

# Seminar in Political Participation

POS 6292 (Class 28345 Section 62PP)

**Class Periods:** Tuesdays 8-10 periods; 3:00 pm to 6:00 pm ET

**Location:** Matherly 116

**Academic Term:** Fall 2022

## **Instructor:**

Michael D. Martinez

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Office Hours: Thursdays 1:30 – 3:30 pm (EDT) / 1730 – 1930 UTC

Office Location: 208 Anderson

Office hours Zoom link: <https://ufl.zoom.us/my/mdmartinez>

## Course Description

This seminar will review the scholarly literature on political participation and provide students with the theoretical background and empirical tools to write a research paper about the subject. (3 credit hours)

## **Course Pre-Requisites / Co-Requisites**

Completion of or current enrollment in a graduate or undergraduate course in a social science Research Methods course is strongly recommended.

## **Course Objectives**

- (1) To review the scholarly literature on political participation in the United States and in some non-US settings.
- (2) To provide students with empirical tools to conduct basic secondary analysis of data which addresses the conditions that foster (or inhibit) political participation.

## **Required Books**

- ***Students may access these books in any format of their choosing. All are available as E-books at the UF Library, but just as with a physical book, there may be limits on how many people can access the book at any given time. E-books and physical books are also available for purchase at Amazon and other retailers. The ISBN numbers below refer to physical books.***
- Fraga, Bernard L. 2018. *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. ISBN-10: 1108465927
- Green, Donald P., and Alan S. Gerber. 2019. *Get out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout*. 4th ed. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press. ISBN-10: 0815736932
- Holbein, John B., and D. Sunshine Hillygus. 2019. *Making Young Voters: Converting Civic Attitudes into Civic Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN-10: 110872633X
- Leighley, Jan E., and Jonathan Nagler. 2013. *Who Votes Now?: Demographics, Issues, Inequality and Turnout in the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. ISBN-10: 0691159351

## **Recommended Books**

- Wolfinger, Raymond E., and Steven J. Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

### **Recommended Materials**

- Each student is expected to have access to a basic statistical software package (SPSS, Stata, or R) and a familiarity with how to do basic analyses (reading data, frequencies and crosstabs).
- All are available for free on [UF Apps](#).
- R is freely downloadable at <https://cloud.r-project.org/>
- SPSS is available for lease at <https://onthehub.com/spss/>
- Stata is available for lease at <https://www.stata.com/order/new/edu/gradplans/student-pricing/>

### **Attendance Policy, Class Expectations, and Make-Up Policy**

The weekly meetings of the seminar should be viewed as opportunities for the exchange of ideas among scholars. You may, on occasion, be able to tell that I am the leader of the seminar, but its overall success depends on the informed participation of everyone. Each student is expected to have completed the readings for the week, and to have something to say about those readings when seminar begins. Participation will be evaluated based on listening (attentiveness), preparation for class discussion, quality of the contributions, and impact on the class.

Students who can reasonably anticipate an absence must inform the instructor by email as soon as practical and prior to the anticipated absence. Absences from seminar may be excused with documentation of a University, military, or legal obligation, illness, or bereavement.

### **Course Structure**

This course is divided into a prologue, four modules, and an epilogue. In the first week in each module, we will read a set of articles and chapters that explore different aspects of the main question. In the second week, we will discuss a contemporary book and how well it synthesizes, challenges, or advances the perspectives of the authors in the preceding week. In the third week, students will present some basic empirical analyses of secondary data showing the basic relationships discussed in the previous two weeks.

In the third week of each module, each student will either

- Submit an essay (of about five pages) which synthesizes and critiques the readings addressed in the previous two weeks. Essays should note the major theoretical questions addressed by the book and the articles, substantive or methodological innovations or controversies, and propose research questions that emanate from this set of readings *or* discuss how the ideas in the book and articles can be applied by government or political actors (including campaigns).
- An empirical analysis of secondary data that focuses on the major questions addressed in the literature, and how the relationships might vary over time, across space, or across different groups.

