

# **Socio-political Marketing**

**Master in Marketing**

**Master in Political Science**

**Academic year 2023-24, spring semester**

**10 ECTS**

**Mondays and Wednesdays, 10:30 to 13:00**

***Please be aware that this syllabus is currently in a provisional version and may undergo further refinements***

## **Coordinator**

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Marta Gallina

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## **Faculty**

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Please note that the following list of teaching staff is provisional and subject to change:

Marta Gallina ([marta.gallina@uab.cat](mailto:marta.gallina@uab.cat))

Guillem Rico ([guillem.rico@uab.cat](mailto:guillem.rico@uab.cat))

Paula Zuluaga ([paula.zuluaga@uab.cat](mailto:paula.zuluaga@uab.cat))

## **Aim of course**

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The first aim of this module is to understand the scientific bases of public opinion and electoral behaviour. Thus, we will study several hot academic debates on public opinion and we will study the causes of people's vote. The second aim of the module is to familiarize the student with political communication topics, with a special emphasis on social media and also on gender.

## **Skills**

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- Analyse the behaviour and political attitudes of the public and the political communication processes in which they are immersed.
- Apply the qualitative and quantitative techniques necessary for the systematic and rigorous analysis of specific aspects of politics today.
- Design a research project that satisfies the criteria of rigour and academic excellence.
- Design and write projects and technical and academic reports autonomously using the appropriate terminology, arguments and analytical tools in each case.
- Work in international and interdisciplinary teams whose members have different origins and backgrounds.

## Pre-requisites

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Students enrolled in this course are expected to have a bachelor's degree level in political science or in any other social science discipline. Students are encouraged to gain familiarity with the following books, particularly if they have degrees from other disciplines:

- Dalton, R.J. (2013) Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies. CQ Press
- Negrine, R. and Stanyer J. (eds) (2007) The Political Communication Reader. Routledge.

## Content and readings

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### PART 1. ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR

This section of the module aims at understanding the scientific bases of the electoral behaviour. Thus, we will study what the causes of the vote are and will analyse the models that try to predict it.

*Please note that the professor for this module has not yet been determined. As a result, there may be adjustments to the course content in the future. Any modifications will be communicated to students in a timely manner to ensure a smooth learning experience.*

#### Basic readings for this part are:

Arzheimer, K.; Evans, G. and Lewis-Beck, M. (2017) The Sage Handbook of Electoral Behaviour. London: Sage.

Evans, J. (2004) Voters and Voting: An Introduction. London: Sage.

Fisher, J.; Fieldhouse, E.; Franklin, M.N.; Gibson, R.; Cantijoch, M. and Wlezien, C. (eds) (2017) The Routledge Handbook of Elections, Voting Behavior and Public Opinion. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Bartels, L. M. (2008) "The Study of Electoral Behavior" (available [online](#))  
Extended version of a chapter in Jan E. Leighley, ed., The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior.

Van der Eijk, C. & Franklin, M. (2009) Elections and Voters. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Denver, D., Carman, C. & Johns, R. (2012) Elections and Voters in Britain. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

**Main topics for this part are:**

**1.1. The social-position bases of the vote: cleavages and alignments**

Alford, R. (1963) *Party and Society*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Evans, G. (1999) *The End of Class Politics? Class Voting in Comparative Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Evans, G. (2000) 'The continued significance of class voting' in *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 3, pages 401-417. Access from UAB computers: [here](#).

Jansen, G.; Evans, G., and De Graaf, N.D. (2013) 'Class-voting and Left-Right Party Positions: A comparative Study of 15 Western Democracies, 1960-2005' in *Social Science Research*, 42: 376-400. Access from UAB computers: [here](#).

Lipset, S.M. & Rokkan, S. (1967) *Party systems and voter alignments: Cross-national perspectives*. New York: The Free Press. [Only pages 1-64](#).

**1.2. The value bases of the vote: party identification, ideology and policy moods**

Bafumi, J. & Shapiro, R.Y. (2009) A New Partisan Voter. *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 71, No. 1, pp. 1-24. Free access [here](#).

Campbell, A. *et al* (1960) *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley. Especially [Chapter 2](#).

Dalton, R.J. (2002) 'The Decline of Party Identifications' in Dalton, R.J. and Wattenberg, M.P. (eds.) *Parties without Partisans, Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford, Oxford University Press

Dalton, R.J. (2014) "Interpreting Partisan Dealignment in Germany" in *German Politics*, 23: 134-144. doi: 10.1080/09644008.2013.853040. (available [online](#))

Dalton, R.J.; McAllister, I.; and Wattenberg, M.P. (2002) 'The Consequences of Partisan Dealignment' in Dalton, R.J. and Wattenberg, M.P. (eds.) *Parties without Partisans, Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford, Oxford University Press

Franklin, M.; Mackie, T. & Valen, H. (2009) *Electoral Change. Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*. Especially: [new Preface](#), chapter 1, chapter 19, and new Epilogue.

Gerber, A.S.; Huber, G.A. & Washington, E. (2010) 'Party Affiliation, Partisanship, and Political Beliefs: A Field Experiment' in *American Political Science Review* 104(4): 720-744. Free access [here](#).

Inglehart, R. and Klingemann, HD. (1976) 'Party Identification, Ideological Preference and the Left-Right Dimension among Western Mass Publics' in Budge, I. et al. (eds.) *Party Identification and Beyond. Representations of Voting and Party Competition*, pp. 243-273. London: Wiley.

Johnston, R. (2013) 'Alignment, Realignment, and Dealignment in Canada: The View From Above', *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 46(2), pp. 245-271

Knutsen, O. (1997) 'The Partisan and the Value-based Component of Left-Right Self-placement: A Comparative Study' in *International Political Science Review*, 18: 191-225. Access from UAB computers: [here](#).

Kriesi, H. et al. (2016) 'Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared' in *European Journal of Political Research*, 45: 921-956.

Niemi, R.G. and Weisberg, H.F. (eds) (2001) *Controversies in voting behaviour*. Washington: CQ Press. 4<sup>th</sup> edition. Especially p. 371-386 ('Is the Party System Changing?')

### 1.3. The personal bases of the vote: the importance of the leaders

Barisione, M. (2009) 'So, What Difference do Leaders Make? Candidates' Images and the "Conditionality" of Leader Effects on Voting' in *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 19: 473-500.

Bartels, L. (2002) 'The Impact of Candidate Traits in American Presidential Elections' in King, A. (ed) *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, 44-69.

Bartle, J. & Crewe, I. (2002) 'The impact of party leaders in Britain: Strong assumptions, weak evidence', in King, A. (ed) *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 70-95.

Bean, C. & Mughan, T (1989) 'Leadership Effects in Parliamentary Elections in Australia and Britain' in *American Political Science Review*, 83 (4): 1166-1179.

Bean, C. (1993) 'The Electoral Influence of Party Leader Images in Australia and New Zealand' in *Comparative Political Studies*, 26: 111-32.

Butler, D. & Stokes, D. (1974) *Political Change in Britain*. London: Macmillan, esp. chapter 17.

Clarke, H. & Stewart, M. (1992) 'The (Un)importance of Party Leaders: Leader Images and Party Choice in the 1987 British Election' in *Journal of Politics*, 54: 447-70.

