

PSC 9325: Comparative Elections and Parties

Instructor: Marcus Kreuzer

Office Hours: No appointments necessary

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Course Description: Parties and elections are key element of political representation which profoundly shape whose voices get heard and ultimately translated into public policy. This course tries to analyze why parties and elections vary so dramatically across countries and across time. Why does the US have a two party system with loosely organized and candidate-centered parties, while Western Europe has multi-party systems with more policy centered, disciplined mass parties? Or why do the recently formed post-communist democracies have barely any parties or party systems at all? And what consequences do these cross-national differences have for the quality of democracy? We will explore these questions by looking at cross-national differences in party organization, electoral alignment patterns, electoral systems to explore the factors shaping party politics and representative governments.

Academic Integrity Notice: Fair and effective education requires academic honesty and any violation is a very serious matter. Villanova's rules concerning academic integrity are spelled out in the Enchiridion (<http://davinci.vill.edu/enchiridion/>). Note especially the strict prohibition against plagiarism, i.e. submitting as your own or without proper attribution work done wholly or in part by another person. Plagiarism includes unauthorized collaboration on course assignments. Unless otherwise indicated, all assignments in this course are *individual* and no collaboration with any person is permitted. Any academic integrity violation will be punished by a grade penalty up to automatic course failure and will **without exception** be reported to the student's dean for disciplinary action.

Absences: Class participation is mandatory. Any absence requires written excuses. Furthermore, every student absent is required to write a five page summary of that week's readings. This make-up requirement does not apply for your first excused absence.

Grading:

a) CLASS PARTICIPATION (50%): This class' seminar format has important repercussions for how your performance will be assessed. You are expected to self-participate, that is, you are expected to have the readings done, reflected on them, and prepared questions, comments, criticisms. The syllabus identifies some of the pertinent issues on which the readings touch. You are expected to have prepared responses to these questions in advance to class. I will do my best to create and maintain a collegial environment of mutual respect so that everybody is comfortable participating. Students who are afraid to speak up are expected to contact me early on in the semester so that I can assist them or, in exceptional circumstance, arrange for alternative forms of assessment. In all other cases, lack of engagement in class participation will be interpreted as disinterest in the material, deficient preparation and inability to effectively express oneself orally. In other words, it will be judged as a form of academic deficiency on par with poor command of material on written exams, sloppy grammar and writing in essays and spotty class attendance. Given that self-participation is the expected norm, being repeatedly called on by me is a sign of unsatisfactory (e.g. failing) class performance. I also reserve the right to require non-participating students to write essays dealing with the readings or take on additional responsibilities as discussants.

b) RESEARCH PAPER (60%): You are expected to write an 15-18 page research paper that compares two aspects of electoral politics pretty much anywhere in the world where they hold elections.

Readings: The readings average around 100 pages per week. They are neither breezy textbook readings with cartoons and pictures nor are they arcane, jargon ridden academic treatises. They are written for general, intellectually engaged audience and as such require careful reading..

READINGS:

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| Week 1 (1/14) | Introduction & Welcome |
| Week 2 (1/21) | Democratic Theory: Are All Voters Equal ? How Much Say Should They Have ? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Joseph Schumpeter. 1943. <i>Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy</i> (London: Unwin): 250-73. ▪ Carol Pateman <i>Participation and Democracy Theory</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970): 22-44. ▪ Robert Dahl. 1998. <i>On Democracy</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press): 35-43, 62-82 ▪ Michael Laver. 1997. <i>Private Desires, Political Action</i> (London: Sage): 68-85. [skim pp. 72-75) ▪ John Stuart Mill. 1861. <i>Considerations of Representative Government</i> (Buffalo: Prometheus Books): 169-95 ▪ Bingham Powell. 2004. "The Chain of Responsiveness," <i>Journal of Democracy</i> vol. 15/4 (October): 91-104, |
| Week 3 (1/28) | Why Do Losers Accept Defeat ? Why Do Dictators Like Elections ? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Adam Przeworski. "Why Political Parties Obey Results of Elections," in <i>Democracy and the Rule of Law</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 114-146. (Read p. 129-41 esp. closely) ▪ Adam Przeworski. 1985. "Social Democracy as a Historical Phenomenon," In <i>Capitalism and Social Democracy</i> (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press): 7-31. ▪ Jennifer Gandhi and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections Under Authoritarianism," <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i> vol. 12: 403-22. ▪ Juan Linz. 1978. "Non-Competitive Elections in Europe," <i>Elections without Choice</i> Guy Hermet, Richard Rose and Alain Rouquie, eds. (New York: John Wiley): 37-53. ▪ Josep Colomer. 1998. "Electing Popes: Approval Voting and Qualified Majority Rule" <i>Journal of Interdisciplinary History</i> 29 (Summer): 1-22. |
| Week 4 (2/4) | What Shapes Voter Preferences ? Then and Now ? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Anderson, Margaret Lavinia. 1993. "Voter, Junker, Landrat, Priest: Old Authorities and the New Franchise in Imperial Germany," <i>American Historical Review</i> 98/5 (December): 1448-74. ▪ Russell Dalton. 2002. <i>Citizen Politics (Third Edition)</i> (New York: Seven Bridges Press): 145-47, 172-82, 195-200. ▪ Herbert Kitschelt. 1994. <i>The Transformation of European Social Democracy</i> (CUP): 8-13, 15-18, 20-27. ▪ Pippa Norris. 2002. "Campaign Communications," <i>In Comparing Democracies 2</i> Lawrence Leduc et. al. eds. (London: Sage): 127-47. ▪ Shanto Iengar. 1993. "Agenda Setting and Beyond: Television News and the Strength of Political Issues," in <i>Agenda Formation</i> William Riker, editor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press): 211-27 ▪ "The Persuaders" [last three segments] Go to PBS Frontline Homepage and watch online. If you have time also watch "Karl Rove. The Architect". |
| Week 5 (2/11) | Why Parties ? What Do They Do ? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bruce Cain, John Ferejohn and Morris Fiorina. 1987. <i>The Personal Vote. Constituency Service and Electoral Independence</i> (Cambridge: Harvard University Press): 1-4, 9-19. ▪ Shaun Bowler. 2000. "Parties in Legislatures. Two Competing Explanations." In <i>Parties without Partisans</i> Russell Dalton and Martin Wattenberg, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 157-79. ▪ Kaare Stom and Wolfgang Muller. 1999. "Political Parties and Hard Choices," in <i>Policy, Office or Votes ? How Political parties in Western Europe Make Hard Choices</i> (Oxford: OUP): 1-19. ▪ Kitschelt, Herbert, Wilkinson, Steven. 2007. "Citizen-Politician Linkages," in <i>Patrons,</i> |

