

POLS 564: ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES AROUND THE WORLD

FALL SEMESTER 2009

MW 8:00-9:15 A.M., 209 BLAKE HALL

PROFESSOR ERIK HERRON

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Course website available through Blackboard

INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

The course surveys election rules and their effects in theory and practice, addressing questions such as:

- What are the advantages/disadvantages of different rules?
- Can election rules balance the demands of effective governance and fair representation?
- How does election administration affect the integrity of voting processes?
- How do election rules affect the behavior of voters and political parties?
- What are the origins and functions of political parties?

I present the course material in lectures, discussions, and classroom activities, using examples from all regions of the world. I base student evaluations on exams, a research paper, a group project, online quizzes, and class participation.

REQUIRED TEXTS

- 1) Reynolds et al. 2004. *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*. Available online at <http://www.idea.int/publications/esd/index.cfm>. Register and download a free copy.
- 2) Articles available via KU library electronic journal subscriptions:
 - a) Benoit. 2007. "Electoral Laws as Political Consequences: Explaining the Origins and Change of Electoral Institutions." *Annual Review of Politics*. 10:363-390.
 - b) Colomer. 2005. "It's Parties that Choose Electoral Systems (or, Duverger's Laws Upside Down)." *Political Studies*. 53:1-21.
 - c) Birch. 2005. "Single-Member District Electoral Systems and Democratic Transition." *Electoral Studies*. 24:281-301.
 - d) Benoit. 2000. "Which Electoral Formula is the Most Proportional? A New Look with New Evidence." *Political Analysis*. 8:381-388.
 - e) Reilly. 2002. "Social Choice in the South Seas: Electoral Innovation and the Borda Count in the Pacific Island Countries." *International Political Science Review*. 23(4):355-372.
 - f) Lupia and Matsusaka. 2004. "Direct Democracy: New Approaches to Old Questions." *Annual Review of Politics*. 7:463-482.
 - g) Qvortrup. 2000. "Are Referendums Controlled or Pro-Hegemonic?" *Political Studies*. 48: 821-826.
 - h) Lehoucq. 2003. "Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types, and Consequences." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 6:233-256.
 - i) Blais. 2006. "What Affects Voter Turnout?" *Annual Review of Political Science*. 9:111-125
 - j) Geys. 2006. "Explaining Voter Turnout: A Review of Aggregate-Level Research." *Electoral Studies*. 25:637-663.

- k) Riker and Ordeshook. 1968. "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting." *American Political Science Review*. 62(1):25-42.
- l) Elklit and Reynolds. 2002. "The Impact of Election Administration on the Legitimacy of Emerging Democracies: A New Comparative Politics Research Agenda." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*. 40(2):86-119.
- m) Alvarez, Hall, and Trechsel. 2009. "Internet Voting in Comparative Perspective: The Case of Estonia." *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 42(3):497-506.
- n) Katz and Mair. 1995. "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party." *Party Politics*. 1(1):5-28.
- o) LaPalombara. 2007. "Reflections on Political Parties and Political Development, Four Decades Later." *Party Politics*. 13(2):141-154.
- p) Riker. 1982. "The Two-Party System and Duverger's Law: An Essay on the History of Political Science." *American Journal of Political Science*. 76(4):753-766.
- q) Amorim Neto and Cox. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science*. 41(1):140-174.
- r) LaPalombara. 2007. "Reflections on Political Parties and Political Development Four Decades Later." *Party Politics*. 13(2):141-154.
- s) Mainwaring and Zoco. 2007. "Political Sequences and the Stabilization of Interparty Competition." *Party Politics*. 13(2):155-178.
- t) Taagepera. 1999. "The Number of Parties as a Function of Heterogeneity and Electoral System." *Comparative Political Studies*. 32(5):531-548.

3) A coursepack available at the Department of Political Science, 504 Blake Hall.

GENERAL EXPECTATIONS

I expect all students to behave professionally in this class. You will be held responsible for all reading and classroom material. If you miss a class, you are still responsible for the content of that day's class (you must obtain notes from another student; my notes will not be made available for student use). I will not tolerate disruptive behavior, including reading newspapers, text messaging, talking during lectures, and insulting classmates or the instructor. **You must turn off all cell phones during class.**

The research paper must be submitted in hard copy and electronically. I will submit all papers to a plagiarism detection tool. Please send a copy of the paper via e-mail in txt, rtf, or doc format. Failure to submit an electronic copy will result in a grade of "incomplete" for the course. If you would like to challenge any grade that you have received, you must submit a typed explanation of why the grade should be reconsidered before we meet to discuss a grade change.

