PSC 558: Comparative Parties and Elections

Spring 2017 Tuesdays 12:30pm – 3:15pm Harkness 329

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How and why do political parties emerge? What determines party success and failure? What are the causes and consequences of adopting different electoral rules? Under what conditions does strategic voting occur? What role do the economy, ideology, and partisan identification play in shaping the choices voters make? The goal of this seminar is to examine the classic and contemporary literature on political parties, electoral systems, and voting in comparative politics. We consider multiple methodological approaches to these topics and compare the dynamics of parties, elections, and voting across of range of empirical contexts, including old and new democracies and electoral authoritarian regimes.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

This course is a seminar. Students are thus expected to actively contribute to the discussion each and every week. This necessitates a careful reading of the material prior to the class. In preparing for class, students should think carefully about both the substantive and methodological aspects of each reading individually and in comparison with each other. Student responsibilities include leading discussion of one (or a subset) of the readings in **each** seminar, drawing the class into describing and comparing the readings substantively and methodologically. (There will be some flexibility about this depending on the size of the class and the readings for the week.) A one page handout of notes per reading should be provided. Grades will be based on these presentations and general class discussion (33%); the take-home "midterm," (33%); and a take-home "final" (33%), covering the 2nd half of the course.

**Barring extraordinary circumstances, late exams will be marked down a third of a grade (for ex. A to A-) for each 24 hour period after they are due. Thus, if a paper is turned in any time during the first 24 hours after it is due, it is penalized a third of a grade. Any paper not turned in within a week of the assigned due date will automatically receive a zero.

REQUIRED READINGS

In this course, we read a combination of books, book chapters and journal articles. Articles and book chapters will be available through Blackboard. The books for the course are listed below. One copy of each book will be on reserve in the library, but you will probably find it easier to purchase them.

Chhibber, Pradeep and Ken Kollman. 2004. The Formation of National Party Systems:

Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India, and the United States. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cox, Gary. 1997. Making Votes Count. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Meguid, Bonnie M. 2008. *Party Competition between Unequals: Strategies and Electoral Fortunes in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. (also available as an e-book at the library)

Academic Honesty Policy

All assignments and activities associated with this course must be performed in accordance with the University of Rochester's Academic Honesty Policy. More information is available at: www.rochester.edu/college/honesty

In this course, the following additional requirements are in effect:

You are encouraged to discuss course readings with your fellow students. However, all written work – one-page handouts and exams – must be done independently and not in collaboration with another.

CLASS SCHEDULE

January 24: What is a Party?

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Brothers. Chapter 2.

Schlesinger, J. 1984. "On the Theory of Party Organization." Journal of Politics. 46(2): 369-400.

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. 1998(1888). The Communist Manifesto. Oxford: Oxford UP.

January 31: Why Do Parties and Party Systems Emerge?

Lipset, Seymour and Stein Rokkan. 1990. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction." In Peter Mair (ed) *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford UP. 91-138.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. The Silent Revolution. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 2.

Aldrich, John. 1995. Why Parties? Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-2.

Bates, Robert H. 1983. "Modernization, Ethnic Competition and the Rationality of Politics in Contemporary Africa." In *State versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas*. Eds. Donald Rothchild and Victor Olorunsola. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 152-171.

February 7: Party Systems

Sartori, Giovanni. 1990. "A Typology of Party Systems," In Peter Mair (ed), *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford UP: 316-349.

Grofman, Bernard and Arend Lijphart. 1986. *Electoral Laws and their Political Consequences*. New York: Agathon Press. Chapters 1 (Riker) and 3 (Duverger).

Neto, Octavio and Gary Cox. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science*. 41(1): 149-174.

Huntington, Samuel. 1970. "Social and Institutional Dynamics of One-Party Systems." In Samuel Huntington and Clement C. Moore (eds.), *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society*. New York: Basic Books.

February 14: Party Positioning

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row. Chapters 7-8.

Riker, William. 1982. Liberalism against Populism. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press. 197-232.