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| | <p><i>Clients, and Policies</i> Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 1-23.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Richard Gunther and Larry Diamond. 2001. "Types and Functions of Parties," In <i>Political Parties and Democracy</i> Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, eds. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press): 16-30. ▪ Richard Katz and Peter Mair. 2002. "The Ascendancy of the Party in Public Office: Party Organizational Change in the 20th Century Democracies," <i>Political Parties. Old Cleavage and New Challenges</i> Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero and Juan Linz eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 113-35. |
| Week 6 (2/18) | <p>Electoral Systems: How Do They Work and What Do They Influence ?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Arend Lijphart. 1999. <i>Patterns of Democracy</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press): 62-67, 74-77, 143-59, 163-70 ▪ Chhibber, Pradeep and Ken Kollman. 1998. "Party Aggregation and the Number of Parties in India and the United States," <i>American Political Science Review</i> 92/2 (June): 329-42. ▪ Alesina, Alberto and Edward Glaeser. 2004. <i>Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 77-87 ▪ Andrew Rehfeld. 2001. "Silence of the Land: On the Historical Irrelevance of Territory to Congressional Districting and Political Representation in the United States," <i>Studies in American Political Development</i> vol. 15 (Spring): 53-87 |
| Week 7 (2/25) | <p>Presentation of Paper Proposals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Readings TBA |
| Week 8 (3/4) | Fall Break: |
| Week 9 (3/11) | <p>Party Systems: How Do They Differ ? How Do They Work ?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Peter Mair. 2002. "Comparing Party Systems" In <i>Comparing Democracies 2</i> Lawrence Leduc et. al. eds. (London: Sage): 88-107. ▪ Leslie Anderson. 2009. "The Problem of Single Party Dominance in an Unconsolidated Democracy: the Example of Argentina," <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 7/4: 767-84. ▪ Arend Lijphart. 1999. <i>Patterns of Democracy</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press): 78-89. ▪ Alan Ware. 1996. <i>Political Parties and Party Systems</i> (Oxford: OUP): 318-30 ▪ Michael Laver. 1997. <i>Private Desires, Political Action</i> (London: Sage): 90-91, 98-126. ▪ Bonnie Meguid. 2005. "Competition among Unequals: the Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success," <i>American Political Science Review</i> vol. 99/3 (August): 347-58. |
| Week 10 (3/18) | <p>Franchise: Was It Conquered or Granted ?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Adam Przeworski. 2009. "Conquered or Granted ? History of Suffrage Extensions," <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> vol. 39: 291-321. ▪ Alexander Keysar. 2000. <i>The Right to Vote</i> (New York: Basic Books): 3-18, 26-56, 81-87, 104-116 ▪ Ruth Berins Collier. 1999. <i>Paths Toward Democracy</i> (Cambridge: CUP): 1-14, 77-109 (skim or skip section on Denmark, Finland and Netherlands) ▪ Charles Tilly. 1995. "Democracy is a Lake," <i>The Social Construction of Democracy</i> George Reid Andrews and Herrick Chapman (NY: NYU Press): 365-86. ▪ Porter, Bruce. 1994. <i>War and the Rise of the State</i> (New York: Free Press): 170-78 |
| Week 11 (3/25) | <p>Choice of Electoral System: Origins of PR</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Kenneth Benoit. 2004. "Models of Electoral System Change," <i>Electoral Studies</i> 23: 363-73. ▪ Josep Colomer. 2005. "It's Parties That Choose Electoral Systems," <i>Political Studies</i> 53: 1-21. |