Essays and empirical analyses are due on Canvas at 6 pm on the day before seminar. Students who do empirical analyses for that week will present their findings in the seminar.

***In each module, each student will decide whether s/he will submit an essay or an empirical analysis. But over the course of the semester, each student will write two essays and present two empirical analyses.***

MA and PhD students will present (on December 6) a research proposal that reviews and synthesizes literature on aspect of political participation, proposes an empirical research question, and presents preliminary research findings on that question. This may be a preliminary chapter of an MA thesis or PhD dissertation. (Expected length: 15 to 20 pp, plus tables and references)

**The final paper will be due on December 13 at noon.** This paper will substantially reflect the ideas presented on December 6, but may also incorporate feedback received from the seminar on December 6.

**Evaluation**

<i>Assignment</i>	<i>Percentage of Final Grade</i>	<i>Due Date</i>
Attendance in seminars	5%	Weekly
Participation in seminars	15%	Weekly
Module 1 essay or empirical analysis	15%	September 19
Module 2 essay or empirical analysis	15%	October 10
Module 3 essay or empirical analysis	15%	October 31
Module 4 essay or empirical analysis	15%	November 28
Presentation of research paper	5%	December 6
Final submission of research paper	15%	December 13
Total	100%	

**Grading Policy**

<i>Percent</i>	<i>Grade</i>	<i>Grade Points</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Grade</i>	<i>Grade Points</i>
90.0 - 100.0	A	4.00	72.0 - 74.9	C	2.00
87.0 - 89.9	A-	3.67	69.0 - 71.9	C-	1.67
84.0 - 86.9	B+	3.33	66.0 - 68.9	D+	1.33
81.0 - 83.9	B	3.00	63.0 - 65.9	D	1.00
78.0 - 80.9	B-	2.67	60.0 - 62.9	D-	0.67
75.0 - 79.9	C+	2.33	0 - 59.9	E	0.00

More information on UF grading policy may be found at:

[UF Graduate Catalog](#)  
[Grades and Grading Policies](#)

**Course Schedule**

Prologue: What is political participation?

August 30:

McDonald, Michael P. and Samuel L. Popkin. 2001. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *American Political Science Review* 95 (4, December): 963-974.

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Chapter 2.

Introduction to Datasets

## Module 1: Does education matter?

In this module, we will review the empirical relationships between formal levels of education and political participation, arguments about whether that relationship is spurious, and which aspects of education are most important in promoting civic participation.

September 6: Articles and chapters

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Chapters 11-12.

Kam, Cindy D. and Carl L. Palmer. 2008. "Reconsidering the Effects of Education on Political Participation," *Journal of Politics* 70 (3, July): 612-631.

Condon, M. 2015. "Voice Lessons: Rethinking the Relationship between Education and Political Participation." *Political Behavior* 37: 819-43.

Mendelberg, Tali, Vittorio Mérola, Tanika Raychaudhuri, and Adam Thal. 2020. "When Poor Students Attend Rich Schools: Do Affluent Social Environments Increase or Decrease Participation?". *Perspectives on Politics*.

Croke, K., G. Grossman, H. A. Larreguy, and J. Marshall. 2016. "Deliberate Disengagement: How Education Can Decrease Political Participation in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes." *American Political Science Review* 110: 579-600.

September 13: Book discussion

Holbein and Hillygus. 2019. *Making Young Voters: Converting Civic Attitudes into Civic Action*.

September 20: Empirical analyses

Pick a dataset, and show the basic bivariate relationship between formal education and participation in that dataset. Answer one other question: Does that relationship vary ...?

- Across time? Is the relationship between education and participation getting stronger or weaker?
- Across space? Is the relationship between education and participation stronger in some countries or states than others?
- Across people? Is the relationship stronger for men than women, older people than younger people, whites or minorities?
- Across modes of participation? Is the relationship stronger for voting than it is for other forms of participation?

## Module 2: Do institutions matter?

In this module, we will review the literature on how institutions, registration laws, and recent “reforms” affect rates of participation.

