

Political Science 389: Comparative Elections & Electoral Reform

University of Michigan

Tuesday and Thursday 10-11:30, 245 Dennison

Winter 2009

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Course Description:

This course examines the problem of how politicians and policies are selected by citizens. The mechanics of elections (rules, procedures) have enormous impact on what sorts of choices voters are offered, what sorts of coalitions politicians form, whose interests get represented in the policymaking process, and, ultimately, what policies are chosen. For this reason, politicians fight tenaciously to shape the rules under which they compete. This course will investigate what rules matter, and why, and will draw from a broad array of cases to examine the most important issues at stake in current electoral reforms, both in the United States and abroad.

This course is designed for advanced undergraduates. Students are expected to have a familiarity with the major themes, concepts and debates in political science as covered in PS 111 or 140. PS 311, 314 or 340 are also recommended but not required. Students who have not had these courses should see the instructor about whether this course is appropriate.

This course has a moderate reading load. On average students will be expected to read 40 to 60 pages for each class. Class lectures are designed as a supplement to rather than a summary of the readings. Students who attend lectures without doing the readings are not likely to do well in the course. Likewise, students who do the reading but skip lectures will do poorly. Note the midterm and final examination dates as well as the writing assignment due dates. No makeup exams will be given without a doctor's note, or prior approval of the instructor at least two weeks before the exam date. All written work is due at the beginning of class the day it is due. Finally, plagiarism will not be tolerated and will result in a failing grade for the course.

Materials

There are two assigned books, available for purchase at the bookstore. Both are also on reserve at the library:

- Colomer, Josep M. 2001. *Political Institutions: Democracy and Social Choice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Riker, William. 1988. *Liberalism Against Populism*. Waveland Press. Note, we will not be reading the entire book, just select chapters.

The rest of the materials are available in one of three ways:

1. Most readings can be found in an electronic course pack from University Reserves <http://www.lib.umich.edu/reserves/>.
2. Most readings not included in the electronic course pack are available online—links to the readings are available in this syllabus.
3. A few readings will be posted directly on the course website.

PS 389 has its own homepage on Ctools (<http://ctools.umich.edu>). If you lose your copy of this syllabus, you can find another there. Lecture notes will be placed on the website prior to each class.

The website is also a good place to see questions from students and my responses. If you send me a question over email that is of general interest, I'll strip off any identifying information (e.g. your sign-off, return address) and post both the question and my response on the homepage. Students should feel free to send responses/comments/conjectures to me by email to be posted on the website, so that it can serve as a forum for out-of-class discussion.

This class is an intensive writing course. You will have multiple opportunities to write and to give and receive feedback about your and others' writing. If you find yourself struggling please make use of the wonderful resources at the Sweetland Writing Center in addition to seeking help from the instructor and GSI.

Requirements and Grading

Quizzes (6-8): 5%

Take-home exams (2): 30% (15% each)

Reading Memos: 5%

Research Paper: 40%

Final exam: 20%.

Quizzes

You are expected to do the reading assigned for each lecture and be prepared to discuss it (which includes asking questions about it) in class. Needless to say discussing the readings requires that you be in class. I do not take attendance, but as incentive to those who do the readings and regularly attend class I will offer several (usually 6-8) in-class quizzes. These are pop quizzes given at the beginning of each class. Generally these will take only a few minutes and will consist of a few basic questions about the readings on the syllabus for that day -- main arguments, results, conclusions, etc., or perhaps some problems to be solved based on the materials covered in the readings. I will not ask about obscure information, but rather things that should be evident if you have done the reading reasonably carefully. Filling in your name will count as one question (assuming you get it right), which is to say you'll get some credit for showing up. **THERE WILL BE NO MAKE-UPS FOR QUIZZES.** However, to allow for religious holidays, sickness, any other unforeseen absence, or something that prevents you from doing the reading before a class, each student's lowest quiz grade (e.g. a zero, if you happen to miss a class when we have a quiz) will be dropped before the quiz grade average is calculated. Everyone gets one miss without penalty.

Exams

There will be two take-home exams during the semester and a final exam (due Feb. 10 and March 12). These will test your knowledge of the assigned readings and the material covered in lectures and class discussions. The take-home exams will most likely be composed of problems to solve and short essay questions. The final will combine short answer (ID-type) questions and essay questions.

The final exam will be held in class on the final day of class (April 21).

Reading Memos

You will be required to write a memo of at least one page, but not longer than 2 pages (see below for formatting) for any 2 class sessions (so 2 memos total). One of these memos must be written for a class prior to Spring Break. These will be graded on the following criteria:

1. Up to one point for a summary of the readings. What are the big points or contributions of the readings? How is the reading structured? What are the arguments? And so forth. I would expect that you could do this in a paragraph, two at the most.
2. Up to two points for explaining the significance of the reading and/or linking it back to previous readings/discussions. How does the reading add to the debates discussed in class or in other readings? Does the reading agree or disagree with previous authors? How? This is the meat of the paper and may take a few paragraphs.
3. Up to one point for contributing an insight, question, or comment on the readings. This question is not one meant to “stump the class,” but rather something you are wrestling with or wonder. Or, it might be an insight into how the reading is critical or makes a major contribution, etc. Finally, you might also offer a critique of the reading. This should only take a paragraph, although you might write more if you have to explain why a contribution is especially significant.

