

POLITICAL INTOLERANCE IN WORLD POLITICS

L32-4280

Fall Semester, 2016–2017

(Seigle Hall 305)

Dr. J. L. Gibson

Sidney W. Souers Professor of Government

This course is an investigation into the meaning, causes, and consequences of political intolerance. My goal is to expose you to contemporary research on a) how political intolerance is conceptualized and understood, especially within the context of theories of democracy; b) how political intolerance can be measured, both at the level of the individual and the institution/society; c) where intolerance originates, both in terms of individual psychology and system-level politics; and d) what consequences flow from intolerance, especially in terms of legal and extra-legal political repression, as well as cultural consequences (e.g., a “culture of conformity”). The course makes little distinction between American politics and politics in other parts of the world (although no knowledge of specific non-U.S. systems is required as a prerequisite).

There will be two exams in the course: a midterm and a final exam. Each exam will constitute 25 percent of your final grade. You are also required to write a research paper within one of the topic areas listed above. This paper will constitute 30 percent of your grade. The remaining 20 percent of your final grade will be based on class participation and various assignments. The final exam will take place on Thursday, December 15, from 6:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.

You are strongly encouraged to attend class, and to have completed the reading assignment prior to class. Because exams will stress material presented in class, you cannot do well in this course without regularly attending class. You are responsible for all class material and assignments regardless of whether you are present. Should you be absent, you should make arrangements to get access to another student's notes. I reserve the right to use pop-quizzes to ensure that the reading assignments are being completed.

MISSING EXAM POLICY: There will be no make-up exams unless you give me 24 hours advance notice of a legitimate university function which prevents you from taking the exam, or provide written documentation of a medical excuse or other emergency which prevents you from taking the exam. You will receive a failing grade (0) for all missed exams for which there is not adequate documentation. Only one make-up will be given, and it will be scheduled at my discretion.

No "Incompletes" will be given in this course. You must complete all of the assignments by the end of the semester. I also observe all university drop deadlines. You should familiarize yourself with the university's rules on ethics, academic misconduct, and plagiarism. You should review the university's policy at <http://www.wustl.edu/policies/undergraduate-academic-integrity.html>. I strictly adhere to these rules.

My office hours are Tuesdays 1:00 p.m. – 2:00 p.m., and Thursdays 8:30 a.m. – 9:30 a.m., and by appointment (I am on campus virtually every day). My office is 236 Seigle Hall. My office telephone number is 935-5897, and my email address is jgibson@wustl.edu

Readings for this course have been assigned from three books, all of which are available at the Bookstore. In addition, a few readings will be available on ARES/Blackboard.

Gibson, James L., and Amanda Gouws. 2003. *Overcoming Intolerance in South Africa: Experiments in Democratic Persuasion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gibson, James L., and Richard D. Bingham. 1985. *Civil Liberties and Nazis: The Skokie Free-Speech Controversy*. New York: Praeger.

Sullivan, John L., James Piereson, and George E. Marcus. 1982. *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

READING ASSIGNMENTS

<u>Date</u>	<u>Topic</u>	<u>Reading</u>
8/31	Introduction and Seminar Organization	
9/7	Introduction to Democratic Theory The Meaning of Political Intolerance	Gibson & Gouws 2003, Ch 1 Sullivan, Piereson, & Marcus, Ch.1 Holmes Dissent in <i>Abrams v. U.S.</i>
Petersen, Michael, Rune Slothuus, Rune Stubager, and Lise Togeby. 2011. "Freedom for All? The Strength and Limits of Political Tolerance." <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 41(3): 581-597.		
9/14	Measuring Political Intolerance	Gibson & Gouws 2003, Ch. 3 & Appendix A
	Micro-level	Sullivan, Piereson, & Marcus Ch. 3 & 4
	Macro-level	Gibson 2013
	Review of FATS Survey Data Codebook	
Gibson, James L. 2013. "Measuring Political Tolerance and General Support for Pro-Civil Liberties Policies: Notes, Evidence, and Cautions." <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i> 77 (Special Issue): 45-68.		
<i>Supplementary Reading:</i>		
Gibson, James L., and Richard D. Bingham. 1982. "On the Conceptualization and Measurement of Political Tolerance." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 76 (#3, September): 603-620.		
Gibson, James L. 1989. "The Structure of Attitudinal Tolerance in the United States." <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 19 (1989): 562-570.		
Gibson, James L. 1986. "Pluralistic Intolerance in America: A Reconsideration." <i>American Politics Quarterly</i> 14 (#4, October): 267-93.		
Gibson, James L. 1992. "Alternative Measures of Political Tolerance: Must Tolerance be 'Least-Liked'?" <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 36 (#2, May): 560-577.		
Gibson, James L. 2005. "Parsimony in the Study of Tolerance and Intolerance." <i>Political Behavior</i> 27 (#4, December): 339-345.		
Gibson, James L. 2005. "On the Nature of Tolerance: Dichotomous or Continuous?" <i>Political Behavior</i> 27 (#4, December): 313-323.		
9/21	The Origins of Intolerance	
	Threat Perceptions	
	Religiosity	Gibson, 2010
	Social Identity Theory	Gibson & Gouws 2003, Ch. 4
	Personality Theory	Sullivan, Piereson, & Marcus Ch. 5-8
	External Threat and Security	
	Level of Democratization	

