2023. Field of education and voting on the GALTAN divide. Working paper.

**Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Simon Hix. 2020. Brahmin Left vs. Merchant Right? Education, class, multiparty competition, and redistribution in Western Europe. *British Journal of Sociology,* 72: 79-92.

Resources:

#Kunst, Sander, Theresa Kuhn, Herman Van de Werfhorst. 2022. As the twig is bent, the tree is inclined? The role of parental versus own education for openness towards globalization. *European Union Politics*, https://doi.org/10.1177/14651165221140230 (online first, Nov 22, 2022).

Attewell, David. 2022. Redistribution attitudes and vote choice across the educational divide. *European Journal of Political Research*, 61: 1080-1101.

Barro, Robert J. and Jong-Wha Lee. 2015. *Education matters: Global Schooling Gains from the 19th to the 21st Century.* New York: OUP.

Bovens, Mark and Anchrit Wille. 2017. *Diploma Democracy: The Rise of Political Meritocracy.* Oxford: OUP.

Breen, Richard and Walter Müller eds. 2020. *Education and Intergenerational Social Mobility in Europe and the United States*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Broćić, Miloš and Andrew Miles. 2021. College and the 'culture war': Assessing higher education's influence on moral attitudes. *American Sociological Review* 86(5): 856-95.

Busemeyer, Marius R. 2014. *Skills and Inequality: Partisan Politics and the political economy of education reforms in Western welfare state*s. Cambridge: CUP.

Busemeyer, Marius, Simon T Franzmann, Julian Garritzman. 2013. Who owns education? Cleavage structures in the partisan competition over educational expansion. *West European Politics,* 36(3): 521-46.

Carnevale, Anthony, Nicole Smith, Lenka Draˇzanová, Artem Gulish and Kathryn Campbell. 2020. *The Role of Education in Taming Authoritarian Attitudes*. Georgetown Center on Education and the Workforce Report.

Cavaille, Charlotte and John Marshall. 2019. Education and anti-immigration attitudes: Evidence from compulsory schooling reforms across Western Europe. *American Political Science Review*, 113(1): 254-63.

Corno, Lucia and Michela Carlana. 2021. *Parents and Peers: Gender Stereotypes in the Field of Study.* London: Centre for Economic Policy research, DP16582.

Elchardus, Mark and Bram Spruyt. 2009. The culture of academic disciplines and the sociopolitical attitudes of students: A test of selection and socialization effects. *Social Science Quarterly* 90(2): 446-460.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2022. *The social roots of the transnational cleavage: Education, occupation, and sex.* RSCAS Working Paper 2022/53 (July 2022) || Online Appendix

Kunst, Sander. 2020. Learning to love cosmopolitanism? Testing the socialization effect of educational field of study on cosmopolitan orientations in the Netherlands. *SocArXiv*, 2020/7.

Kuppens, T., Easterbrook, M. J., Spears, R., & Manstead, A. S. R. 2015. Life at Both Ends of the Ladder: Education-Based Identification and Its Association With Well-Being and Social Attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *41*(9), 1260–1275.

Ladd, Everett C., and Seymour Martin Lipset. 1975. *The Divided Academy: Professors and Politics*. Berkeley, CA: Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

Lancee, Bram, and Oriane Sarrasin. 2015. Educated preferences or selection effects? A longitudinal analysis of the impact of educational attainment on attitudes towards immigrants. *European Sociological Review* 31(4): 490-501

Margaryan, Shushanik, Annemarie Paul, and Thomas Siedler. 2021. Does education affect attitudes towards immigration? Evidence from Germany. *Journal of Human Resources* 56(2): 446-79.

Schofer, Evan, Francisco O. Ramirez, John W. Meyer. 2020. The societal consequences of higher education. *Sociology of Education,* 94(1):1-19.

Simon, Elizabeth. 2022. Demystifying the link between higher education and liberal values: A within-sibship analysis of British individuals' attitudes from 1994–2020. *The British Journal of Sociology*. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12972

Stubager, Rune. 2008. Education effects on authoritarian-libertarian values: A question of socialization. *British Journal of Sociology* 59(2): 327-50.

