

Political Science 290F
Comparative Electoral Systems
Fall 2012
Wednesdays 3:10-6pm, Kerr 593

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Course Webpage: <http://faculty.psdomain.ucdavis.edu/escheiner/courses/pol290f/pol290f.html>

Required Texts:

- Gary W. Cox. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press. **Available at bookstore**
- Moser, Robert G., and Ethan Scheiner. 2012. *Electoral Systems and Political Context: How the Effects of Rules Vary Across New and Established Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press. **Available at bookstore**
- **Coursepack** at Davis Textbooks (236 A St.).
- Some reading (which will be labeled) is listed under the Resources tab at the smartsite for the course.
- Also, much of the reading will be online at JSTOR/scholar.google.com/etc.

Course Summary: This course offers a comparative analysis of electoral rules and has three principal aims.

First and foremost, this course is designed to give students an introduction to the literature on one of the most prominent institutions studied within political science: electoral systems. Electoral rules are critically important to politics. This was most obviously true in the 2000 U.S. presidential election, where one candidate won a majority of the vote but lost the Electoral College, thereby making him the loser of the election. (And this very nearly happened again in 2004!) Electoral rules vary widely outside of the U.S. Proportional representation (PR) is quite common in other countries. In most PR systems, parties are allotted a proportion of the seats in the legislature that is roughly equal to the proportion of the vote they won in popular balloting. However, in Turkey, only parties that win more than 10% of the popular vote are allotted seats. As a result, in the 2002 Turkish election, despite the fact that they together received only 54% of the vote, only two parties won representation. After winning only 34% of the vote, the top party took 66% of all the seats, and was therefore able to dominate the country's politics.

This course offers an understanding of the way electoral institutions – in particular, those that are used to elect legislators – work, and, most important, looks at the way the political science literature has studied this topic. In the process, we examine electoral rules in countries throughout the world, including the U.S., South America, Eastern and Western Europe, and Asia.

For the sake of better learning the workings of the different electoral rules in the course, I recommend sitting in on POL140A this quarter, but that is by no means necessary.

Second, this course is designed explicitly to help students prepare for the comparative politics written qualifying exam. For this reason, there is quite a bit of reading and I assign a take-home exam that is intended to get you to stay on top of the reading and think about the big questions within the literature. There is additional reading listed at the end of the syllabus. It is not necessary to read this literature for the course, but you'll be expected to know it for the written qualifying exam.

Third, this course is designed to prepare you to do your own research and increase your general level of "professionalism." You spend the final few weeks of the course writing a paper on a topic – related to electoral institutions (although there is some flexibility on this) – of your choosing. The central part of this paper is developing your own research design. In addition, we spend considerable time in the course talking about how to do political science analysis and how to present it (both in written and oral form).

Additional Comment for Grad Students: The most common characteristic I have noticed among students who are not doing well in graduate school is lack of communication. If you need to turn in something late for my class, please just let me know. And if you are having problems with the program or with class, please come talk with me. There is no shame in any of that!

Assignments:

- Weekly reading assignments
- Class participation (10%). Keep this in mind: If the rest of your work is flawless, but you don't participate in class, the highest grade you can get in the class is an A- (i.e., 90%).
- Take-home midterm that will be assigned at the end of class on 11/7 and due by 11/14 (50%).
- Final paper – due 12/11 by 3pm (30%)
 - An analysis of some feature of electoral rules. However, beyond that, it is up to you as to what to write about.
 - If you have a clearly-established and well-defined interest in a different political institution, you may do an analysis of that institution instead. But in general I will strongly prefer that you do an analysis of electoral rules.
 - Please come see me early and often to talk about what you might be interested in writing about. If you wait until after the midterm, you won't have time to put together a paper topic and paper.
 - I strongly discourage anyone from taking an incomplete in the course. If you plan to take an incomplete, please have a very good reason and discuss this with me by one week before the final paper due date.
 - The paper should at a minimum include all components of a standard journal article except for the analysis:
 - Intro
 - Literature review
 - Theoretical development
 - Research Design
 - Hypotheses

- I would prefer that you also do analysis (preferably quantitative), but this part of the paper will vary by the student's interests, skills, and experience with political science. Please come see me about this.
- In-class, power-point presentation of your final paper (10%)

Written Assignments: All written assignments must be double-spaced and typed in Times New Roman 12-point font, have 1-inch margins (not the MS Word default), and be carefully proofread. (I have little patience for typos/missing words/poorly constructed sentences, nouns-pronouns that don't match, etc.) On a separate title page only, please put your name, course, assignment, and the date. Use page numbers whenever you submit something longer than one page. (Papers without page numbers drive me insane.) And, finally, please stick closely to the prescribed lengths.