Gibson, James L. 2010. "The Political Consequences of Religiosity: Does Religion Always Cause Political Intolerance?" In *Religion and Democracy in America: Danger or Opportunity?* Edited by Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson. New York and Princeton, NJ: Russell Sage Foundation and Princeton University Press. Pp. 147-175.

Halperin, Eran, Daphna Canetti-Nisim, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler. 2009. "The Central Role of Group-Based Hatred as an Emotional Antecedent of Political Intolerance: Evidence from Israel." *Political Psychology* 30 (#1): 93-123.

Supplementary Reading:

Gibson, James L., and Kent L. Tedin. 1988. "The Etiology of Intolerance of Homosexual Politics." *Social Science Quarterly* 69 (#3, September): 587-604.

Gibson, James L., and Amanda Gouws. 2000. "Social Identities and Political Intolerance: Linkages Within the South African Mass Public." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (#2, April): 278-292.

Gibson, James L. 2006. "Do Strong Group Identities Fuel Intolerance? Evidence From the South African Case." *Political Psychology* 27 (#5): 665-705.

Duch, Raymond M., and James L. Gibson. 1992. "Putting Up With' Fascists in Western Europe: A Comparative, Cross-Level Analysis of Political Tolerance." *Western Political Quarterly* 45 (#1, March): 237-273.

9/28	The Effect of Context on Political Intolerance	Gibson & Gouws 2003, Ch. 5 Gibson & Bingham 1985, Ch. 5 Peffley & Rohrschneider 2003
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Peffley, Mark, and Robert Rohrschneider. 2003. "Democratization and Political Tolerance in Seventeen Countries: A Multi-level Model of Democratic Learning." *Political Research Quarterly* 56 (#3, September): 243-257.

Peffley, Mark, Marc L. Hutchison, and Michal Shamir. 2015. "The Impact of Persistent Terrorism on Political Tolerance: Israel, 1980 to 2011." *American Political Science Review* 109(4): 817-832.

Supplementary Reading:

Gibson, James L., and Amanda Gouws. 2001. "Making Tolerance Judgments: The Effects of Context, Local and National." *The Journal of Politics* 63 (#4, November): 1067-1090.

10/5	Change in Intolerance Over Time	Gibson & Gouws 2003, Ch. 8 Sullivan & Hendriks 2009 Malhotra & Popp 2012
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Sullivan, John L., and Henriët Hendriks. 2009. "Public Support for Civil Liberties Pre- and Post-9/11." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 5:375-391.

Malhotra, Neil, and Elizabeth Popp. 2012. "Bridging Partisan Divisions over Antiterrorism Policies: The Role of Threat Perceptions." *Political Research Quarterly* 65: 34-47.

Supplementary Reading:

Gibson, James L. 2002. "Becoming Tolerant? Short-Term Changes in Russian Political Culture." *British Journal of Political Science* 32 (April): 309-334.

Gibson, James L. 2008. "Is Intolerance Incurable? An Analysis of Change Among Russians." In *Tolerance on Trial*. Edited by Ingrid Creppell, Russell Hardin, and Stephen Macedo. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. Pp. 257-286.

10/5 Paper Topic Due

10/12 Midterm Exam

10/19 **Persuasibility and Change in Intolerance** Gibson & Gouws 2003, Ch. 6
Mutz 2002

Mutz, Diana C. 2002. "Cross-cutting Social Networks: Testing Democratic Theory in Practice." *American Political Science Review* 96 (#1, March): 111-126.

Supplementary Reading:

Gibson, James L. 1998. "A Sober Second Thought: An Experiment in Persuading Russians to Tolerate." *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (#3, July): 819-850.

10/26 Elite and Mass Differences in Intolerance: The Elitist Theory of Democracy

Sullivan, John L., Pat Walsh, Michal Shamir, David G. Barnum, and James L. Gibson. 1993. "Why Politicians Are More Tolerant: Selective Recruitment and Socialization Among Political Elites in Britain, Israel, New Zealand and the United States." *British Journal of Political Science* 23 (January): 51-76.

Wang, T. Y., and Lu-huei Chen. 2008. "Political Tolerance in Taiwan: Democratic Elitism in a Polity Under Threat." *Social Science Quarterly* 89 (#3, September): 780-801.

Supplementary Reading:

Gibson, James L., and Richard D. Bingham. 1983. "Elite Tolerance of Nazi Rights." *American Politics Quarterly*, 11 (1983): 403-28.