Stubager, Rune. 2010. The development of the education cleavage: Denmark as a critical case. *West European Politics* 33(3): 505-533.

Van de Werfhorst, Herman G. and Nan-Dirk de Graaf. 2004. The sources of political orientations in post-industrial society: Social class and education revisited. *British Journal of Sociology* 55(2): 211-235.

Van de Werfhorst, Herman and Gerbert Kraaykamp. 2001. Four field-related educational resources and their impact on labor, consumption, and sociopolitical orientation. *Sociology of Education,* 74(4): 296-317.

Zingher, Joshua N. 2022. Diploma divide: Educational attainment and the realignment of the American electorate. *Political Research Quarterly* 75(2): 263-277.

Sept 25: Social bases of the new cleavage: location, status, occupation

**Maxwell, Rahsaan. 2019. Cosmopolitan immigration attitudes in large European cities: Contextual or compositional effects? *American Political Science Review, 113(2): 456-74.*

**McNeil, Andrew and Charlotte Haberstroh. 2022. Intergenerational social mobility and the Brexit vote: How social origins and destinations divide Britain. *European Journal of Political Research, doi: 10.1111/1475-6765.12526.*

Resources

#Gidron, Noam, and Peter A. Hall. 2017. The politics of social status: Economic and cultural roots of the populist right. *British Journal of Sociology.*

#Bornschier, Simon, Silja Häusermann, Delia Zollinger, Céline Colombo. 2022. How "Us" and "Them" Relates to Voting Behavior – Social Structure, Social Identities, and Electoral Choice. *Comparative Political Studies* 54(12): 2087-2122.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Thomas Kurer. 2021. Economic Risk within the Household and Voting for the Radical Right. *World Politics,* 73 (3), 482-511.

Albertini, Marco, Gabriele Ballarino, Deborah De Luca. 2020. Social Class, Work-Related Incomes, and Socio-Economic Polarization in Europe, 2005–2014. *European Sociological Review*, 36 (4): 513–532.

Benedetto, Giacomo, Simon Hix, Nicola Mastrorocco. 2020. The Rise and Fall of Social Democracy, 1918–2017. *American Political Science Review,* 114(3): 1918-2017.

Fitzgerald, Jennifer. 2018. *Close to Home: Local Ties and Voting Radical Right in Europe*. Cambridge: CUP.

Gidron, Noam, and Peter Hall. 2020. Populism as a Problem of Social Integration. *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 53(7).

Harteveld, Eelco and Elisabeth Ivarsflaten. 2018. Why women avoid the radical right: Internalized norms and party reputations. *British Journal of Political Science*, 48(2): 369-384.

Häusermann, Silja and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2015. What do voters want? Dimensions and configurations in individual-level preferences and party choice. In P. Beramendi, S. Häusermann, H. Kitschelt, and H. Kriesi (eds.), *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 202–30.

Häusermann, Silja. 2020. Dualization and Electoral Realignment. Political Science Research and Methods, 8(2), 380–385.

Im, Zhen Jie, Nonna Mayer, Bruno Palier, and Jan Rovny. 2019. The 'losers of automation': A Reservoir of votes for the radical right. Research & Politics, 2019: 1-7.

Kaihovaara, Antti and Zhen Jie Im. 2020. Jobs at risk? Task routineness, offshorability, and attitudes toward immigration. *European Political Science Review*, 12: 327–345.

Kurer, Thomas. 2020. The Declining Middle: Occupational Change, Social Status, and the Populist Right. *Comparative Political Studies, 53 (10-11),* https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414020912283

Margalit, Yotam. 2019. Economic Insecurity and the Causes of Populism, Reconsidered. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 33(4): pp. 152-70

Pardos-Prado, Sergi. 2020. Labour Market Dualism and Immigration Policy Preferences. Journal of European Public Policy, 27 (2), 188-207.

Rovny, Allison E. and Jan Rovny. 2017. Outsiders at the ballot box: Operationalizations and political consequences of the insider–outsider dualism. *Socio-Economic Review* 15 (1): 161–185.

Sass, Katharina and Stein Kuhnle. 2022. The gender cleavage: Updating Rokkanian theory for the twenty-first century. *Oxford Review of Education* 36(3): 325-344.