Any student in this course who has a disability that may preclude demonstrating fully his or her abilities should contact me as soon as possible. We will discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation in the course.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Your grade will be based on the following components:

- 1) Exams (40%)
- 2) Research Paper, Proposal, and Presentation (20%)
- 3) Group Election Blog (20%)

- 4) Quizzes (10%)
- 5) Attendance and Participation (10%)

Exam: You will take two exams during the term. Each exam constitutes 20% of your grade.

Research Paper, Proposal, and Presentation: A 12-15 page research paper, written proposal, and oral presentation account for 20% of your grade. A two-page written proposal is due on October 28, 2009. The final paper is due at the beginning of class on December 9, 2009. Late papers will be penalized 10% for every day they are late. No work will be accepted after the end of the final exam period.

- Potential Topics:
"Election Reform in _____"
"An Explanation of Party System Evolution in _____"
"A Comparative Analysis of (the Media/Voter Participation/Party Identification/Government Interference) in Elections in (Africa/Asia/Central and South America/Post-Communist States/Western Europe)"
- Please note that you may not write a paper about a country that is part of the group research project unless it is part of a broader comparison. Other topics are only acceptable if I approve them in advance.
- Both your proposal and paper should be prepared as professional documents. The papers must be typed, formatted properly (including a title page and bibliography), spell-checked and proof read. The bibliography should include no fewer than 15 sources (no more than seven may be web sites). You should use a standard, variable-width, 12-point font such as Times New Roman. Your grade will be based on the presentation of the material as well as the content.
- During the final weeks of the semester, you will make a brief oral presentation of your research findings. You will receive further instructions about the presentation during the term.

Group Blog: You will be part of a working group studying elections scheduled to take place this term. Your team will create and regularly update a blog about your assigned election. Your posts should include information about unfolding events and your interpretation of them. You should integrate course material with other information (e.g., articles, maps, political party websites, etc.). At a minimum, you must post at least one time per week (see the calendar for more details). The group blog constitutes 20% of your grade.

- Topics include: country background, election rules, political parties, campaign issues, election administration, results, and consequences of the election.
- Elections: Czech Republic (Parliamentary, 10/9), Guinea (Parliamentary 10/11), Uruguay (Parliamentary and Presidential, 10/25), Mozambique (Parliamentary and Presidential 10/28), Botswana (Parliamentary), Tunisia (Parliamentary and Presidential), Ireland (Referendum), Niger (Parliamentary 11/28 and Presidential 11/14), Romania (Presidential (11/28), and

Honduras (11/29).

- You will receive group assignments in the second week of class. During that week, your group should determine its preferences for the election it will cover on the blog. I will announce the final assignments at the beginning of the third week of class.

Quizzes: An online multiple-choice quiz will be posted once per week for the reading assignment due on Monday. You must respond to the quiz by midnight on the Monday before the reading is due (the first day it is listed on the syllabus). Your performance on the quizzes constitutes 10% of your grade.

Attendance and Participation: Attendance and active participation in discussion accounts for 10% of your grade. I will take attendance at each class session beginning on 8/31/09. For each class period beyond four that you miss, you will lose one point on your attendance and participation score.

GRADING SCALE

100-94 = A; 93-90 = A-; 89-87 = B+; 86-84 = B; 83-80 = B-; 79-77 = C+; 76-74 = C; 73-70 = C-; 69-67 = D+; 66-64 = D; 63-60 = D-; 59 – 00 = F

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

No form of academic dishonesty will be tolerated. If you cheat, plagiarize or commit any other violation of academic integrity, you will be assigned an F for the course. **Do not download your paper from a site on the Internet that provides or sells research material.** I will check student submissions using a plagiarism detection tool. All work in this class must be your own.

COURSE SCHEDULE

The following is a list of topics to be covered at each class meeting and the readings which should be completed in order to fully participate in class that day. While I give specific days on which certain topics will be covered, the calendar is subject to change:

Date:	
Week 1 Mon., 8/24 Wed., 8/26	Elect Rules and their Effects <i>Reading:</i> Chapters 1 and 2 of Reynolds et al. <i>Assignment:</i> Vote in Poll (in-class) <i>Discussion Questions:</i> How do election rules affect voting outcomes? What are the implications for democracy?
Week 2 Mon., 8/31 Wed., 9/2	Problems of Election Rule Design <i>Reading:</i> Riker, CP and Shepsle and Bonchek, Chapters 1-3, CP <i>Assignment:</i> Quiz (Riker) due by midnight on Mon., 8/31 Preliminary group assignments distributed. Establish communication and submit requests for elections by 5 p.m. on Fri., 9/4. Final assignments will be posted by 5 p.m. on Monday, 9/7.