Gibson, James L., and Arthur J. Anderson. 1985. "The Political Implications of Elite and Mass Tolerance." *Political Behavior* 7 (#2): 118- 146.

Gibson, James L., and Raymond M. Duch. 1991. "Elitist Theory and Political Tolerance in Western Europe." *Political Behavior* 13 (#3, September): 191-212.

11/2 **The Consequences of Intolerance: Public Policy and Repression**

Gibson, James L. 1988. "Political Intolerance and Political Repression during the McCarthy Red Scare." *American Political Science Review* 82 (#2, June): 511-529.

Gibson, James L. 1989. "The Policy Consequences of Political Intolerance: Political Repression During the Vietnam War Era." *Journal of Politics* 51 (#1, February): 13-35.

Lax, Jeffrey R., and Justin Phillips. 2009. "Gay Rights in the States: Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness." *American Political Science Review* 103 (#3, August): 367-386.

Supplementary Reading:

Gibson, James L. 1998. "Putting Up With Fellow Russians: An Analysis of Political Tolerance in the Fledgling Russian Democracy." *Political Research Quarterly* 51 (#1, March): 37-68.

Gibson, James L. 2008. "Intolerance and Political Repression in the United States: A Half-Century After McCarthyism." *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (#1, January): 96-108.

11/9 **The Cultural Consequences of Intolerance**

Gibson, James L. 1992. "The Political Consequences of Intolerance: Cultural Conformity and Political Freedom." *American Political Science Review* 86 (#2, June): 338-356.

Gibson, James L. 1995. "The Political Freedom of African Americans: A Contextual Analysis of Racial Attitudes, Political Tolerance, and Individual Liberty." *Political Geography* 14 (1995): 571-599.

Gibson, James L. 2008. "Intolerance and Political Repression in the United States: A Half-Century After McCarthyism." *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (#1, January): 96-108.

Gibson, James L. 2012. "Being Free in Obama's America: Racial Differences in Perceptions of Constraints on Political Action." *Daedalus* 141 (#4, Fall): 114-129.

Supplementary Reading:

Gibson, James L. 1987. "Homosexuals and the Ku Klux Klan: A Contextual Analysis of Political Intolerance." *Western Political Quarterly* 40 (#3, September): 427-448.

11/16 Paper Outline Due

11/16 **The Role of Institutional Intervention in
Protecting Tolerance**

Gibson & Gouws 2003, Ch. 7

Gibson, James L. 1990. "Pluralism, Federalism, and the Protection of Civil Liberties." *Western Political Quarterly* 43 (September): 511-533.

Supplementary Reading:

- Gibson, James L. 1989. "Understandings of Justice: Institutional Legitimacy, Procedural Justice, and Political Tolerance." *Law and Society Review* 23 (#3):469-496.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2003. "Defenders of Democracy? Legitimacy, Popular Acceptance, and the South African Constitutional Court." *Journal of Politics* 65 (#1, February): 1-30.

11/23 No Class – Thanksgiving

11/30 **Case Study: Nazis in Skokie** Gibson & Bingham 1985

12/7 **Unanswered Questions** Gibson & Gouws 2003, Ch. 9
Sullivan, Piereson, & Marcus, Ch. 9
Gibson, 2006

Gibson, James L. 2006. "Enigmas of Intolerance: Fifty Years after Stouffer's *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*." *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (#1, March): 21-34.

12/7 Final Paper Due

12/15 Final Exam, 6:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.

**Political Intolerance in World Politics
Semester I, 2016/2017
Paper Assignment**

Nearly one-third of your grade for this course is based on a required research paper. The paper should be typed and should be between 14 and 18 pages of text (double-spaced). Footnotes and references/ bibliography should be used and you must adopt a style manual to guide in the preparation of your paper. The particular manual you use must be cited in your bibliography. Excessive (more than a few) typographical and spelling errors will be penalized, but corrections made by hand on the final copy of your typed paper are acceptable.

The paper is due on December 7. On October 5, a title and a short descriptive paragraph are due. On November 16, a detailed outline with a bibliography is due. Both the descriptive paragraph and the outline must be typed. Papers not written in satisfactory English will be returned ungraded. These may be

revised and resubmitted. Late papers will be penalized one letter grade per day, and no paper will be accepted after the final exam.

The subject matter of your paper must pertain to some aspect of political tolerance and repression, but otherwise there are few restrictions on the types of paper you might select. The most important attribute of your paper is not subject matter; instead, it will be graded mainly on the quality of your analysis of the problem. I am not interested in your opinions on the issue you chose to consider, but instead want you to provide an analysis of the existing literature and arguments relevant to the problem. Your analysis should be comprehensive, which of course means that you must select a fairly narrow topic. “Free Speech” would be too broad; an analysis of “hate speech” restrictions on free speech would not be too broad. To reiterate: the quality of your analysis of the problem is the most important attribute of your paper.