Clarke, H. & Stewart, M. (1995) 'Economic Evaluations, Prime Ministerial Approval and Governing Party Support: Rival Models Considered' in *British Journal of Political Science*, 25: 145-70.

Costa Lobo, M. (2008) 'Parties and leader Effects: Impact of Leaders on the Vote for Different Types of Parties' in *Party Politics*, 14: 281-298. Access from UAB computers: [here](#).

Crewe, I. & King, A. (1994) 'Did Major Win? Did Kinnock Lose? Leadership Effects in the 1992 Election' in Heath, A. et al. (eds) *Labour's Last Chance? The 1992 Election and Beyond*. Aldershot: Dartmouth, 127-9.

Curtice, J. & Holmberg, S. (2005) 'Party Leaders and Party Choice' in Thomassen, J. (ed) *The European Voter*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Denver, D. (2007) 'Issues, the Economy and Party Leaders: The Emergence of Valence Politics' in Denver, D. *Elections and Voters in Britain*, 2nd ed., Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, chapter 5.
- Evans, G. & Anderson, R. (2005) 'The Impact of Party Leaders: How Blair Lost Labour Votes' in *Parliamentary Affairs*, 58(4): 818-836.
- Graetz, B. & McAllister, I. (1987) 'Party Leaders and Election Outcomes in Britain, 1974-1983' in *Comparative Political Studies*, 19: 484-507.
- Graetz, B. & McAllister, I. (1987) 'Popular Evaluations of Party Leaders in the Anglo-American Democracies' in Clarke, H. & Czudnowski, M.M. (eds) *Political Elites in Anglo-American Democracies*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Jones, P. & Hudson, J. (1996) 'The Quality of Political Leadership: A Case Study of John Major' in *British Journal of Political Science*, 26: 229-44.
- King, A. (2002) 'Do Leaders' Personalities Really Matter?' in King, A. (ed) *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lodge, M.; McGraw, K. & Stroh, P. (1989) 'An Impression-Driven Model of Candidate Evaluation' in *American Political Science Review*, 83 (2): 400-419.
- McAllister, I. (2007) 'The personalization of politics' in Dalton, R. & Klingemann, HD. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mughan, A. (1993) 'Party Leaders and Presidentialism in the 1992 Election: A Post-War Perspective' in Denver, D. et al. (eds) *British Elections and Parties Yearbook*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

#### **1.4. Issue voting and niche party support**

- Arzheimer, K. (2009). "Contextual Factors and the Extreme Right Vote in Western Europe, 1980-2002." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 259-275.
- Clarke, H.D., Sanders, D. Stewart, M.C. and Whiteley, P. (2004) *Political Choice in Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Chapter 2: "Theories and Models of Party Support").
- Dalton, R. J. (2014) *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. 6a edition London: Sage. (chapter 10: "Attitudes and voting choice")
- Denver, D. (2007) 'Issues, the Economy and Party Leaders: The Emergence of Valence Politics' in Denver, D. *Elections and Voters in Britain*, 2nd ed., Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, chapter 5.

Erikson, R. S. and Stoker, L. (2011) "Caught in the Draft: The Effects of Vietnam Draft Lottery Status on Political Attitudes", *American Political Science Review*, 105(2): 221-237.

Green, J. (2007) 'When Voters and Parties Agree: Valence Issues and Party Competition' in *Political Studies* 55: 629–655. Free access [here](#).

Green, J. and Hobolt, S.B. (2008). "Owning the issue agenda: Party strategies and vote choices in British elections." *Electoral Studies* 27(3): 460-476.

Pardos-Prado, S. (2015) 'How Can Mainstream Parties Prevent Niche Party Success? Center-Right Parties and the Immigration Issue' in *The Journal of Politics*, 77: 352-367

### **1.5. Spatial models of party competition: proximity and directionality**

Downs, A. (1957) *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row. Especially, introduction, chapters 3, 7 & 8. Free access [here](#).

Flanagan, S. C. (1987). *Value Change in Industrial Societies*. *American Political Science Review*, 81(4), 1303-1319.

Grofman (1985) "The Neglected Role of the Status Quo in Models of Issue Voting". *The Journal of Politics* 47: 230-237.

Merrill, S. & Grofman, B. (1999) *A Unified Theory of Voting: Directional and Proximity Spatial Models*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Especially chapter 1.

Pardos-Prado, S. and Dinas, E. (2010) 'Systemic polarisation and spatial voting' in *European Journal of Political Research*, 49: 759–786.

Poole, K. T. (2005). *Spatial models of parliamentary voting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 1, available [here](#).

Rabinowitz, G. & Macdonald, S.E. (1989) 'A Directional Theory of Issue Voting' in *The American Political Science Review* 83, 1, pages 93-121. Access from UAB computers: [here](#).

Tomz, Michael, and Robert P. van Houweling (2008) 'Candidate Positioning and Voter Choice' in *American Political Science Review* 102 (3): 303-318.

Weber, T. (2015) 'Synergy in Spatial Models of Voting: How Critical Cases Show That Proximity, Direction and Discounting Are Friends, Not Foes'. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 25: 4, 504-529. DOI: 10.1080/17457289.2015.1064437

Westholm, A. (1997) 'Distance versus Direction: The Illusory Defeat of the Proximity Theory of Electoral Choice' in *American Political Science Review*, 91 (4): 865-883.

### **1.6. Economic voting: the importance of the economic situation**

Bengtsson, A. (2004) 'Economic voting: the effect of political context, volatility and turnout on voters' assignment of responsibility?' in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 43, Issue 5, pages 749–767.

De Boef, S. and Kellstedt, P.M. (2004) 'The Political (and Economic) Origins of Consumer Confidence' in *American Journal of Political Science*, 48: 633–649.

Duch, R. M., & Stevenson, R. T. (2008). *The Economic Vote: How Political and Economic Institutions Condition Election Results*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Duch, R.M.; Palmer, H.D. and Anderson, C.J. (2000) 'Heterogeneity in Perceptions of National Economic Conditions' in *American Journal of Political Science*, 44: 635–649.

Evans, G. and Andersen, R. (2006) 'The Political Conditioning of Economic Perceptions' in *Journal of Politics*, 68: 194-207. Access from UAB computers: [here](#).

Evans, G. and Pickup, M. (2010) 'Reversing the Causal Arrow: The Political Conditioning of Economic Perceptions in the 2000–2004 US Presidential Election Cycle' in *The Journal of Politics*, 72: 1236–1251.

Lewis-Beck, M.; Nadeau R. and Elias, A. (2008) 'Economics, Party, and the Vote: Causality Issues and Panel Data' in *American Journal of Political Science*, 52: 84–95.

Lewis-Beck, MS (1988) *Economics and Elections: The Major Western Democracies*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.

Lewis-Beck, MS. (2006) 'Does Economics Still Matter? Econometrics and the Vote?' in *The Journal of Politics*, 68: 208-212.

Lewis-Beck, MS. and Stegmaier, M. (2007) 'Economic models of the vote' in Dalton, R. and Klingemann, HD. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. A preliminary version of this book chapter is freely available [here](#):

Pardos-Prado, S. and Sagarzazu, I. (2016) 'The Political Conditioning of Subjective Economic Evaluations: The Role of Party Discourse' in *British Journal of Political Science*, 46(4), pp. 799–823

Van der Eijk, C.; Franklin, M.; Demant, F. and Van der Brug, W. (2007) 'The Endogenous Economy: 'Real' Economic Conditions, Subjective Economic Evaluations and Government Support' in *Acta Politica*, 42: 1–22.

