

POLITICAL SCIENCE 314:
POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
University of Michigan
Spring 2009

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Course Description:

This course is an introduction to the study of political parties and elections around the world. The course will cover such questions as:

- Why do political parties exist?
- Are high levels of partisanship good or bad for democracy?
- Why do some countries have two-party systems while others have many parties?
- And how do these differences affect important outcomes such as:
 - the representation of diverse views?
 - government accountability to voters?
 - levels of corruption and influence of special interests?
 - efficiency and effectiveness of policy making and implementation?

We will pay special attention to the ways electoral rules and other formal institutions condition the answers to these questions, and we will cover a wide variety of party systems and electoral systems around the world.

Although there are no official prerequisites, the course is designed for students who have a basic background in comparative and/or American politics; students are recommended to have taken POLSCI 140 or 111 before enrolling. POLSCI 314 can count toward either the American or Comparative distribution requirement, depending on the student's choice of paper topic.

Required Textbooks:

William Riker. 1982. *Liberalism against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
John H. Aldrich. 1995. *Why Parties?: The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
G. Bingham Powell. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Course Requirements

POLSCI 314 is an upper-level political science course. As a consequence, you will be expected to demonstrate a deeper understanding of the subject matter than is customary in an introductory course—that is, to show not only that you can remember specific course material when prompted but also that you can apply what you learn to explain political phenomena in new or unfamiliar situations, and that you can think creatively and critically about theories of politics. The course requirements are designed to help you do this by:

1. Introducing you to the fundamental questions and political phenomena that motivate the study of parties and elections;
2. Presenting the best theories we have currently for these phenomena;
3. Describing variation in political outcomes in countries around the world, and asking you to evaluate whether and how much current theories help us understand these outcomes.

Assigned Reading

This course has a significant reading load. Readings will cover specific questions, theories, concepts or cases central to the class lecture and discussion for each day. These you are expected to read closely and carefully and to have completed before class that day.

Newspaper Reading

Because we will refer regularly to current events in this course, you are expected to follow the news on a daily basis. Our news source of record will be the New York Times; you may read it online for free (registration required) at www.nytimes.com. I will periodically send links to articles that are especially timely or relevant to course themes and will proceed on the assumption that you have read them.

Class Attendance and Participation

In-class activities will be a mix of lecture, discussion, student presentations and small-group work. In a typical day, I will present a new topic in lecture in the first hour, while in the second I will ask students to draw on assigned readings and previous lectures to discuss a set of related issues. Regular attendance is therefore a prerequisite for success in the course. I also expect all students to contribute regularly to class discussion.

Midterm Exam: June 1

There will be an in-class midterm exam held on June 1st at the end of the first half of the course. This will cover all course material introduced to that point, and is designed to check that you have a good grasp of fundamental concepts and theories before we turn to a more specific set of topics and country cases.

Case Study Presentation

After the midterm exam, we will seek to use the general theories covered in the first half of the course to understand the links between elections, party systems, and political outcomes in a wide array of countries. To aid us in this endeavor and to ease our collective reading load, every student will be responsible for giving one brief (5-10 minute) presentation to the class on an article discussing a political issue in a specific country. Your presentation should summarize the following:

1. The main question(s) the author attempts to address;
2. The reason(s) the country is a good place to investigate this question;
3. The central components of the author's argument and findings;
4. Any additional insights you would like to add, such as shortcomings of the research, unexplored implications of the argument, interesting comparisons with other cases, and so forth.

You will have the opportunity at the end of week three to choose a paper from the case studies listed on the syllabus to present to the class.

Research Paper: Due June 19

The course will culminate in a substantial (10-15 pp.) original research paper on a topic of your choosing, but related to one of the major questions covered in the course. You will be required to select two countries in which this question or issue is especially relevant, describe and contrast the patterns of the phenomena of interest in each country, and venture an explanation of the variation between the two. Country-cases should be chosen carefully for their relevance to the question. You

must get approval from me for both your research question and your two countries to ensure the feasibility of your project. I will pass out a list of suggested topics by the end of week three, and **you should choose a topic before the end of week five (June 3). The final paper will be due the Friday after the last day of class (June 19).**

As the single largest component of your final grade, your research paper is a significant undertaking and will be held to a high standard. It should be well thought-out, well-organized and well-written. I expect students to do substantial outside research for this paper and to draw on a wide array of sources outside those assigned for the course.

Final Exam: June 23

There will be a final exam held during the scheduled exam period, Tuesday June 23, 8-10 am. This will encompass all material presented in the course but will draw heavily on readings and lectures given since the midterm.

Final Grade

Your final grade will be determined by the following breakdown:

- Participation: 25%:
 - Case study presentation: 5%
 - Attendance and contribution to class: 20%
- Midterm Exam: 20%
- Final Exam: 25%
- Final Paper: 30%

Other Issues

Email (kbarist@umich.edu)

Email is by far the easiest way to reach me—I check frequently, and will do my best to reply as promptly as possible. I will also regularly send important class announcements over email via the CTools announcement function, so please make sure you have a working umich.edu email account and check it often.