Zollinger, Delia. 2022. Cleavage identities in voters' own words: Harnessing open-ended survey responses. *American Journal of Political Science* 1-21. DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12743

PART TWO: ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES

Oct 2: Spatial theory – the strategic space within actors play

** Video of EGPP talk by De Vries: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Fpx0sd-34Y

De Vries, Catherine and Sara B. Hobolt. 2019. Ch1 (rise of challenger parties), and Ch 2 (A Theory of Political Change). *Political Entrepreneurs: The Rise of Challenger Parties in Europe*. Princeton UP. UNC library: [https://www-degruyter-com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/document/doi/10.1515/9780691206547/html]

**Chou, Winston, Rafaela Dancygier, Naoki Egami, and Amaney A. Jamal. 2021. Competing for Loyalists? How Party Positioning Affects Populist Radical Right Voting. *Comparative Political Studies,* 54(12): 2226-60.

Resources

#Downs, Anthony. 1957. An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy. *The Journal of Political Economy* 65(2): 135-150.

#Dassonneville, Ruth. 2023. *Voters under Pressure: Group-Based Cross-Pressure and Electoral Volatility.* OUP.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Peter B. Mortensen. 2020. Parties' policy adjustments in response to changes in issue saliency. West European Politcs, 43(4): 749-771.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik, and Lukas F. Stoetzer. 2020. How parties react to voter transitions. *American Political Science Review,* 114(3): 940-45.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik, and Werner Krause. 2020. The causal effect of radical right success on mainstream parties policy positions: a regression discontinuity approach. *British Journal of Political Science,* 50(3): 829-47.

Adams, James, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2009. Policy adjustments by parties in response to rival parties policy shifts. *British Journal of Political Science,* 39(4): 825-46.

Aldrich, H.E. 2007. *Organizations and Environments.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Budge, Ian. 1994. A new spatial theory of party competition: Uncertainty, ideology, and policy equilibria viewed comparatively and temporally. *British Journal of Political Science,* 24(4): 443-67.

Dassonneville, Ruth and Michael Lewis-Beck. 2014. Macroeconomics, economic crisis and electoral outcomes: A national European pool. *Acta Politica,* 372-94.

De Sio, Leonardo and Tim Weber. 2014. Issue yield: A model of party strategy in multidimensional space. *American Political Science Review,* 108(4): 870-85.

De Vries, Catherine and Sara B. Hobolt. 2012. "When dimensions collide: the electoral success of issue entrepreneurs", *European Union Politics* 13(2): 246–68.

Ezrow, Lawrence, Catherine De Vries, Marco Steenbergen, Erica Edwards. 2011. Mean voter representation versus partisan constituency representation. *Party Politics,* 17(3): 275-301.

Green-Pedersen, Christoffer. 2019. *The Reshaping of West European Party Politics*. Oxford: OUP.

Hobolt, Sara B. and Catherine De Vries. 2015. Issue entrepreneurship and multiparty competition. *Comparative Political Studies,* 48(9): 1159-85.

Kristensen, Thomas Artmann, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Peter B. Mortensen, and Henrik Bech Seeberg. 2022. Avoiding or engaging problems? Issue ownership, problem indicators, and party issue competition. Journal of European Public Policy, DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2022.2135754

Rovny, J. 2015. "Riker and Rokkan: remarks on the strategy and structure of party competition", *Party Politics* 21(6): 912–18.

Rueda, Daniel. 2021. Is populism a political strategy? A critique of an enduring approach. *Political Studies,* 69(2): 167-184.

Spoon, Jae-Jae, Sara B. Hobolt, Catherine De Vries. 2014. Going green: Explaining issue competition on the environment. *European Journal of Political Research,* 53(2): 363-80.

Oct 16: The deep story – cultural sociology (or anthropology) and grappling with discontent

**Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 2018. *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right*. New York: The New Press, Part III and IV. [UNC library: https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/lib/unc/detail.action?docID=4549514]

Resources

#Cramer, Katherine J. 2022. The qualitative study of public opinion. Handbook on Politics and Public Opinion, edited by Thomas Rudolph. Edgar Elgar.