Wlezien, C.; Franklin, M. and Twigg, D. (1997) 'Economic Perceptions and Vote Choice: Disentangling the Endogeneity' in *Political Behavior*, 19: 7–17.

### **1.7. Strategic voting: the importance of the electoral system**

Abramson, P.R. et al (2009) Comparing Strategic Voting under FPTP and PR. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43, 1: 61-90.

- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Jonathan Nagler (2000) "A New Approach for Modelling Strategic Voting in Multiparty Elections." *British Journal of Political Science* Vol. 30 (1): 57-75.
- Blais et al. (2001) "Measuring Strategic Voting in Multiparty Plurality Elections." *Electoral Studies* Vol. 20 (3): 343-352.
- Blais, André y Richard Carty (1991) "The psychological impact of Electoral Laws: Measuring Duverger's elusive factor", *British Journal of Political Science* 21: 79-93.
- Cox, Gary W. (1999) "Electoral rules and electoral coordination", *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 145-161.
- Cox, Gary W., and Matthew S. Shugart (1996) "Strategic voting under proportional representation." *Journal of Law Economics & Organization*, 12 (2): 299-324.
- Cox, W. Gary. (1997) *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-7.
- Fisher, S. & John Curtice (2006) Tactical Unwind? Changes in Preference Structure and Tactical Voting in Britain between 2001 and 2005', *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 16(1) 55–76.
- Fisher, S. (2004) Definition and Measurement of Tactical Voting: The Role of Rational Choice', *British Journal of Political Science*, 34, 152-65.
- Lago, Ignacio (2008) "Rational expectations or heuristics? Strategic voting in Proportional representation systems", *Party Politics* 14 (1): 31-49.
- R. Michael Alvarez, Frederick J. Boehmke, Jonathan Nagler, (2006) Strategic voting in British elections, *Electoral Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 1, Pages 1-19
- Tavis, M. & T. Annus (2006) "Learning to Make Votes Count: The Role of Democratic Experience," *Electoral Studies* 25, 72-90.

### **1.8. Event voting: how events shape election outcomes**

- Achen, C. H., & Bartels, L. M. (2012). *Blind retrospection: Why shark attacks are bad for democracy*. Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vanderbilt University. Working Paper.  
[http://www.vanderbilt.edu/csdi/research/CSDI\\_WP\\_05-2013.pdf](http://www.vanderbilt.edu/csdi/research/CSDI_WP_05-2013.pdf)
- Bali, V. A. (2007). Terror and elections: Lessons from Spain. *Electoral Studies*, 26(3), 669-687. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2007.04.004>
- Bechtel, M. M., & Hainmueller, J. (2011). How lasting is voter gratitude? An analysis of the short-and long-term electoral returns to beneficial policy. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(4), 852-868.  
<http://web.mit.edu/jhainm/www/Paper/elbe.pdf>
- Berrebi, C., & Klor, E. F. (2008). Are voters sensitive to terrorism? Direct evidence from the Israeli electorate. *American Political Science Review*, 102(03), 279-301. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055408080246>



Gasper John, Reeves Andrew. 2011. "Make It Rain? Retrospection and the Attentive Electorate in the Context of Natural Disasters." *American Journal of Political Science* 55:340–55. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2010.00503.x/epdf>

Getmansky, A. & Zeitzoff, T. (2014) 'Terrorism and Voting: The Effect of Rocket Threat on Voting in Israeli Elections', *American Political Science Review*, 108 (3): 588–604. doi: 10.1017/S0003055414000288.

Healy, A., & Malhotra, N. (2009). Myopic voters and natural disaster policy. *American Political Science Review*, 103(03), 387-406. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055409990104>

Kibris, A. (2011). Funerals and elections: The effects of terrorism on voting behavior in Turkey. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55, 2: 220-247. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0022002710383664>

Lago I., Montero J. R. (2006). The 2004 election in Spain: Terrorism, accountability, and voting. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 2: 13-36. <http://www.tfd.org.tw/export/sites/tfd/files/publication/journal/dj0201/02.pdf>

### **1.9. Multilevel polities and second-order elections**

Anderson, C. J., & Ward, D. S. (1996). Barometer elections in comparative perspective. *Electoral Studies*, 15(4), 447-460. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0261-3794\(95\)00056-9](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0261-3794(95)00056-9)

Bright J, Garzia D, Lacey J, & Trechsel, A. (2015) Europe's voting space and the problem of second order elections: A transnational proposal. *European Union Politics*, 17, 1: 184-198.

Carrubba, C., & Timpone, R. J. (2005). Explaining vote switching across first-and second-order elections evidence from Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(3), 260-281. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258130243\\_Explaining\\_Vote\\_Switching\\_Across\\_First-\\_and\\_Second-Order\\_Elections\\_Evidence\\_From\\_Europe](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258130243_Explaining_Vote_Switching_Across_First-_and_Second-Order_Elections_Evidence_From_Europe)

Clark, N., & Rohrschneider, R. (2009). Second-order elections versus first-order thinking: How voters perceive the representation process in a multi-layered system of governance. *European Integration*, 31(5), 645-664. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07036330903145906>

Hobolt, S. B., & de Vries, C. (2016) Turning against the Union? The impact of the crisis on the Eurosceptic vote in the 2014 European Parliament elections. *Electoral Studies*, 44: 504-514. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2016.05.006>

Hobolt, S. B., & Wittrock, J. (2011). The second-order election model revisited: An experimental test of vote choices in European Parliament elections. *Electoral Studies*, 30(1), 29-40. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2010.09.020>

Marsh, M. (1998). Testing the second-order election model after four European elections. *British Journal of Political Science*, 28(4), 591-607. [http://journals.cambridge.org/article\\_S000712349800026X](http://journals.cambridge.org/article_S000712349800026X)

Orford, S., Rallings, C., Thrasher, M., & Borisyuk, G. (2009). Electoral salience and the costs of voting at national, sub-national and supra-national elections in the UK: A case study of Brent, UK. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34(2), 195-214. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2008.00335.x>

Reif, K., & Schmitt, H. (1980). Nine second-order national elections. A conceptual framework for the analysis of European election results. *European Journal of Political Research*, 8(1), 3-44. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1980.tb00737.x>

Schakel, A. H., & Jeffery, C. (2013) 'Are regional elections really 'second-order' elections?' in *Regional Studies*, 47(3), 323-341. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2012.690069>

#### **1.10. Non-voting: causes and antecedents**

Southwell, P (2008) 'The effect of political alienation on voter turnout, 1964-2000' in *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 36 (1): 131-145.

Grönlund, K. and Setälä, M. (2007) 'Political Trust, Satisfaction and Voter Turnout' in *Comparative European Politics*, 5: 400-422.

Blais, A. (2006) 'What Affects Turnout?' in *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9: 111-125.

Franklin, M. et al. (2004) 'Generational basis of turnout decline' in *Acta Politica* (See Alistair McMillan's syllabus, topic 2)

#### **1.11. The political consequences of non-voting**

Chan, T.W. & Clayton, M. (2006) 'Should the Voting Age be lowered to sixteen? Normative and Empirical Considerations' *Political Studies* 54: 533-558.