Class Dates, Topics, and Reading

1. 10/3: Introduction and Background – **Class will start at 3:30pm today**

- Rein Taagepera and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1989. *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Ch2-3 (“General Features of Electoral Systems,” and “Variables in Electoral Systems,” pp. 9-37). **Coursepack**
- Cox, Ch3
- Gallagher, Michael, and Paul Mitchell. 2005. “Introduction to Electoral Systems.” Pp. 3-24 in Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell (eds.), *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. New York: Oxford University Press. **Coursepack**
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg. 2005. “Comparative Electoral Systems Research: The Maturation of a Field and New Challenges Ahead.” Pp. 25-56 in Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell (eds.), *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. New York: Oxford University Press. **Coursepack**
- Moser and Scheiner, Ch1 and descriptions of how to compute N and LSq in Ch3. **Page proofs are available at smartsite**

Discussion today will be minimal. Mostly, it will be first be a basic introduction to the class: Who are you? Who am I? What is this class about? What do you need to do in this class?

In general, the class will be much more of a discussion, but today I want to make sure we are all up to speed on the ways different electoral rules work. The most time-consuming part of class today will be a power point presentation by me on the functioning of different electoral rules. Power point slides for today’s lecture are available at the POL290F course site at <https://smartsite.ucdavis.edu>. I would like to go over this as quickly as possible, so please download the slides prior to class.

Also, we’ll briefly go over issues of how to do social science analysis. (Those of you who took POL242 with me will recognize this stuff.) Included here, we will consider:

- *The importance of theory/model development based on clearly-drawn mechanisms*
- *Generating testable implications*
- *Linking hypotheses and theory*
- *The importance of assumptions*

2. 10/10: SMDs, Duverger, & PR

- Cal Tech Rules
 - http://www.stanford.edu/~weingast/caltech_rules.pdf
- Riker, W.H. (1982) 'The two-party system and Duverger's law: an essay on the history of political science', *American Political Science Review* 76(4): 753–766.
- Cox, Ch 2 & 4
- Clark, William, and Matt Golder. 2006. "Rehabilitating Duverger's Theory: Testing the Mechanical and Strategic Modifying Effects of Electoral Laws" *Comparative Political Studies* 39: 679-708.
- Moser, Robert G., Ethan Scheiner, and Caitlin Milazzo. 2011. "Social Diversity Affects the Number of Parties Even under First-Past-the-Post Rules." Unpublished manuscript. **Smartsite**
- Burt L. Monroe, Amanda G. Rose. 2002. "Electoral Systems and Unimagined Consequences: Partisan Effects of Districted Proportional Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Jan., 2002), pp. 67-89

Class today: In addition to the usual discussion, I will do a short presentation on writing.

Next week, we will not have class. Instead, each of you will come meet with me to discuss your thoughts on what you would like to write for your class paper. It looks like we have too many people to fit everyone into the scheduled class period, so I will probably set up additional time earlier in the day (or Monday) to meet. I will put a sign-in sheet on my office door. Please let me know if no time available works for you.

Two things to think about as you read:

1. How can you best skim when reading a lot of work? Look for the following:

- What is the question that the author is trying to answer?
- For our class, how does that question relate to electoral rules?
- How does the author look to answer that question?
 - What is the dependent variable?
 - What are the independent variables?
 - What is the authors' theory?
 - What are the main hypotheses?
 - How do the hypotheses help address the theory?
 - What is the unit of analysis & what type of data/from where (e.g., what countries) does the author use?
- What are the findings of the study?
- What do the findings mean for what we can say about the impact of electoral rules?
- Is the author saying something very different from previous work or largely just adding on to previous work?