Cramer, Katherine J. 2016. *The Politics of Resentment. Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker*. U of Chicago.

Lamont, Michele. 2023. *Seeing Others: How Recognition Works and How It Can Heal a Divided World.* Simon & Schuster/ Penguin.

Lamont, Michele 2000. *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, and Immigration.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Lamont, Michele. 1992. *Money, morals, and manners: The culture of the French and the American upper-middle class.* University of Chicago Press.

Westheuser, Linus. 2022. Theorizing cleavage identities: The contribution of cultural sociology. SocArXiv.

Oct 23 – Data on political parties, public opinion (lecture)

An introduction on datasets, opportunities, limits

Oct 30: Globalization and its backlash

**Rodrik, Dani. 2021. Why does globalization fuel populism? Economics, culture, and the rise of right-wing populism. *Annual Review of Economics*, Vol. 13:133-170

**Ballard-Rosa, Mashail A Malik, Stephanie J Rickard, Kenneth Scheve. 2021. The economic origins of authoritarian values: Evidence from local trade shocks in the United Kingdom. *Comparative Political Studies 54(13).*

Resources

#Ballard-Rosa, Cameron, Amalia Jensen, Kenneth Scheve. 2022. Economic Decline, Social Identity, and Authoritarian Values in the United States. *International Studies* 66(1).

Broz, J. Lawrence, Jeffrey Frieden, and Stephen Weymouth. 2021. "Populism in Place: The Economic Geography of the Globalization Backlash." *International Organization,* 75(2): 464-94

Copelovitch, Mark and Jon Pevehouse. 2019. "International Organizations in a New Era of Populist Nationalism." *Review of International Organizations,* 14: 169–86.

De Vries, Catherine, Sara Hobolt, Stefanie Walter. 2021. Politicizing International Cooperation: The Mass Public, Political Entrepreneurs, and Political Opportunity Structures. *International Organization*, vol 75(2).

De Wilde, Pieter, Ruud Koopmans, Wolfgang Merkel, Oliver Strijbis, Michael Zürn (eds). 2019. *The Struggle over Borders: Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism*. Cambridge, UK: CUP.

Dellmuth, Lisa, Jan Aart Scholte, Jonas Tallberg, Soetkin Verhaegen. 2022. The Elite-citizen gap in international organization legitimacy. *American Political Science Review,* 116(1): 283-300.

Flaherty, Thomas M. and Ronald Rogowski. 2021. "Rising Inequality As a Threat to the Liberal International Order." *International Organization,* 75(2): 495-523.

Goldstein, Judith and Robert Gulotty. 2021. "America and the Trade Regime: What Went Wrong?". *International Organization,* 75(2): 524-57.

Grande, Edgar and Swen Hutter. 2016. Beyond authority transfer: explaining the politicization of Europe. *West European Politics* 39(1): 23–43.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2009. A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science,* 39(1): 1-23

Hooghe, Liesbet, Tobias Lenz, and Gary Marks. 2019. Contested World Order: The Delegitimation of International Governance. *Review of International Organizations,* 14(4): 731-43.

Hutter, Swen, Edgar Grande, Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.) 2016. *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

McNamara, Kathleen R. and Abraham L. Newman. 2020. The Big Reveal: COVID-19 and Globalization's Great Transformations. *International Organization,* 74(S): E59-E77.

Mutz, Diana. 2021. *Winners and Losers: The Psychology of Foreign Trade*. Princeton UP, esp. Ch 2-4. UNC library [https://www-degruyter-com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/document/doi/10.1515/9780691203041/html]

Mutz, Diana C. 2018. Status threat, not economic hardship, explains the 2016 presidential vote. *PNAS, www.pnas.org/cgi/doi/10.1073/pnas.1718155115.*

Owen, Erica and Noel P. Johston. 2017. "Occupation and the Political Economy: Job Routineness, Offshorability, and Protectionist Sentiment." *International Organization,* 71(4): 665-99.

Sobolewska, Maria, and Robert Ford. 2020. *Brexitland*. Cambridge University Press.

Steiner, Nils D. and Philipp Harms. 2021. Trade shocks and the nationalist backlash in political attitudes: panel data evidence from Great Britain. *Journal of European Public Policy* https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.2002925.