Several authors (2007) 'Special issue on the Consequences of low turnout' *Electoral Studies*, 26, 3: 539-632 (specially, the introduction: 539-547).

Citrin, J.; Schickler, E. & Sides, J. (2003) 'What if Everyone Voted? Simulating the Impact of Increased Turnout in Senate Elections' in *American Journal of Political Science*, 47 (1): 75-90.

Bechtel, M.M.; Hangartner, D. & Schmid, L. (2016) 'Does Compulsory Voting Increase Support for Leftist Policy?' in *American Journal of Political Science*, 60 (3): 752-767.

## **PART 2. POLITICAL COMMUNICATION**

This module focuses on Political Communication and it aims at presenting different styles of parties' communication and their effects on voters. It will be taught by Professor Marta Gallina.

*Please be aware that the content of this teaching module is subject to potential modifications in the future.*

**Basic readings for this part are:**

**Main topics for this part are:**

### **2.1. Campaign effects: are they minimal?**

Jacobson, G. C. (2015). How do campaigns matter?. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18, 31-47.

Iyengar, S., & Simon, A. F. (2000). New perspectives and evidence on political communication and campaign effects. *Annual review of psychology*, 51(1), 149-169.

Bennett, W. L., & Iyengar, S. (2008). A new era of minimal effects? The changing foundations of political communication. *Journal of communication*, 58(4), 707-731.

Holbert, R. Lance, R. Kelly Garrett & Laurel S. Gleason. 2010. "A new era of minimal effects? A response to Bennett and Iyengar". *Journal of Communication* 60: 15-34.

Kalla, J. L., & Broockman, D. E. (2018). The minimal persuasive effects of campaign contact in general elections: Evidence from 49 field experiments. *American Political Science Review*, 112(1), 148-166.

### **2.2. Political persuasion and resistance to persuasion**

Goovaerts, I., & Marien, S. (2020). Uncivil communication and simplistic argumentation: Decreasing political trust, increasing persuasive power?. *Political Communication*, 37(6), 768-788.

Druckman, J. N. (2022). A Framework for the Study of Persuasion. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 25, 65-88.

Nai, A., Schemel, Y., & Marie, J. L. (2017). Anxiety, sophistication, and resistance to persuasion: Evidence from a quasi-experimental survey on global climate change. *Political Psychology*, 38(1), 137-156.

Broockman, D. E., & Kalla, J. L. (2020). When and why are campaigns' persuasive effects small? Evidence from the 2020 US Presidential Election. *American Journal of Political Science*.

Wirth, W., Matthes, J., & Schemer, C. (2011). When campaign messages meet ideology: The role of arguments for voting behaviour. In *Political communication in direct democratic campaigns* (pp. 188-204). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

### **2.3. The role of predispositions: the partisan selective exposure**

Peterson, E., Goel, S., & Iyengar, S. (2021). Partisan selective exposure in online news consumption: Evidence from the 2016 presidential campaign. *Political science research and methods*, 9(2), 242-258.

Nelson, J. L., & Webster, J. G. (2017). The myth of partisan selective exposure: A portrait of the online political news audience. *Social media+ society*, 3(3), 2056305117729314.

Ramírez-Dueñas, J. M., & Vinuesa-Tejero, M. L. (2021). How does selective exposure affect partisan polarisation? Media consumption on electoral campaigns. *The Journal of International Communication*, 27(2), 258-282.

### **2.4. The knowledge gap hypothesis**

Fraile, M., & Iyengar, S. (2014). Not all news sources are equally informative: A cross-national analysis of political knowledge in Europe. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 19(3), 275-294.

Adam Shehata (2013) Active or Passive Learning From Television? Political Information Opportunities and Knowledge Gaps During Election Campaigns, *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, 23:2, 200-222.

Gil de Zúñiga, H., & Diehl, T. (2019). News finds me perception and democracy: Effects on political knowledge, political interest, and voting. *New media & society*, 21(6), 1253-1271.

Prior, M. (2005). News vs. entertainment: How increasing media choice widens gaps in political knowledge and turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(3), 577-592.

Shehata, A., Hopmann, D. N., Nord, L., & Höijer, J. (2015). Television channel content profiles and differential knowledge growth: A test of the inadvertent learning hypothesis using panel data. *Political communication*, 32(3), 377-395.

### **2.5. Negative campaigning**

Maier, J., & Nai, A. (2021). Mapping the drivers of negative campaigning: Insights from a candidate survey. *International Political Science Review*, 0192512121994512.

Nai, A. (2020). Going negative, worldwide: Towards a general understanding of determinants and targets of negative campaigning. *Government and Opposition*, 55(3), 430-455.

Haselmayer, M. (2019). Negative campaigning and its consequences: a review and a look ahead. *French Politics*, 17(3), 355-372.

## **2.6. Populism as communication style**

Nai, A. (2021). Fear and loathing in populist campaigns? Comparing the communication style of populists and non-populists in elections worldwide. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 20(2), 219-250.

De Vreese, C. H., Esser, F., Aalberg, T., Reinemann, C., & Stanyer, J. (2018). Populism as an expression of political communication content and style: A new perspective. *The international journal of press/politics*, 23(4), 423-438.

Jagers, J., & Walgrave, S. (2007). Populism as political communication style: An empirical study of political parties' discourse in Belgium. *European journal of political research*, 46(3), 319-345.

## **PART 3. GENDER AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION**

This part of the module focuses on Gender and Political Communication and it deals with politicization of gender, gender differences in media and party communication, online political violence, etc. It will be taught by Professor Paula Zuluaga.

*Please be aware that the content of this teaching module is subject to potential modifications in the future.*

### **3.1 Re-politization of 'gender': political parties and social media communication**

Bobba, G., Cremonesi, C., Mancosu, M., & Seddone, A. (2018). Populism and the Gender Gap: Comparing Digital Engagement with Populist and Non-populist Facebook Pages in France, Italy, and Spain. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 23(4), 458–475.

<https://doiorg.are.uab.cat/10.1177/1940161218787046>

Abou-Chadi, T., Breyer, M., & Gessler, T. (2021). The (re)politicisation of gender in Western Europe, *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 4(2), 311-314.

Retrieved Sep 21, 2022, from:

<https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/view/journals/ejpg/4/2/article-p311.xml>

Kampwirth, Karen, and Kurt Gerhard Weyland. *Gender and Populism in Latin America : Passionate Politics* / Edited by Karen Kampwirth ; Foreword by Kurt Weyland. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010. Print

### **3.2. Gender differences in politicians' communication: speeches, advertising, and self-representation in traditional and digital forms of communication**

Bauer, N. M., & Santia, M. (2022). Going feminine: Identifying how and when female candidates emphasize feminine and masculine traits on the campaign trail. *Political Research Quarterly*, 75(3), 691-705.

Grebelsky-Lichtman, T., & Bdolach, L. (2017). Talk like a man, walk like a woman: An advanced political communication framework for female politicians. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 23(3), 275–300. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13572334.2017.1358979>

Hargrave, L., & Langengen, T. (2020). The Gendered Debate: Do Men and Women Communicate Differently in the House of Commons? *Politics & Gender*, 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X20000100>

Shames, S. (2003). The "un-candidates": Gender and outsider signals in women's political advertisements. *Women and Politics*, 25, 115-147.