2. Consider how really good articles deal with the following (both in terms of form and substance) – we will discuss this again in Week 6:

- (1) *Generally speaking, what makes for a good topic?*
- (2) *What sort of organizational structures do really good articles follow?*

- (3) *What is involved in a good introduction to open an article? What makes an introduction particularly effective?*
- (4) *What features are particularly effective and/or ineffective in the literature review?*
- (5) *Where does theory fit in (both organizationally and substantively) in the article? And what makes for good theory?*
- (6) *What about hypotheses? How do they fit in organizationally? And what makes for good hypotheses?*
- (7) *What makes for a good analysis section?*

3. 10/17: Office hours to discuss paper

- In lieu of class today, I will hold office hours at the time class is scheduled so I can discuss your final papers with each of you individually. I will set up a sign-in sheet in advance.

However, because we are cutting out class today, we will double up on the reading for next time. So, please read the following now (which we will discuss next time):

National-Subnational

- Chapters 10-11 in Gary Cox, *Making Votes Count*
- Chibber, P. and Kollman, K. (1998) 'Party aggregation and the number of parties in India and the United States', *American Political Science Review* 92(2): 329–342.
- Desposato & Scheiner. 2008. "Governmental Centralization and Party Affiliation: Legislator Strategies in Brazil and Japan." *American Political Science Review* 102:509-524.

4. 10/24: Electoral System Effects?

- Carey, John and Matthew S. Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14:417-439. Online
- Samuels DJ. 1999. Incentives to cultivate a party vote in candidate-centric systems: evidence from Brazil. *Comp. Polit. Stud.* 32:487-518
- Kitschelt H, Wilkinson SI. 2007. Citizen-politician linkages: an introduction. In *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, ed. H Kitschelt, SI Wilkinson, pp. 1-49. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Coursepack

Also, please skim

- Powell, G. Bingham. 2009. "The Ideological Congruence Controversy." *Comparative Political Studies* 42:1475-1497.
- Carey, John M. and Simon Hix. 2011. "The Electoral Sweet Spot: Low Magnitude Proportional Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 55:383-397.
- Carey JM. 2007. Competing principals, political institutions, and party unity in legislative voting. *Am. J. Polit. Sci.* 51(1):92-107

- Crisp BF, Escobar-Lemmon MC, Jones BS, Jones MP, Taylor-Robinson MM. 2004. Vote-seeking incentives and legislative representation in six presidential Democracies. *Journal of Politics* 66:823-46

Please remember that for today you are also responsible for the National-Subnational reading.

5. 10/31: No class so that you can work on your papers

5 page (double-spaced) version of your paper is due to me by email by 5pm the day before (today's cancelled) class. I will quickly get you comments on what you write up, so it behooves you to try to give me as much information as possible on your project.

In these papers, please quickly address the below questions. If you can't address all of them right now that is ok, but you will ultimately need to address them in your presentations and in your final papers, so the more you can do now the better.

- 1. What is your question?*
- 2. Why is this question important?*
- 3. What is the most important literature on the topic right now and what does this literature tell us about the topic?*
- 4. What answer (theory) are you proposing for your question?*
- 5. What are testable implications of your theory?*
- 6. What data do you need to conduct these tests?*
- 7. Are you going to be able to conduct these tests this quarter?*
- 8. If so, what data will you use (and what sort of data analysis - e.g., multivariate quantitative - do you feel capable of doing)?*
- 9. If no, how will/would you plan to conduct these tests in the future?*

6. 11/7: Context and Electoral Rules

- Moser and Scheiner, Intro & Chs 2, 4, 6, 8
- Ferree, Karen E., G. Bingham Powell, and Ethan Scheiner. 2012. "APSA Presidential Task Force on Electoral Rules and Democratic Governance - How Context Shapes Electoral Rule Effects." Prepared for delivery at the American Political Science Association Meeting, New Orleans, LA, August 29-September 2, 2012. **Smartsite**

At the end of class today, I will hand out/post the midterm assignment. It will be due on 11/14 before midnight.

Presentation by me on using Power Point Slides.

As I noted in Week 2, this week we will also discuss:

- (1) Generally speaking, what makes for a good topic?*
- (2) What sort of organizational structures do really good articles follow?*
- (3) What is involved in a good introduction to open an article? What makes an introduction particularly effective?*
- (4) What features are particularly effective and/or ineffective in the literature review?*
- (5) Where does theory fit in (both organizationally and substantively) in the article? And what makes for good theory?*
- (6) What about hypotheses? How do they fit in organizationally? And what makes for good hypotheses?*
- (7) What makes for a good analysis section?*

7. 11/14: No class – midterms are due by email tonight by 11:59pm

8. 11/21: No class – you should be working on your papers/presentations.