Budge, Ian and Dennis Farlie. 1983. "Party Competition- Selective Emphasis or Direct Confrontation?" in *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*. eds. Hans Daalder and Peter Mair. London: Sage Publications. 267-306.

Miller, Gary and Norman Schofield. 2003. "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States." *American Political Science Review*. 97(2): 245-260.

February 21: Explaining Party Success and Failure I

Przeworski, Adam and John Sprague. 1986. *Paper Stones*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Prologue and Chapters 1-2.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. The Transformation of European Social Democracy. Cambridge:

Cambridge UP. 112-49.

Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. Voting for Autocracy. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. Introduction.

February 28: Explaining Party Success and Failure II

Meguid, Bonnie M. 2008. *Party Competition between Unequals: Strategies and Electoral Fortunes in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. Chapters 1-4 plus 1 case study chapter (either ch 5, 6 or 7)

Adams, James, et al. 2006. "Are Niche Parties Fundamentally Different from Mainstream Parties? The Causes and the Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976-1998." *American Journal of Political Science*. 50 (3): 513-29.

March 7: New Parties and Political Challenges

**Take-Home Midterm handed out in class. Due March 10 by noon.

Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair. 1995. "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy." *Party Politics* 1(1): 5-18.

Dalton, Russell and Martin Wattenberg (eds). 2000. *Parties without Partisans*. Oxford: Oxford UP. Chapters 2-5.

March 14: no class; Spring Break

March 21: Voting I: Issue and Partisan Voting

Rabinowitz, George and Elaine Macdonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 83(1): 93-121.

Iversen, Torben. 1994. "Political Leadership and Representation in Western European Democracies: A Test of Three Models of Voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 38(1): 45-74

Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 825-50

Brader, Ted and Joshua A. Tucker. 2012. "Following the Party's Lead." *Comparative Politics*. July: 403-20 (plus Appendix).

March 28: Voting II: Strategic and Expressive Voting

Cox, Gary. 1997. Making Votes Count. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-7

Grofman, Bernard. 1985. "The Neglected Role of the Status Quo in Models of Issue Voting." *Journal of Politics* 47(1): 230-237.

Kedar, Orit. 2005. "When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections." *American Political Science Review* 99(2): 185-199.

Schuessler, Alexander A. 2000. "Expressive Voting." Rationality and Society. 12(1)

April 4: Voting III: Economic and Clientelistic Voting

Samuels, David. 2004. "Presidentialism and Accountability for the Economy in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 98(3): 425-436.

Kayser, Mark Andreas and Christopher Wlezien. 2011. "Performance Pressure: Patterns of Partisanship and the Economic Vote." *European Journal of Political Research* 50(3): 365-94.

Stokes, Susan. 2007. "Political Clientelism." In Boix and Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford UP. 604-27.

Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin." *World Politics*. 55.3: 399-422.

April 11: Turn-Out

Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. 1986. "American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 80(1): 17-43.

Aldrich, John. 1993. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(1): 246-278.

Bendor, Jonathan, Daniel Diermeier and Michael Ting. 2003. "A Behavioral Model of Turnout." *American Political Science Review* 97(2): 261-280.

Nichter, Simeon. 2008. Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot." *American Political Science Review*. 102.1: 19-31.

April 18: Institutional Rules

Blais, André et al. 2005. "To Adopt or Not to Adopt Proportional Representation." *British Journal of Political Science*. 35(Jan.): 182-90.

Boix, Carles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game." American Political Science Review. 93(3).

Cusack, Thomas, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems." *APSR*. 101(3): 373-91.

Frye, Timothy. 1997. "A Politics of Institutional Choice: Post-Communist Presidencies." *Comparative Political Studies*. 30.5: 523-52.

April 25: Electoral Aggregation

Cox, Gary. 1997. Making Votes Count. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 10.

Chhibber, Pradeep and Ken Kollman. 2004. *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India, and the United States.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

May 2: Emerging Research on Parties and Elections

Selected conference papers (TBA)

**Take-Home Final Exam handed out in class. Due TUESDAY, May 9 by noon.