Shaw, Sylvia. "Theresa May". *Women, language and politics*. Cambridge University Press, 202, 180-206.

Sullivan, P. A. (1993). Women's discourse and political communication: A case study of congressperson Patricia Schroeder. *Western Journal of Communication*, 57, 530-545.

Trent, J. S., & Sabourin, T. (1993). Sex still counts: Women's use of televised advertising during the decade of the 80s. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 21, 21-40.

### **3.3. Gender differences in political media coverage**

Daphne Joanna Van der Pas, Loes Aaldering, Gender Differences in Political Media Coverage: A Meta-Analysis, *Journal of Communication*, Volume 70, Issue 1, February 2020, Pages 114–143, <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqz046>

Fernandez-Garcia, N. (2016). Framing gender and women politicians representation: Print media coverage of spanish women ministries. In C. Cerqueira, R. Cabecinhas & S. I. Magalhães (Eds.), *Gender in focus: (New) trends in media* (pp. 141–160). Braga: CECS

Gershon, S. (2012). When Race, Gender, and the Media Intersect: Campaign News Coverage of Minority Congresswomen. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 33(2), 105–125. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2012.667743>

Humprecht, E., & Esser, F. (2017). A glass ceiling in the online age? Explaining the underrepresentation of women in online political news. *European Journal of Communication*, 32(5), 439–456.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117720343>

Lühiste, M., & Banducci, S. (2016). Invisible Women? Comparing Candidates' News Coverage in Europe. *Politics & Gender*, 12(02), 223–253.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X16000106>

Miller, M. K., Peake, J. S., & Boulton, B. A. (2010). Testing the Saturday Night Live hypothesis: Fairness and bias in newspaper coverage of Hillary Clinton's pres

Smith, K. B. (1997). When all's fair: Signs of parity in media coverage of female candidates. *Political Communication*, 14, 71-82.

Thomas, M., Harell, A., Rijkhoff, S. A., & Gosselin, T. (2021). Gendered news coverage and women as heads of government. *Political Communication*, 38(4), 388-406.

Weaver, D. (1997). Women as journalists. In P. Norris (Ed). *Women, media, and politics* (pp. 21-40). New York, Oxford University Press.

### **3.4. Women politicians and online political violence**

Beltran, J., Gallego, A., Huidobro, A., Romero, E., & Padró, L. (2021). Male and female politicians on Twitter: A machine learning approach. *European Journal of Political Research*, 60(1), 239–251. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12392>

Krook, M. L., & Restrepo Sanín, J. (2020). The Cost of Doing Politics? Analyzing Violence and Harassment against Female Politicians. *Perspectives on Politics*, 18(3), 740–755. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592719001397>

McGregor, S. C., & Mourão, R. R. (2016). Talking Politics on Twitter: Gender, Elections, and Social Networks. *Social Media + Society*, 2(3), 205630511666421. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305116664218>

Mechkova, V., & Wilson, S. L. (2021). Norms and rage: Gender and social media in the 2018 U.S. mid-term elections. *Electoral Studies*, 69, 102268. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2020.102268>

Restrepo Sanín, J. (2020). Criminalizing Violence against Women in Politics: Innovation, Diffusion, and Transformation. *Politics & Gender*, 1–32. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X20000173>

Siegel, A. A., Nagler, J., Bonneau, R., & Tucker, J. A. (2021). Tweeting Beyond Tahrir: Ideological Diversity and Political Intolerance in Egyptian Twitter Networks. *World Politics*, 73(2), 243–274. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887120000295>

### **3.5. Gender gaps in political engagement: exposure to news, online participation, and political voice**

Grasso, Maria, and Katherine Smith. "Gender inequalities in political participation and political engagement among young people in Europe: Are young women less politically engaged than young men?." *Politics* 42, no. 1 (2022): 39-57.

Fraile, M., & Gomez, R. (2017). Bridging the enduring gender gap in political interest in Europe: The relevance of promoting gender equality: Bridging the Enduring Gender Gap in Political Interest in Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, 56(3), 601–618. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12200>

Mellon, J., Russon-Gilman, H., Sjoberg, F., & Peixoto, T. (2017). Gender and Political Mobilization Online: Participation and Policy Success on a Global Petitioning Platform. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3144040>

Pruysers, S., Thomas, M., & Blais, J. (2020). Mediated ambition? Gender, news and the desire to seek elected office. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 3(1), 37–59. <https://doi.org/10.1332/251510819X15701058119488>

Sobieraj, S. (2020), 'Gender, Digital Toxicity, and Political Voice Online' , in Deana A. Rohlinger, and Sarah Sobieraj (eds) , *The Oxford Handbook of Digital Media Sociology* ( online edn, Oxford Academic , 8 Oct

### **3.6. Gender and political communication: AI, digital political communication, and others**

Carpinella, C. M., Hehman, E., Freeman, J. B., & Johnson, K. L. (2016). The Gendered Face of Partisan Politics: Consequences of Facial Sex Typicality for Vote Choice. *Political Communication*, 33(1), 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2014.958260>

Bauer, N. M. (2015). Emotional, sensitive, and unfit for office? Gender stereotype activation and support female candidates. *Political Psychology*, 36(6), 691–708. doi: 10.1111/pops.12186



Holman, M. R., Schneider, M. C., & Pondel, K. (2015). Gender Targeting in Political Advertisements. *Political Research Quarterly*, 68(4), 816–829. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912915605182>

Teele, D., Kalla, J. L., & Rosenbluth, F. M. (2017). Faces of Bias in Politics: Evidence from Elite and Voter Conjoint Experiments on Gender. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2971732>

#### **PART 4. SOCIAL MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY**

This part of the module focuses on Social Media and Democracy and aims at studying the online behaviour of political elites and digital electoral campaigns.

*Please note that the professor for this module has not yet been determined. As a result, there may be adjustments to the course content in the future. Any modifications will be communicated to students in a timely manner to ensure a smooth learning experience.*

##### **Basic readings for this part are:**

Kaplan, A. M., & Haenlein, M. (2010). Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of Social Media. *Business horizons*, 53(1), 59-68.

Newman, B. I. (1999). *Handbook of political marketing*. SAGE Publications, Incorporated.

Nickerson, D. W., & Rogers, T. (2014). Political campaigns and big data. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 28(2), 51-74.

Persily, N., & Tucker, J. A. (Eds.). (2020). *Social media and democracy: The state of the field, prospects for reform*. Cambridge University Press.

Safiullah, M., Pathak, P., Singh, S., & Anshul, A. (2017). Social media as an upcoming tool for political marketing effectiveness. *Asia Pacific Management Review*, 22(1), 10-15.

Stieglitz, S., & Dang-Xuan, L. (2013). Social media and political communication: a social media analytics framework. *Social network analysis and mining*, 3, 1277-1291.

##### **Main topics for this part are:**

#### **4.1. Political campaigns in the “digital era”: an introduction**

Bossetta, M. (2018). The digital architectures of social media: Comparing political campaigning on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Snapchat in the 2016 US election. *Journalism & mass communication quarterly*, 95(2), 471-496.