September 27: Articles

Wolfinger, Raymond E. and Steven J. Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 4.

Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. 1986. "American Turnout in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 80 (1, March): 17-44.

Berinsky, Adam J. 2005. "The Perverse Consequences of Electoral Reform in the United States." *American Politics Research* 33: 471-91.

Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, David Doherty, Conor M. Dowling, and Seth J. Hill. 2013. "Do Perceptions of Ballot Secrecy Influence Turnout? Results from a Field Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (3):537-551.

Engstrom, Erik J. .2012. "The Rise and Decline of Turnout in Congressional Elections: Electoral Institutions, Competition, and Strategic Mobilization." *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (2, April): 373–386.

October 4: Book discussion

Leighley and Nagler. 2013. *Who Votes Now?*

October 11: Empirical analyses

Pick a dataset, and show the basic bivariate relationship between institutions or laws and participation rates in that dataset. Answer one other question: Does that relationship vary ...?

- Across time? Is the relationship between institutions or laws and participation rates getting stronger or weaker?
- Across space? Is the relationship between institutions or laws and participation rates stronger in some countries or states than others?
- Across people? Do institutions or laws have greater effects on poorer people than richer people, on minorities or whites, on men or women?
- Across modes of participation? Do institutions affect participation other than voting?

### Module 3: Do campaigns matter?

In this module, we will explore whether campaigns are effective in mobilizing their supporters, how they do it, and whether social media are effective modes of mobilization.

October 18: Articles

Holbrook, Thomas M., and Scott D. McClurg. 2005. "The Mobilization of Core Supporters: Campaigns, Turnout, and Electoral Composition in United States Presidential Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (4):689-703.

Gray, Mark and Miki Caul. 2000. "Declining voter turnout in advanced industrial democracies, 1950 to 1997 - The effects of declining group mobilization." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (9, November): 1091-1122.

Valenzuela, A. A., and M. R. Michelson. 2016. "Turnout, Status, and Identity: Mobilizing Latinos to Vote with Group Appeals." *American Political Science Review* 110: 615-30.

Bond, R.M. et al. 2012. "A 61-million-person experiment in social influence and political mobilization" *Nature* 489 (Issue 7415): 295-298. [link](#)

Larson, Jennifer M., Jonathan Nagler, Jonathan Ronen, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2019. "Social Networks and Protest Participation: Evidence from 130 Million Twitter Users." *American Journal of Political Science* 63: 690-705.

October 25: Book Discussion

Green and Gerber. 2019. *Get out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout*.

November 1: Empirical analyses

Pick a dataset, and show the basic bivariate relationship between mobilization (or being contacted) and participation rates in that dataset. Answer one other question: Does that relationship vary ...?

- Across time? Is the relationship between mobilization and participation getting stronger or weaker?
- Across space? Is the relationship between mobilization and participation stronger in some settings than in others?
- Across people? Does mobilization have greater effects on poorer people than richer people, on less or more educated people, on minorities or whites, on partisans or independents?
- Across modes of participation? Does mobilization affect participation other than voting?

## Module 4: Does race matter?

### November 8: Articles

Bobo, Lawrence and Franklin D. Gilliam. 1990. "Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment." *American Political Science Review* 84 (2, June): 377-393.

Banducci, S. A., T. Donovan, and J. A. Karp. 2004. "Minority representation, empowerment, and participation." *Journal of Politics* 66 (2, May): 534-556.

Keele, Luke J., et al. 2017. "Black Candidates and Black Turnout: A Study of Viability in Louisiana Mayoral Elections." *Journal of Politics* 79: 780-91.

Anoll, A. P. 2018. "What Makes a Good Neighbor? Race, Place, and Norms of Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 112: 494-508.

Shaw, Todd C., Kirk A. Foster, and Barbara Harris Combs. 2019. "Race and Poverty Matters: Black and Latino Linked Fate, Neighborhood Effects, and Political Participation." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7: 663-72.

### November 15: Book discussion

Fraga. 2018. *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*.