	<p><i>Discussion Questions:</i> What are the populist and liberal interpretations of democracy? How can we apply these concepts to elections? What does social choice theory suggest about election rule design? How do "spoilers" affect the integrity of elections?</p>
<p>Week 3 Mon., 9/7 Wed., 9/9</p>	<p><u>No Class on Mon., 9/7 – Labor Day</u></p> <p>Duverger's Propositions and Election Rule Design</p> <p><i>Reading:</i> Benoit (2007). Available online through the KU library. Colomer (2005). Available online through the KU library.</p> <p><i>Assignment:</i> Quiz (Benoit) due by midnight on Wed., 9/9 First blog post due by 5 p.m. on Fri., 9/11.</p> <p><i>Discussion Questions:</i> What are the psychological and mechanical effects, and why do they matter? How does Duverger's Law predict that party systems will evolve in plurality systems? How does Duverger's Hypothesis predict that party systems will evolve in majority-runoff and proportional systems? How can one explain anomalies (Canada, India, South Africa)? Who are the major actors in election system design and reform?</p>
<p>Week 4 Mon., 9/14 Wed., 9/16</p>	<p>Plurality, Majority-Runoff, and Electoral College</p> <p><i>Reading:</i> Chapter 3, pgs. 35-56 and Chapter 4, 130-137 of Reynolds et al. Birch (2005). Available online through the KU library.</p> <p><i>Assignment:</i> Quiz (Reynolds et al.) due by midnight on Mon., 9/14.</p> <p>Blog post due by 5 p.m. on Fri., 9/18.</p> <p><i>Discussion Questions:</i> How do plurality, majority-runoff, and Electoral College systems function? What are the advantages/disadvantages of each system? Which system is best for electing presidents and why?</p>
<p>Week 5 Mon., 9/21 Wed., 9/23</p>	<p>Proportional Representation</p> <p><i>Reading:</i> Chapter 3, pgs. 57-90 of Reynolds et al. Benoit (2000). Available online through the KU library.</p> <p><i>Assignment:</i> Quiz (Reynolds et al.) due by midnight on Mon., 9/21. Blog post due by 5 p.m. on Fri., 9/25.</p> <p><i>Discussion Questions:</i> How do PR systems allocate seats? Are electoral thresholds beneficial or problematic? How do various formulas (e.g., Hare, D'Hondt, Droop) function? What are the advantages/disadvantages of PR?</p>
<p>Week 6 Mon., 9/28 Wed., 9/30</p>	<p>Mixed Systems and Other Systems</p> <p><i>Reading:</i> Chapter 3, pgs. 90-118 of Reynolds et al. Ferrara, Herron, and Nishikawa (2005), Chapters 1 & 2, posted on Blackboard. Reilly (2002). Available online through the KU library.</p> <p><i>Assignment:</i> Quiz (Reynolds et al.) due by midnight on Mon., 9/28.</p>