Chester, J., & Montgomery, K. C. (2017). The role of digital marketing in political campaigns. *Internet Policy Review*, 6(4), 1-20.

Daniel, W. T., & Obholzer, L. (2020). Reaching out to the voter? Campaigning on Twitter during the 2019 European elections. *Research & politics*, 7(2).

Enli, G. (2017). Twitter as arena for the authentic outsider: Exploring the social media campaigns of Trump and Clinton in the 2016 US presidential election. *European journal of communication*, 32(1), 50-61.

Jensen, M. J. (2017). Social media and political campaigning: Changing terms of engagement?. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 22(1), 23-42.

Jensen, J. L., & Schwartz, S. A. (2022). A Decade of Social Media Elections – A Longitudinal and Cross-National Perspective. *Social Media+ Society*, 8(1).

Jungherr, A. (2016). Twitter use in election campaigns: A systematic literature review. *Journal of information technology & politics*, 13(1), 72-91.

Maarek, P. J. (2014). Politics 2.0: New forms of digital political marketing and political communication. *Trípodos*, (34), 13-22.

Magin, M., Podschuweit, N., Haßler, J., & Russmann, U. (2017). Campaigning in the fourth age of political communication. A multi-method study on the use of Facebook by German and Austrian parties in the 2013 national election campaigns. *Information, communication & society*, 20(11), 1698-1719.

Roemmele, A., & Gibson, R. (2020). Scientific and subversive: The two faces of the fourth era of political campaigning. *New Media & Society*, 22(4), 595-610.

#### **4.2. Digital footprints: what social media reveal about citizens' political attitudes and behaviour**

Barberá, P., Jost, J. T., Nagler, J., Tucker, J. A., & Bonneau, R. (2015). Tweeting from left to right: Is online political communication more than an echo chamber?. *Psychological Science*, 26(10), 1531-1542.

Bond, R., & Messing, S. (2015). Quantifying social media's political space: Estimating ideology from publicly revealed preferences on Facebook. *American Political Science Review*, 109(1), 62-78.

Camatarri, S., Gallina, M., Anselmi, G., Schadee, H. M., & Segatti, P. (2021). Twitter as a mirror of political space (s): An analysis of multi-level party competition in Italy. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 1-23.

Ceron, A., Curini, L., Iacus, S. M., & Porro, G. (2014). Every tweet counts? How sentiment analysis of social media can improve our knowledge of citizens' political preferences with an application to Italy and France. *New media & society*, 16(2), 340-358.

Cody, E. M., Reagan, A. J., Mitchell, L., Dodds, P. S., & Danforth, C. M. (2015). Climate change sentiment on Twitter: An unsolicited public opinion poll. *PloS one*, 10(8).

Colleoni, E., Rozza, A., & Arvidsson, A. (2014). Echo chamber or public sphere? Predicting political orientation and measuring political homophily in Twitter using big data. *Journal of communication*, 64(2), 317-332.

Klašnja, M., Barberá, P., Beauchamp, N., Nagler, J., & Tucker, J. A. (2015). Measuring public opinion with social media data. In R. M. Alvarez, & L. Atkeson (Eds.), *Handbook on polling and polling methods*. Oxford University Press.

Mellon, J., & Prosser, C. (2017). Twitter and Facebook are not representative of the general population: Political attitudes and demographics of British social media users. *Research & Politics*, 4(3).

Reyes-Menendez, A., Saura, J. R., & Alvarez-Alonso, C. (2018). Understanding#WorldEnvironmentDay user opinions in Twitter: A topic-based sentiment analysis approach. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, 15(11), 2537.

Wojcieszak, M., Casas, A., Yu, X., Nagler, J., & Tucker, J. A. (2022). Most users do not follow political elites on Twitter; those who do show overwhelming preferences for ideological congruity. *Science Advances*, 8(39).

### **4.3. Vote seekers (and getters?): the online behaviour of political elites**

Alonso-Muñoz, L., & Casero-Ripollés, A. (2020). Populism against Europe in social media: The Eurosceptic discourse on Twitter in Spain, Italy, France, and United Kingdom during the campaign of the 2019 European Parliament election. *Frontiers in communication*, 5, 54.

Ceron, A., Curini, L., & Drews, W. (2022). Short-term issue emphasis on twitter during the 2017 German election: a comparison of the economic left-right and socio-cultural dimensions. *German Politics*, 31(3), 420-439.

Enli, G. (2017). Twitter as arena for the authentic outsider: Exploring the social media campaigns of Trump and Clinton in the 2016 US presidential election. *European journal of communication, 32*(1), 50-61.

Ernst, N., Engesser, S., Büchel, F., Blassnig, S., & Esser, F. (2017). Extreme parties and populism: an analysis of Facebook and Twitter across six countries. *Information, Communication & Society, 20*(9), 1347-1364.

Karlsen, R., & Enjolras, B. (2016). Styles of social media campaigning and influence in a hybrid political communication system: Linking candidate survey data with Twitter data. *The International Journal of Press/Politics, 21*(3), 338-357.

Kruschinski, S., & Bene, M. (2022). In varietate concordia?! Political parties' digital political marketing in the 2019 European Parliament election campaign. *European Union Politics, 23*(1), 43-65.

Stier, S., Bleier, A., Lietz, H., & Strohmaier, M. (2018). Election campaigning on social media: Politicians, audiences, and the mediation of political communication on Facebook and Twitter. *Political communication, 35*(1), 50-74.

Stier, S., Froio, C., & Schünemann, W. J. (2021). Going transnational? Candidates' transnational linkages on Twitter during the 2019 European Parliament elections. *West European Politics, 44*(7), 1455-1481.

Turnbull-Dugarte, S. J. (2019). Selfies, policies, or votes? Political party use of Instagram in the 2015 and 2016 Spanish general elections. *Social media+ society, 5*(2).

#### **4.4. Political consequences of social media: assessing the effects on (mis)information, polarization and political participation**

Barberá, P. (2020) Social media, echo chambers, and political polarization. In Persily, N. & Tucker, J. (Eds.), *Social media and democracy. The state of the field, prospects for reform*. Cambridge University Press.

Boulianne, S., Koc-Michalska, K., & Bimber, B. (2020). Mobilizing media: Comparing TV and social media effects on protest mobilization. *Information, Communication & Society, 23*(5), 642-664.

Jost, J. T., Barberá, P., Bonneau, R., Langer, M., Metzger, M., Nagler, J., ... & Tucker, J. A. (2018). How social media facilitates political protest: Information, motivation, and social networks. *Political psychology, 39*, 85-118.

Kubin, E., & von Sikorski, C. (2021). The role of (social) media in political polarization: a systematic review. *Annals of the International Communication Association, 45*(3), 188-206.

Rhodes, S. C. (2022). Filter bubbles, echo chambers, and fake news: how social media conditions individuals to be less critical of political misinformation. *Political Communication, 39*(1), 1-22.

Diaz Ruiz, C., & Nilsson, T. (2023). Disinformation and Echo Chambers: How Disinformation Circulates on Social Media Through Identity-Driven Controversies. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 42(1), 18-35.

Tucker, J. A., Guess, A., Barberá, P., Vaccari, C., Siegel, A., Sanovich, S., ... & Nyhan, B. (2018). Social media, political polarization, and political disinformation: A review of the scientific literature. *Political polarization, and political disinformation: a review of the scientific literature (March 19, 2018)*.