9. 11/28: Conference Style Presentations I

Half the class will do power point style presentations today. I will ask the more advanced students to do their presentations today.

10. 12/5: Conference Style Presentations II

The other half of the class will do power point style presentations today.

December 11, 3pm: Final Paper is due - by email and hard copy in my mailbox. Again, please only place your names on the cover page of the paper.

Other reading you should do for comps

Measuring

- Arend Lijphart. 1994. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 - Ch3 (“Disproportionality, Multipartism, and Majority Victories,” 57-77).

Arrow’s Theorem

- William H. Riker. 1986. *The Art of Political Manipulation*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
 - Preface (ix-xi)
 - Ch.2 (10-17)
- Kenneth A. Shepsle and Mark S. Bonchek. 1997. *Analyzing Politics: Rationality, Behavior, and Institutions*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company. Ch3-4 (pp. 39-71).

PR

- Peter Mair. 1986. “Districting Choices Under the Single-Transferable Vote.” In Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart (eds.), *Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences*. New York: Agathon Press. Pp. 289-307.
- Barry Ames. 2002. *The Deadlock of Democracy in Brazil*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
 - Parts of Ch1 (41-52, 56-76)
 - Parts of Ch 2 (77-83, 97)

Mixed-member systems

- Shugart MS. 2001. Electoral “efficiency” and the move to mixed-member systems. *Elect. Stud.* 20:173-93
- Bawn K, Thies MF. 2003. A comparative theory of electoral incentives: representing the unorganized under PR, plurality, and mixed-member electoral systems. *J. Theor. Polit.* 15(1):5-32
- McKean MA., Scheiner E. 2000. Japan’s new electoral system: la plus ça change.... *Elect. Stud.* 19:447-77
- Herron ES, Nishikawa M. 2001. Contamination effects and the number of parties in mixed-superposition electoral systems. *Elect. Stud.* 20:63-86

Ballots

- Reynolds, A.; Steenbergen, M. 2006. “How the world votes: The political consequences of ballot design, innovation and manipulation.” *Electoral Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 3, 1 September 2006, Pages 570-598.

President-Parliament

- Juan Linz, “The Perils of Presidentialism” (Chpt. 14, pp. 118-127) in: Arend Lijphart. 1992. *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Shugart. 1997. “Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal.” *Comparative Politics* 29: 449-472. Online
- Shugart MS, Carey JM. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, ch1-2, 8-10, 12-13

- Cheibub, Jose Antonio. 2007. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1, 2, 6, 7.
- David J. Samuels and Matthew S. Shugart, *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Political Parties: A Framework for Analysis*, Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Peter Ordeshook. 1995. "Institutions and Incentives." *Journal of Democracy* 6: 46-60.

Choices of electoral rules and reform

- 2007. Benoit, Kenneth. "Electoral Laws as Political Consequences: Explaining the Origins and Change of Electoral Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 363-90.
- Andrew & Jackman. "Strategic Fools." *Electoral Studies*.
- Boix, Carles. 1999. Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies. *American Political Science Review* 93 (3):609-624.
- Geddes, Barbara (1996) 'Initiation of New Democratic Institutions in Eastern Europe and Latin America', in Arend Lijphart and Carlos H. Waisman (eds) *Institutional Design in New Democracies: Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Shvetsova, Olga. "Endogenous Selection of Institutions and Their Exogenous Effects," *Constitutional Political Economy*. 14(3), 2003.
- McElwain, Kenneth. "Manipulating Electoral Rules to Manufacture Single-Party Dominance" (*American Journal of Political Science*, Jan. 2008)
- Benoit, Kenneth. 2004. "Models of Electoral System Change." *Electoral Studies* 23: 363-389.
- Katz article in Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell (eds.), *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Minority Representation

- David T. Canon. 2002. "Electoral Systems and the Representation of Minority Interests in Legislatures." Pp. 149-177 in Gerhard Loewenberg, Peverill Squire, and D. Roderick Kiewiet (eds.), *Legislatures: Comparative Perspectives on Representative Assemblies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.