Teney, C., Lacewell, O. P., & De Wilde, P. (2014). Winners and losers of globalization in Europe: attitudes and ideologies. *European Political Science Review*, *6*(4), 575-595.

Voeten, Erik. 2022. "Is the Public Backlash against Globalization a Backlash against Legalization and Judicialization?" *International Studies Review,* 22: 1-17.

Walter, Stefanie. 2021. The backlash against globalization. *Annual Review of Political Science, 24: 421-42.*

Zürn, Michael, Martin Binder, and Matthias Ecker-Ehrhardt. 2012. "International Authority and Its Politicization." International Theory, 4(1): 69-106.

Zürn, Michael. 2018. A Theory of Global Governance: Authority, Legitimacy and Contestation. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nov 13: Affective polarization

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PART THREE: CHANGING POLITICS IN AMERICA

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Nov 27: Polarization, violence, and democracy

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PART IV: WILL DEMOCRACY SURVIVE?

Dec 4 -The crisis of democratic capitalism

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**WATCH ONE of these videos:
(a) Martin Wolf at the Peterson Institute for International Economics:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DFKBXhnx6pY&t=3245s

(b) Martin Wolf at the LSE:
https://www.google.com/search?q=martin+wolf+the+crisis+of+democratic+capitalism&rlz=1C1GCEU_enUS955US955&oq=&aqs=chrome.0.69i59j46i433i512j0i512l4j69i60l2.3159j0j4&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8#fpstate=ive&vld=cid:cd40778a,vid:kcgIs8b8m0g

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University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Information for Undergraduate Classes
Fall 2023

Syllabus Changes

The professor reserves the right to make changes to the syllabus including project due dates and test dates. These changes will be announced as early as possible.

Attendance Policy

University Policy: As stated in the University's Class Attendance Policy, no right or privilege exists that permits a student to be absent from any class meetings, except for these University Approved Absences:

1. Authorized University activities

2. Disability/religious observance/pregnancy, as required by law and approved by Accessibility Resources and Service and/or the Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office (EOC)

3. Significant health condition and/or personal/family emergency as approved by the Office of the Dean of Students, Gender Violence Service Coordinators, and/or the Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office (EOC).

Class Policy: Instructors may work with students to meet attendance needs that do not fall within University approved absences. For situations when an absence is not University approved (e.g., a job interview or club activity), instructors determine their own approach to missed classes and make-up assessment and assignments.

University Approved Absence Office (UAAO): The UAAO website provides information and FAQs for students and faculty related to University Approved Absences.

Note: Instructors have the authority to make academic adjustments without official notice from the UAAO. In other words, it is not required for instructors to receive a University Approved Absence notification in order to work with a student. In fact, instructors are encouraged to work directly with students when possible.

Honor Code

All students are expected to follow the guidelines of the UNC Honor Code. In particular, students are expected to refrain from "lying, cheating, or stealing" in the academic context. If you are unsure about which actions violate the Honor Code, please see me or consult studentconduct.unc.edu.

Optional Mask Use Statement

UNC-Chapel Hill is committed to the well-being of our community – not just physically, but emotionally. The indoor mask requirement was lifted for most of campus on March 7, 2022. If you feel more comfortable wearing a mask, you are free to do so. There are many reasons why a person may decide to continue to wear a mask, and we respect that choice.

Acceptable Use Policy

By attending the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, you agree to abide by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill policies related to the acceptable use of IT systems and services. The

Acceptable Use Policy (AUP) sets the expectation that you will use the University's technology resources responsibly, consistent with the University's mission. In the context of a class, it's quite likely you will participate in online activities that could include personal information about you or your peers, and the AUP addresses your obligations to protect the privacy of class participants. In addition, the AUP addresses matters of others' intellectual property, including copyright. These are only a couple of typical examples, so you should consult the full Information Technology Acceptable Use Policy, which covers topics related to using digital resources, such as privacy, confidentiality, and intellectual property.

Additionally, consult the University website "Safe Computing at UNC" for information about the data security policies, updates, and tips on keeping your identity, information, and devices safe.