Valenzuela, S. (2013). Unpacking the use of social media for protest behavior: The roles of information, opinion expression, and activism. *American behavioral scientist*, 57(7), 920-942.

Valenzuela, S., Correa, T., & Gil de Zuniga, H. (2018). Ties, likes, and tweets: Using strong and weak ties to explain differences in protest participation across Facebook and Twitter use. *Political communication*, 35(1), 117-134.

## **PART 5. PUBLIC OPINION**

This section of the module deals with Public Opinion, with a particular focus on how it can be affected by parties' messages and how it can be conceptualized, measured and studied. The last four sessions will be taught by Professor Guillem Rico, while a second professor, yet to be assigned, will deliver the first four sessions.

*Please note that the second professor for this module has not yet been determined. As a result, there may be adjustments to the course content in the future. Any modifications will be communicated to students in a timely manner to ensure a smooth learning experience.*

**Main topics for this part are:**

### **5.1. Public opinion and its measurement: between surveys and social media**

Berelson, B. (1952). Democratic theory and public opinion. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 313-330.

Berinsky, A. J. (2017). Measuring public opinion with surveys. *Annual review of political science*, 20, 309-329.

Converse, P. E. (1987). Changing conceptions of public opinion in the political process. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 51, S12-S24.

Dong, X., & Lian, Y. (2021). A review of social media-based public opinion analyses: Challenges and recommendations. *Technology in Society*, 67, 101724.

Druckman, J. N. (2014). Pathologies of studying public opinion, political communication, and democratic responsiveness. *Political Communication*, 31(3), 467-492.

Groves, R. M. (2011). Three eras of survey research. *Public opinion quarterly*, 75(5), 861-871.

Hargittai, E. (2020). Potential biases in big data: Omitted voices on social media. *Social Science Computer Review*, 38(1), 10-24.

Heath, A., Fisher, S., & Smith, S. (2005). The globalization of public opinion research. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 8, 297-333.

Joseph, K., Shugars, S., Gallagher, R., Green, J., Mathé, A. Q., An, Z., & Lazer, D. (2021). (Mis) alignment between stance expressed in social media data and public opinion surveys. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2109.01762*.

McGregor, S. C. (2019). Social media as public opinion: How journalists use social media to represent public opinion. *Journalism*, 20(8), 1070-1086.

Murphy, J., Link, M. W., Childs, J. H., Tesfaye, C. L., Dean, E., Stern, M., ... & Harwood, P. (2014). Social media in public opinion research: Executive summary of the AAPOR task force on emerging technologies in public opinion research. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 78(4), 788-794.

Warshaw, C., & Rodden, J. (2012). How should we measure district-level public opinion on individual issues?. *The Journal of Politics*, 74(1), 203-219.

## **5.2. Dynamics of Public Opinion Formation and Change: A Review of Effects**

De Vreese, C. H., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2006). Media effects on public opinion about the enlargement of the European Union. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44(2), 419-436.

De Vreese, C. H., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2006). Media message flows and interpersonal communication: The conditional nature of effects on public opinion. *Communication Research*, 33(1), 19-37.

Druckman, J. N., Peterson, E., & Slothuus, R. (2013). How elite partisan polarization affects public opinion formation. *American Political Science Review*, 107(1), 57-79.

Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1968). *The People's Choice*. Columbia University Press.

Leeper, T. J., & Slothuus, R. (2014). Political parties, motivated reasoning, and public opinion formation. *Political Psychology*, 35, 129-156.

Matthes, J. (2010). Mass media and public opinion: Manipulating or enlightening. *Dialogue on Science, Engleberg, Switzerland*. Retrieved Feb, 12, 2019.

Moy, P., & Bosch, B. J. (2013). Theories of public opinion. In *Theories and models of communication* (pp. 289-308). De Gruyter Mouton.

Moy, P., Tewksbury, D., & Rinke, E. M. (2016). Agenda-setting, priming, and framing. *The international encyclopedia of communication theory and philosophy*, 1-13

Slothuus, R., & Bisgaard, M. (2021). How political parties shape public opinion in the real world. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(4), 896-911.

Tesler, M. (2015). Priming predispositions and changing policy positions: An account of when mass opinion is primed or changed. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(4), 806-824.

Zaller, J. R. (1992). *The nature and origins of mass opinion*. Cambridge University Press.

### **5.3. Public Opinion & policy responsiveness: the problem of mass-elite congruence**

Burstein, P. (2003). The impact of public opinion on public policy: A review and an agenda. *Political research quarterly*, 56(1), 29-40.

Costello, R., Thomassen, J., & Rosema, M. (2012). European parliament elections and political representation: policy congruence between voters and parties. *West European Politics*, 35(6), 1226-1248.

Ezrow, L., & Hellwig, T. (2014). Responding to voters or responding to markets? Political parties and public opinion in an era of globalization. *International Studies Quarterly*, 58(4), 816-827.

Ibenskas, R., & Polk, J. (2022). Congruence and party responsiveness in Western Europe in the 21st century. *West European Politics*, 45(2), 201-222.

Pedrazzani, A., & Segatti, P. (2022). Responsiveness when parties are “weak”: A candidate-based analysis of voter-party congruence in Europe. *Party Politics*, 28(1), 149-162.

Thomassen, J. (2012). The blind corner of political representation. *Representation*, 48(1), 13-27.

Walgrave, S., Jansen, A., Sevenans, J., Soontjens, K., Pilet, J. B., Brack, N., ... & Loewen, P. J. (2023). Inaccurate Politicians: Elected Representatives'

Estimations of Public Opinion in Four Countries. *The Journal of politics*, 85(1), 209-222.

Wlezien, C. (2017). Public opinion and policy representation: On conceptualization, measurement, and interpretation. *Policy Studies Journal*, 45(4), 561-582.

#### **5.4. Challenges in Public Opinion Research: the 'social desirability' issue**

Blair, G., Coppock, A., & Moor, M. (2020). When to worry about sensitivity bias: A social reference theory and evidence from 30 years of list experiments. *American Political Science Review*, 114(4), 1297-1315.

Brownback, A., and Novotny, A. (2018). Social desirability bias and polling errors in the 2016 presidential election. *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics*, 74, 38-56.

Gearhart, S., & Zhang, W. (2018). Same spiral, different day? Testing the spiral of silence across issue types. *Communication Research*, 45(1), 34-54.

Kushin, M. J., Yamamoto, M., & Dalisay, F. (2019). Societal majority, Facebook, and the spiral of silence in the 2016 US presidential election. *Social Media+ Society*, 5(2), 2056305119855139.

Krumpal, I. (2013). Determinants of social desirability bias in sensitive surveys: a literature review. *Quality & quantity*, 47(4), 2025-2047.

Noelle-Neumann, E. (1993). *The spiral of silence: Public opinion--Our social skin*. University of Chicago Press.

Orriols, L., & Martínez, Á. (2014). The role of the political context in voting indecision. *Electoral Studies*, 35, 12-23.

Scheufle, D. A., & Moy, P. (2000). Twenty-five years of the spiral of silence: A conceptual review and empirical outlook. *International journal of public opinion research*, 12(1).