	<p>Blog post due by 5 p.m. on Fri., 10/2.</p> <p><i>Discussion Questions:</i> What is the difference between dependent and independent mixed systems? How are seats allocated in both types of systems? What are the advantages/disadvantages of mixed electoral systems? What are the advantages/disadvantages of Alternative Vote/STV? SNTV? Block Vote? Cumulative Vote?</p>
<p>Week 7 Mon., 10/5 Wed. 10/7</p>	<p>Referendums and Midterm Exam Preparation</p> <p><i>Reading:</i> Lupia and Matsusaka (2004). Available online through the KU library. Qvortrup (2000). Available online through the KU library.</p> <p><i>Assignment:</i> Quiz (Qvortrup) due by midnight on Mon., 10/5. Blog post due by 5 p.m. on Fri., 10/9.</p> <p><i>Discussion Questions:</i> Are referendums a method to engage citizens in policy-making? Or, are referendums a tool for politicians to gain legitimacy for policies they plan to adopt? Are voters adequately informed about issues to vote directly on them? What are the advantages/disadvantages of direct democracy?</p>
<p>Week 8 Mon., 10/12 Wed., 10/14</p>	<p>Midterm Exam (10/12) and Research Project Consultation</p>
<p>Week 9 Mon., 10/19 Wed., 10/21</p>	<p>Election Administration</p> <p><i>Reading:</i> Elklit and Reynolds (2002). Available online through the KU library. OSCE Election Observation Handbook. Available online at: http://www.osce.org/publications/odihr/2005/04/14004_240_en.pdf Alvarez, Hall, and Trechsel (2009). Available online through the KU library.</p> <p><i>Assignment:</i> Quiz (OSCE) due by midnight on Mon., 10/19. Blog post due by 5 p.m. on Fri., 10/23.</p> <p><i>Discussion Questions:</i> What institutions organize and implement elections? How does the administrative architecture of elections vary? How do administrative decisions affect the competitive environment? How do observation, monitoring, and management differ? How are election observation missions organized? What are the professional and ethical obligations of election observers? What are the main shortcomings of observation?</p>
<p>Week 10 Mon., 10/26 Wed., 10/28</p>	<p>Manipulation and Fraud</p> <p><u>Paper Proposal Due (10/28)</u></p> <p><i>Reading:</i> Lehoucq (2003). Available online through the KU library. Posts about Iran's 2009 presidential election on 538.com: http://www.fivethirtyeight.com/search/label/iran</p> <p><i>Assignment:</i> Quiz (Lehoucq) due by midnight on Mon., 10/26. Blog post due by 5 p.m. on Fri., 10/30.</p> <p><i>Discussion Questions:</i> How does manipulation differ from fraud? What methods do</p>

	perpetrators use to commit fraud? Does fraud matter only when it affects an election's outcome? How much fraud is acceptable?
Week 11 Mon., 11/2 Wed., 11/4	<p>Turnout</p> <p><i>Reading:</i> Blais (2006). Available online through the KU library. Geys (2006). Available online through the KU library. Riker and Ordeshook (1968). Available online through the KU library.</p> <p><i>Assignment:</i> Quiz (Blais) due by midnight on Mon., 11/2. Blog post due by 5 p.m. on Fri., 11/6.</p> <p><i>Discussion Questions:</i> Why do citizens vote? What is compulsory voting, and how does it influence turnout? How do political, social, and economic conditions influence the incentives to participate? How do studies of turnout at the individual and aggregate levels differ?</p>
Week 12 Mon., 11/9 Wed., 11/11	<p>Voting Behavior</p> <p><i>Reading:</i> Colton (2003), Chapters 1 & 7. CP</p> <p><i>Assignment:</i> Quiz (Colton) due by midnight on Mon., 11/9. Blog post due by 5 p.m. on Fri., 11/13..</p> <p><i>Discussion Questions:</i> How do voters decide which candidate/party to support? How does membership in social groups affect voting? How do psychological attachments affect voting? How do economic conditions affect voting?</p>
Week 13 Mon., 11/16 Wed., 11/18	<p>Defining Parties and Measuring Party Systems</p> <p><i>Reading:</i> Katz and Mair (1995). Available online through the KU library. LaPalombara (2007). Available online through the KU library. Taagepera (1999). Available online through the KU library.</p> <p><i>Assignment:</i> Quiz (Katz and Mair) due by midnight on Mon, 11/16. Blog post due by 5 p.m. on Fri., 11/20.</p> <p><i>Discussion Questions:</i> Are political parties necessary for democracy? Is democracy necessary for political parties? What explains the origin of political parties? What are parties' main functions? How do parties differ in organization and behavior over time and cross-nationally? What are party systems? Why does the number of parties matter? How can we measure party systems?</p>
Week 14 Mon., 11/23	<p>Institutional and Sociological Approaches to Party System Development</p> <p><i>Reading:</i> Riker (1982). Available online through the KU library. Amorim Neto and Cox (1997). Available online through the KU library. Mainwaring and Zoco (2007). Available online through the KU library.</p> <p><i>Assignment:</i> Quiz (Amorim Neto and Cox) due by midnight on Mon, 11/23.</p> <p><i>Discussion Questions:</i> How do institutional rules affect the number and type of parties that compete? How do social cleavages affect the number and type of</p>

	parties?
Wed., 11/25	<u>No Class – Thanksgiving Break</u>
Week 15 Mon., 11/30 Wed., 12/2	Election Rule Design Exercises <i>Assignment:</i> Final blog post due by 5 p.m. on Fri., 12/4.
Week 16 Mon., 12/7 Wed., 12/9	Student Presentations <u>Final Paper Due on 12/9</u>
Thu., 12/17	Final Exam, 7:30 a.m.-10:00 a.m.