Accessibility Resources and Service

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill facilitates the implementation of reasonable accommodations, including resources and services, for students with disabilities, including mental health disorders, chronic medical conditions, a temporary disability or pregnancy complications resulting in barriers to fully accessing University courses, programs and activities.

Accommodations are determined through the Office of Accessibility Resources and Service (ARS) for individuals with documented qualifying disabilities in accordance with applicable state and federal laws. See the ARS Website for contact information: https://ars.unc.edu or email ars@unc.edu.

Counseling and Psychological Services

UNC-Chapel Hill is strongly committed to addressing the mental health needs of a diverse student body. The Heels Care Network website is a place to access the many mental resources at Carolina. CAPS is the primary mental health provider for students, offering timely access to consultation and connection to clinically appropriate services. Go to their website https://caps.unc.edu/ or visit their facilities on the third floor of the Campus Health building for an initial evaluation to learn more. Students can also call CAPS 24/7 at 919-966-3658 for immediate assistance.

Title IX Resources

Any student who is impacted by discrimination, harassment, interpersonal (relationship) violence, sexual violence, sexual exploitation, or stalking is encouraged to seek resources on campus or in the community. Reports can be made online to the EOC at https://eoc.unc.edu/report-an-incident/. Please contact the University's Title IX Coordinator (Elizabeth Hall, titleixcoordinator@unc.edu), Report and Response Coordinators in the Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office (reportandresponse@unc.edu), Counseling and Psychological Services (confidential), or the Gender Violence Services Coordinators (gvsc@unc.edu; confidential) to discuss your specific needs. Additional resources are available at safe.unc.edu.

Policy on Non-Discrimination

The University is committed to providing an inclusive and welcoming environment for all members of our community and to ensuring that educational and employment decisions are based on individuals' abilities and qualifications. Consistent with this principle and applicable laws, the University's Policy Statement on Non-Discrimination offers access to its educational programs and activities as well as employment terms and conditions without respect to race, color, gender, national origin, age, religion, genetic information, disability, veteran's status, sexual orientation, gender identity or gender

expression. Such a policy ensures that only relevant factors are considered and that equitable and consistent standards of conduct and performance are applied.

If you are experiencing harassment or discrimination, you can seek assistance and file a report through the Report and Response Coordinators (see contact info at safe.unc.edu) or the Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office, or online to the EOC at https://eoc.unc.edu/report-an-incident/.

Diversity Statement

I value the perspectives of individuals from all backgrounds reflecting the diversity of our students. I broadly define diversity to include race, gender identity, national origin, ethnicity, religion, social class, age, sexual orientation, political background, and physical and learning ability. I strive to make this classroom an inclusive space for all students. Please let me know if there is anything I can do to improve. I appreciate suggestions.

Undergraduate Testing Center

The College of Arts and Sciences provides a secure, proctored environment in which exams can be taken. The center works with instructors to proctor exams for their undergraduate students who are not registered with ARS and who do not need testing accommodations as provided by ARS. In other words, the Center provides a proctored testing environment for students who are unable to take an exam at the normally scheduled time (with pre-arrangement by your instructor). For more information, visit http://testingcenter.web.unc.edu/.

Learning Center

Want to get the most out of this course or others this semester? Visit UNC's Learning Center at http://learningcenter.unc.edu to make an appointment or register for an event. Their free, popular programs will help you optimize your academic performance. Try academic coaching, peer tutoring, STEM support, ADHD/LD services, workshops and study camps, or review tips and tools available on the website.

Writing Center

For free feedback on any course writing projects, check out UNC's Writing Center. Writing Center coaches can assist with any writing project, including multimedia projects and application essays, at any stage of the writing process. You don't even need a draft to come visit. To schedule a 45-minute appointment, review quick tips, or request written feedback online, visit http://writingcenter.unc.edu.

Grade Appeal Process

If you feel you have been awarded an incorrect grade, please discuss with me. If we cannot resolve the issue, you may talk to our departmental director of undergraduate studies or appeal the grade through a formal university process based on arithmetic/clerical error, arbitrariness, discrimination, harassment, or personal malice. To learn more, go to the Academic Advising Program website.