#### **5.5. Populism (i): Conceptualization and Measurement**

Akkerman, A., Mudde, C., & Zaslove, A. (2014). How Populist Are the People? Measuring Populist Attitudes in Voters. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(9), 1324–1353.

De Cleen, B., Glynos, J., & Mondon, A. (2018). Critical research on populism: Nine rules of engagement. *Organization*, 25(5), 649–661.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508418768053>



Hawkins, K. A. (2009). Is Chávez Populist? Measuring Populist Discourse in Comparative Perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(8), 1040–1067. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414009331721>

Jagers, J., & Walgrave, S. (2007). Populism as political communication style: An empirical study of political parties' discourse in Belgium. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46(3), 319–345.

Mudde, C., & Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2013). Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing the Contemporary Europe and Latin America. *Government & Opposition*, 48(2), 147–174.

Stanley, B. (2008). The Thin Ideology of Populism. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 13(1), 95–110.

## 5.6. Populism (ii): Causes and Consequences

Akkerman, T., & De Lange, S. L. (2012). Radical Right Parties in Office: Incumbency Records and the Electoral Cost of Governing. *Government and Opposition*, 47(4), 574–596.

Betz, H.-G. (1993). The New Politics of Resentment: Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe. *Comparative Politics*, 25(4), 413.

Elchardus, M., & Spruyt, B. (2016). Populism, Persistent Republicanism and Declinism: An Empirical Analysis of Populism as a Thin Ideology. *Government and Opposition*, 51(01), 111–133.

Fatke, M. (2019). The personality of populists: How the Big Five traits relate to populist attitudes. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 139(1), 138–151.

Gidron, N., & Hall, P. A. (2017). The politics of social status: economic and cultural roots of the populist right. *British Journal of Sociology*, 68(S1), S57–S84.

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### 5.7. Emotions in Politics

Lerner, J. S., Gonzalez, R. M., Small, D. A., & Fischhoff, B. (2003). Effects of Fear and Anger on Perceived Risks of Terrorism: A National Field Experiment. *Psychological Science*, 14(2), 144–150.

Marcus, G. E., & MacKuen, M. B. (1993). Anxiety, Enthusiasm, and the Vote: The Emotional Underpinnings of Learning and Involvement during Presidential Campaigns. *American Political Science Review*, 87(3), 672–685.  
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Petersen, M. B., Sznycer, D., Cosmides, L., & Tooby, J. (2012). Who Deserves Help? Evolutionary Psychology, Social Emotions, and Public Opinion about Welfare. *Political Psychology*, 33(3), 395–418.

Valentino, N. A., Brader, T., Groenendyk, E. W., Gregorowicz, K., & Hutchings, V. L. (2011). Election Night’s Alright for Fighting: The Role of Emotions in Political Participation. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(01), 156–170.

Valentino, N. A., Wayne, C., & Oceno, M. (2018). Mobilizing Sexism: The Interaction of Emotion and Gender Attitudes in the 2016 US Presidential Election. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 82(S1), 213–235.  
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### 5.8. Motivated Reasoning

Bartels, L. M. (2002). Beyond the Running Tally: Partisan Bias in Political Perceptions. *Political Behavior*, 24(2), 117–150.  
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Bisgaard, M. (2015). Bias Will Find a Way: Economic Perceptions, Attributions of Blame, and Partisan-Motivated Reasoning during Crisis. *Journal of Politics*, 77(3), 849–860.

Gaines, B. J., Kuklinski, J. H., Quirk, P. J., Peyton, B., & Verkuilen, J. (2007). Same Facts, Different Interpretations: Partisan Motivation and Opinion on Iraq. *Journal of Politics*, 69(4), 957–974.

Nyhan, B., & Reifler, J. (2010). When Corrections Fail: The Persistence of Political Misperceptions. *Political Behavior*, 32(2), 303–330.

Slothuus, R., & de Vreese, C. H. (2010). Political Parties, Motivated Reasoning, and Issue Framing Effects. *Journal of Politics*, 72(3), 630–645.

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Taber, C. S., Cann, D., & Kucsova, S. (2009). The Motivated Processing of Political Arguments. *Political Behavior*, 31(2), 137–155.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-008-9075-8>

### Core readings

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- Bartels, Larry M. 2008. "The Study of Electoral Behavior." Extended version of a chapter in Jan E. Leighley, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Castells*, M (2009). *Communication Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eijk, Cees van der, and Mark Franklin. 2009. *Elections and Voters*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Evans, Jocelyn A.J. 2004. *Voters and Voting: An Introduction*. London: Sage.
- Iyengar, S., McGrady, Jennifer A. (2007). *Media Politics: A Citizen's Guide*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Lowery, S.A., De Fleur, M.L. (1994). *Milestones in Mass Communication Research: Media Effects*. New York: Pearson.
- McNair, Brian (2003). *An Introduction to Political Communication*. London: Routledge.
- Perloff, Richard M. (2014). *The Dynamics of Political Communication. Media and Politics in a Digital Age*. New York: Routledge.
- Soroka, Stuart N., Wlezien, Christopher (2010). *Degrees of Democracy: Politics, Public Opinion and Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### Evaluation

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The evaluation is divided into the following elements:

1. **Presentation of the compulsory readings and participation in the discussion (25%).** Each week one student will be in charge of presenting the compulsory reading. Each presentation will have the purpose to present the reading in all its parts clearly and exhaustively, including at the end of the presentation three questions in order to fuel the discussion/debate in class. Students in charge of the presentation must prepare slides and submit the slides to the professor delivering the class. Their presentation skills, capacity of engaging with the article and its literature, their understanding of the results/findings presented in the reading, the quality of their oral and visual presentation and the relevance of their three questions will be evaluated. Students not showing up at their scheduled presentation will receive a 5-point penalty on their grade for this part. Presentations should be about 15-minute long. Shorter (less than 12 minutes) or longer (longer than 16 minutes) presentations will be penalized. All students must read the compulsory readings and engage with in-class discussion. The participation to the in-class debate will also be part of the evaluation. Students who deliver a good presentation of the reading but do not actively engage in discussion during the other sessions will therefore be penalized on their grade for this part.
2. **Written essay (25%).** Students will prepare a written essay choosing from a list of possible titles/topics that will be made available to them at the beginning of

the course. The essay will follow the classic structure of a scientific article, including abstract, introduction, literature, methods, results, discussion, list of references (at least three references must be included). Students will have to present a clear and well-defined research question and try to respond to the research question on the basis of previous literature/findings or on their own elaboration of data/resources. Essays must have a minimum of 3000 words and a maximum of 4000 words, excluding references. Essays must be written in English and submitted to the professor in charge of the selected topic by the indicated deadline. Essays submitted after the deadline will receive a 2-point penalty per each day of delay. Plagiarism and the use of artificial intelligence will not be tolerated under any circumstances. It is NOT possible to submit essays that have been prepared for other courses or for the thesis.

3. **Final exam (50%).** At the end of the classes, students will have to take a final test. The test will include 20 multiple-choice questions about the topics presented in class during the course.

In case of exam retakes, the same evaluation method described above will apply.

Students will be graded with a numeric grade ranging from 0 to 10, being 10 the best grade.

Students are required to attend at least at 80% of the sessions in order to pass this module.

*The lecturers will provide further details and information about the evaluation process during the presentation of the module.*