Office Hours: Tuesday 1-3pm and by appointment

Office hours are for your benefit. I urge you to come to my office hours to talk about any difficulties you may be having with the class or to discuss a topic touched on in lecture or discussion. If you cannot make my scheduled office hours, I am happy to schedule individual appointments.

Academic Dishonesty

Simply put, don't do it. All your work should represent your own effort. If I suspect that you have plagiarized a paper or cheated on an exam, I will follow university procedures to the letter, up to and including failing you without recourse and referring the case to the Assistant Dean for Student Academic Affairs. If you are not sure what constitutes a violation of this policy, please ask!

CTools Site

All class readings along with other important class documents, announcements, and useful links will be posted to the class CTools site, so make sure that you can access it and check it regularly.

Special Accommodations

Any student who feels he/she may need an accommodation for any sort of disability is encouraged to see me during office hours.

Course Schedule (7-week term: May 5 – June 19)

THEORIES

Week 1 (May 5-6): Introduction; Democracy and Voting

- May 5: Introduction
 - William Riker, *Liberalism Against Populism*, Ch. 1;
 - Skim US presidential campaign 2008 reviews (CTools).
- May 6: Democracy and Voting
 - Riker Ch. 2, 3;
 - Skim Riker Ch. 4, 5.

Week 2 (May 11-13): Parties – What are They, Why Do They Develop, What Do They Do?

- May 11: What are Political Parties, and Why Do They Form?
 - John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, Ch. 1-2;
 - Skim Aldrich, Ch. 3-5.
- May 12: Issue Manipulation in the American Party System
 - Riker, Ch. 9.
 - Gary Miller and Norman Schofield. 2003. “Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States.” *American Political Science Review* 97(2): 245-260.
- May 13: Party ID and Party Systems
 - Russell J. Dalton and Steven Weldon. 2007. “Partisanship and Party System Institutionalization.” *Party Politics* 13(2): 179-196.
 - William Flanigan and Nancy Zingale. 2006. *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*. Ch. 4, “Partisans and Partisan Change.” *

Week 3 (May 18-20): Party Systems – Variation and Causes

- May 18: Party Systems: Number of Parties, Ideological Distance, Internal Cohesion
 - Arendt Lijphart. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. Ch. 5, “Party Systems: Two-Party and Multiparty Patterns.” *
- May 19: Explanations of Differences across Party Systems
 - Alan Ware. 1996. *Political Parties and Party Systems*. Ch. 4, “Why Party Systems Differ.” *
- May 20: Electoral Rules and Party Systems
 - Arend Lijphart. 1994. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*. Ch. 2-3. *

Week 4 (May 26-27): Electoral Rules and Their Consequences

- May 25: MEMORIAL DAY – NO CLASS
- May 26: The Effects of Electoral Rules cont.

- Gary Cox. 1997. *Making Votes Count*. Ch. 2, 3. *
- New Zealand electoral reform case study (CTools).
- May 27: Electoral Rules and Party Discipline
 - Bruce Cain, John Ferejohn, and Morris Fiorina. 1987. *The Personal Vote*, pp. 1-21. *
 - John Carey and Matthew Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank-Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14(4): 417-439.

June 1: Midterm, in class (2 hours)

APPLICATIONS

Week 5 (June 2-3): How Do Party Systems Affect the Accountability versus Representation Tradeoff?

- June 2: Majoritarian vs. Proportional Democracy
 - G. Bingham Powell. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*. Ch. 1-2.
- June 3: Mandates, Accountability, and Representation
 - Powell, Ch. 3-5.

June 5: Deadline to choose paper topic

Week 6 (June 8-10): How Do Party Systems Affect Policy-Making and Political Stability?

- June 8: The Role of Parties in Shaping Public Policy
 - Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins. 2001. "The Institutional Determinants of Economic Policy Outcomes," in Stephan Haggard and Mathew McCubbins, eds., *Presidents, Parliaments, and Policy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 21-63.
 - Case studies:
 - India
 - Steven Wilkinson. 2007. "Explaining Changing Patterns of Party-Voter Linkages in India," in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson, eds., *Patrons, Clients, and Policies*, pp. 110-140.
 - Pradeep Chhibber and Irfan Noorudin. 2004. "Do Party Systems Count?: The Number of Parties and Government Performance in the Indian States." *Comparative Political Studies* 37(2): 152-187.
 - Brazil
 - Barry Ames. 1995. "Electoral Rules, Constituency Pressures, and Pork Barrel: Bases of Voting in the Brazilian Congress," *Journal of Politics* 57(2): 324-342.
 - David Samuels. 1999. "Incentives to Cultivate a Party Vote in Candidate-Centric Electoral Systems: Evidence from Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 32(4): 487-518.
 - Argentina
 - Mark P. Jones et al. 2002. "Amateur Legislators—Professional Politicians: The Consequences of Party-Centered Electoral Rules in a Federal System." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 656-669.
 - Valeria Brusco, Marcelo Nazareno, and Susan Stokes. 2004. "Vote-Buying in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* 39(2): 66-88.
- June 9: Pork, Patronage, Clientelism and Corruption