November 22: *Hookey; Tuesday seminars don't get any University holidays this semester, so this is ours. Use this week to make progress on your final presentation and paper*

### November 29: Empirical analyses

Pick a dataset, and show the basic bivariate relationship between race or ethnicity and participation rates in that dataset. Answer one other question: Does that relationship vary ...?

- Across time? Is the relationship between race or ethnicity and participation getting stronger or weaker?
- Across space? Is the relationship between race or ethnicity and participation stronger in some countries or states than others?
- Across people? Is the relationship between race or ethnicity and participation stronger or weaker among less or more educated people, among older people than younger people, among men or women?
- Across modes of participation? Does race affect participation other than voting?

### Epilogue: Does Participation Matter?

### December 6: Articles

Lijphart, Arend. 1997. "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma." *American Political Science Review* 91 (1, March): 1-14.

Martinez, Michael D. and Jeff Gill. 2005. "The Effects of Turnout on Partisan Outcomes in U.S. Presidential Elections 1960-2000." *Journal of Politics* 67 (4, November): 1248-1274.

Graduate student presentations.

### ***Students Requiring Accommodations***

Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the [Disability Resource Center](#). It is important for students to share their accommodation letter with their instructor and discuss their access needs, as early as possible in the semester.

### ***Class Recordings***

Students are allowed to record audio/video of class lectures for personal educational use, a complaint to the university, or as evidence in a civil or criminal proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Publication or transmission without written permission of the instructor is prohibited, which includes sharing with other students or online uploads to third party sites. However, permission to record class lectures does not extend to activities that involve student presentations or discussions, and most of our seminar will be discussions and presentations.

### ***COVID and wellness***

As of the beginning of the semester, COVID transmission remains high in Alachua County, so please take appropriate measures to protect yourself. Vaccinations and boosters remain effective in reducing the risk of serious infections, and can be scheduled at [one.uf.edu](http://one.uf.edu). Masks are welcome, but not required, in indoor settings on campus. Wash your hands frequently. If you are sick, please stay home and let the instructor know by email. Call their primary care provider or the UF Student Health Care Center at 352-392-1161 if you need to be evaluated. With an excused absence, you will be given a reasonable amount of time to make up work.

### ***Course Evaluation***

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing [online evaluations](#). Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students on the [Gator Evals page](#).

### ***University Honesty Policy***

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." [The Honor Code](#) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor in this class.

### ***Software Use***

All faculty, staff, and students of the University are required and expected to obey the laws and legal agreements governing software use. Failure to do so can lead to monetary damages and/or criminal penalties for the individual violator. Because such violations are also against University policies and rules, disciplinary action will be taken as appropriate. We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to uphold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honesty and integrity.

### ***Student Privacy***

There are federal laws protecting your privacy with regards to grades earned in courses and on individual assignments. For more information, please see the [Notification to Students of FERPA Rights](#).

### ***Campus Resources:***

#### **Health and Wellness**

##### **U Matter, We Care:**

If you or a friend is in distress, please contact [umatter@ufl.edu](mailto:umatter@ufl.edu) or 352 392-1575 so that a team member can reach out to the student.



**Counseling and Wellness Center:** [counseling.ufl.edu/cwc](https://counseling.ufl.edu/cwc), and 392-1575; and the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

**Sexual Assault Recovery Services (SARS)**

Student Health Care Center, 392-1161.

**University Police Department** at 392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies), or [police.ufl.edu](https://police.ufl.edu).

## Academic Resources

**E-learning technical support**, 352-392-4357 (select option 2) or e-mail to [Learning-support@ufl.edu](mailto:Learning-support@ufl.edu).

**Career Resource Center**, Reitz Union, 392-1601. Career assistance and counseling.

**Library Support**, Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.

**Teaching Center**, Broward Hall, 392-2010 or 392-6420. General study skills and tutoring.

**Writing Studio**, 302 Tigert Hall, 846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers.

**Student Complaints Campus**

**On-Line Students Complaints**