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| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Rokkan. Stein. 1968. "Elections," <i>International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences</i> David Sills, ed. (New York: Mac Millan): 11-13 ▪ Andrews, Josephine and Robert Jackman. 2005. "Strategic Fools: Electoral Rule Choice under Extreme Uncertainty," <i>Electoral Studies</i> 24: 65-84. ▪ Andre Blais et al. 2004. "To Adopt or not Adopt Proportional Representation: the Politics of Institutional Choice," <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> vol. 35: 182-90. ▪ Thomas Harrison Reed. 1924. <i>The Government and Politics of Belgium</i> (Yonkers: World Book Company): 33-44, 52-62., 141-86. ▪ Andrew McLaren Carstairs. 1980. <i>A Short History of Electoral Systems in Western Europe</i> (London: George Allen and Unwin): 49-59 ▪ Ernest Mahaim. 1900. Proportional Representation and the Debates upon the Electoral Question in Belgium," <i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i> vol. 15 (May) 69-92. ▪ Data Set. |
| <p>Week 12 (4/1)</p> | <p>Easter Break</p> |
| <p>Week 13 (4/8)</p> | <p>Post-Communist Party Systems: How Come They Are So Different ?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Henry Hale. 2005. "Why Parties ? Electoral Markets, Party Substitutes and Stalled Democratization in Russia," <i>Comparative Politics</i> vol. 37/2 (January): 147-66. ▪ Tucker, Joshua. 200. "Enough! Electoral Fraud, collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions," vol. 5/3, pp. 535-45 ▪ Robert Moser. 1999. "Electoral Systems and the Number of Parties in Postcommunist States," <i>World Politics</i> vol. 51 (April): 359-84. ▪ Kathryn Stoner-Weiss. 2001. "The Limited Reach of Russia's Party System: the Underinstitutionalization in Dual Transitions," <i>Politics & Society</i> vol. 29/3 (September): 385-89, 400-408. ▪ Jack Bielasiak. 1997. "Substance and Process in the Development of Party Systems in East Central Europe," <i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</i> vol. 30/1: 23-44. ▪ Samuel Huntington. 1969. <i>Political Order in Changing Societies</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press): 397-412. |
| <p>Week 14 (4/15)</p> | <p>Transformation of Established Party systems</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Otto Kirchheimer. 1966. "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems," in <i>Political Parties and Political Development</i>, Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, eds. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 182-200. (skip pp. 177-82) ▪ Russell Dalton. 2000. "The Decline of Party Identification," In <i>Parties without Partisans</i> Russell Dalton and Martin Wattenberg, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 19-37 ▪ David Farrell and Paul Webb. 2000. "Political Parties as Campaign Organizations" In <i>Parties without Partisans</i> Russell Dalton and Martin Wattenberg, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 112-27. ▪ Hans-Georg Betz. 1993. "The New Politics of Resentment. Radical right-Wing Populists Parties in Western Europe," <i>Comparative Politics</i> vol. 25/4 (July) 413-24. ▪ Ian Mc Allister. 2007. "The Personalization of Politics," in <i>The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior</i> Russell Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, eds. (Oxford University Press): 571-89. |
| <p>Week 15 (4/22)</p> | <p>Politics and Money: Are Parties Forming Cartels ?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Richard Katz and Peter Mair. 1995. "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy," <i>Party Politics</i> 1/1: 5-16. ▪ Jonathan Hopkin. 2005. "Toward a Checkbook Democracy ? Business, Parties and the Funding of Politics in Italy and the US," <i>Journal of Modern Italian Studies</i> (1): 43-58. ▪ David Donnelly, Janice Fine and Ellen Miller. 1999. "Are Elections for Sale ?" (Boston: Beacon Press): 3-28, 60-83 ▪ Susan Scarrow. 2005. "Party Subsidies and the Freezing of Party Competition" <i>West European Politics</i> 29/4 (September): 619-39. ▪ Hopkin, Jonathan. " The Problem with Party Finance: Theoretical Perspectives on the Funding of Party Politics." <i>Party Politics</i>. Vol. 10 No. 6. Sage Publications 2004. 627- |

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| | 651. ▪ Richard Katz and Peter Mair. 2009. "The Cartel Thesis: A Restatement," <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> vol. 7/4 (December): 753-62. |
| Week 16 (4/29) | Paper Discussion ▪ |