- Allen Hicken and Joel Simmons. 2008. "The Personal Vote and the Efficacy of Education Spending." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 109-124.
- Case studies:
 - Philippines
 - Paul Hutchcroft and Joel Rocamora. 2003. "Strong Demands and Weak Institutions: The Origins and Evolution of the Democratic Deficit in the Philippines." *East Asian Studies* 3: 259-292.
 - Allen Hicken. 2009. *Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies*, Ch. 6. *
 - Italy
 - Miriam Golden. 2003. "Electoral Connections: The Effects of the Personal Vote on Political Patronage, Bureaucracy, and Legislation in Postwar Italy." *British Journal of Political Science* 33(2): 189-212.
 - Eric C.C. Chang and Miriam Golden. 2006. "Electoral Systems, District Magnitude, and Corruption." *British Journal of Political Science* 37(1): 115-137.
 - Japan
 - Steven Reed. 1994. "Democracy and the Personal Vote: A Cautionary Tale from Japan," *Electoral Studies* 13(1): 17-28.
 - Ethan Scheiner. 2007. "Clientelism in Japan: The Importance and Limits of Institutional Explanations," in *Patrons, Clients, and Policies*, pp. 276-297.
- June 10: Party Systems and Democratic Stability
 - Scott Mainwaring and Edurne Zoco. 2007. "Political Sequences and the Stabilization of Interparty Competition," *Party Politics* 13(2): 155-178.
 - John Carey and Andrew Reynolds. 2007. "Parties and Accountable Government in New Democracies," *Party Politics* 13(2): 255-274.
 - Case studies:
 - Eastern Europe
 - Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2006. "Authoritarian Determinants of Democracy Party Competition," *Party Politics* 12(3): 415-437.
 - Margit Tavits. 2005. "The Development of Stable Party Support: Electoral Dynamics in Post-Communist Europe." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(2): 283-298.
 - Germany
 - Cindy Skach. 2005. *Borrowing Constitutional Designs: Constitutional Law in Weimar Germany and the French Fifth Republic*. Ch. 2-3.
 - Thomas Stratmann and Martin Baur. 2002. "Plurality Rule, Proportional Representation, and the German *Bundestag*: How Incentives to Pork-Barrel Differ across Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 506-514.
 - Andes
 - Martin Tanaka. 2006. "Peru and Venezuela," in Scott Mainwaring, ed., *The Crisis of Representation in the Andes*.
 - Eduardo Pizarro Leongomez. 2006. "Giants with Feet of Clay: Columbia," in *The Crisis of Representation in the Andes*.

Week 7 (June 15-17): Special Topics; Wrap-up

- June 15: Elections and Parties in Divided Societies
 - Donald L. Horowitz. 2000. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Ch. 7-8, pp. 291-364.

- Ben Reilly. 2002. "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy* 13(2):
- Case studies:
 - Southeast Asia
 - Paige Johnson Tan. 2006. "Indonesia Seven Years after Soeharto: Party System Institutionalization in a New Democracy." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 28(1): 88-114.
 - Ben Reilly. 2001. "The Rise and Fall of Centripetalism in Papua New Guinea," Ch. 4 in *Democracy in Divided Societies: Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management*.
 - Africa
 - Daniel Posner. 2005. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review* 98(4): 529-545.
 - Leonard Wantchekon. 2003. "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: A Field Experiment from Benin." *World Politics* 55: 399-422.
 - Jessica Piombo. 2005. "Political Parties, Social Demographics, and the Decline of Ethnic Mobilization in South Africa, 1994-1999." *Party Politics* 11(4): 447-470.
 - United States
 - Tali Mendelberg. 2001. "The Norm of Racial Equality, Electoral Strategy, and Explicit Appeals," Ch. 2 in *The Race Card*. See also Ch. 3.
- June 16: Parties in Authoritarian Regimes
 - Iran special coverage section on *New York Times* website.
 - Case studies:
 - Mexico
 - Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Beatriz Magaloni. 2001. "Party Dominance and the Logic of Electoral Design in Mexico's Transition to Democracy." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 13(3): 271-293.
 - Ken Greene. 2008. "Dominant Party Strategy and Democratization." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2): 16-31.
 - Malaysia
 - Reading TBA
 - Singapore
 - Reading TBA
- June 17: Conclusion – Parties, Elections, and Democracy
 - Powell, Ch. 10.

June 19, 4pm: Final Research Paper Due

June 23, 8-10am: Final Exam