Memos are due at the start of class on the day the readings for that memo are assigned. They should be typed, double-spaced, 12-point font, 1-inch margins all around. **Late memos will not be accepted.**

Research Paper

Each student is responsible for producing a 15 page original research paper on a topic related to the course. The paper is due on **April 16.** **Late papers will not be accepted.**

The accompanying handout will provide more details on the research paper and includes a list of suggested general topics in case you are having a hard time getting started. In order to provide you with multiple opportunities for feedback and to break the project into smaller, more manageable chunks we will adhere to the following schedule:

- Statement of research question (1 page maximum) 3% (**January 27**)
- Revised Statement of research question 3% (1 page) (**February 3**)
- Research Design (4-5 pages) 5% (**February 19**)
- First draft of research paper (15 pages) 10% (**March 19**)
- Peer review 4% (**April 2**)
- Final draft of research paper (15 pages) 15% (**April 16**)

For the peer review students will be organized into groups of 3-5. Each group member will read the paper drafts of the other members. The group will then meet in class on April 2 to discuss each paper and offer feedback to the writer. Each group member will produce a written one paragraph

summary of his/her comments for each author (so 2-4 paragraphs total). **A copy should be given to each writer during the group meeting and a copy of all four paragraphs should be turned in at the beginning of class on April 2 as proof the assignment was completed.**

Important Course Policies and Procedures

Students with Disabilities

Any student with special needs because of a disability is requested to speak with the professor by the end of Week 3 (January 22).

Readings and Lectures

All readings for this course are mandatory. If you attend class, but do not complete the readings you are not likely to pass the course. Likewise, if you complete the readings, but do not attend class, you are not likely to pass the course. The lectures are designed to supplement—not simply review—the assigned readings.

Examination Policies

Note the midterm (I and II) and final exam dates. No makeup exams will be given without prior approval of the instructor at least two weeks before the quiz/exam date/deadline or without a doctor's note submitted to the professor within 1 week of the quiz/exam.

Plagiarism and Cheating

Any instance of cheating or plagiarism will result in an E for the course.

* Paper assignment due

Preliminaries		
Jan. 8	Course Intro	
Social Choice Theory and Electoral Rules		
Jan. 13	Social choice and the electorate	Colomer 1, 2
Jan. 15	No Class	
Jan. 20	The power of institutions: Same preferences, different outcomes	Riker 2, 3
Jan. 22	Indeterminacy with multiple alternatives	Riker 4
Jan. 27*	Votes → Representation	Colomer 3
Jan. 29	Representation → Government	Colomer 4
Feb. 3* <i>Pass-out take-home exam 1</i>	What can elections achieve? Can democracy work?	Colomer 5; Riker 10
Parties, Representation and Misrepresentation		
Feb. 5	Electoral Systems and Party Systems	Clark and Golder
Feb. 10 <i>Take-home exam 1 due</i>	Electoral Systems and representation	Powell and Vandberg Samuels and Snyder
Feb. 12	Women's representation	Salmond Krook
Feb. 17	Party versus candidate-centered electoral rules	Golden and Chang Hicken
Feb. 19*	Mixed Systems: Best of both worlds?	Shugart Moser and Scheiner
BREAK		
Mar. 3	Elections in Divided Societies	Lijphart Reilly
Mar. 5 <i>Pass-out take-home exam 2</i>	Direct Democracy	Economist (Swiss) LeDuc White et. al.
Mar. 10	Ballot Design and Counting	Reynolds and Steenbergen Niemi & Herrnson

Attempts and Electoral Engineering		
Mar. 12	Great Britain	Britain <i>Jenkins Commission</i>

<i>Take-home exam 2 due</i>		<i>Report</i>
Mar. 17	Thailand	Hicken Hicken
Mar. 19*	Japan	Reed and Thies McKean and Scheiner Reed
Reform Issues in the US		
<i>Campaign Finance</i>		
Mar. 24	The First Amendment and U.S. campaign finance reform	Corrado Ortiz
Mar. 26	BCRA and the Courts	Mann La Raja Briffault
Mar. 31	The BCRA and the 2008 Elections	Hasen Magleby Muntean
<i>Redistricting: Minority Representation and Incumbent Protection</i>		
April 2*	Peer Reviews—In Class	
April 7	Cumulative Voting and Racial Redistricting	Guinier US Supreme Court (Shaw v. Reno)
April 9	Mechanics of modern redistricting	Toobin; Peters, Bensen, Bullock, McDonald, and Gaddie papers from <i>Extensions</i>
April 14	Justiciability of partisan gerrymanders	<i>Vieth v. Jubelirer</i> (Syllabus; Scalia opinion; Souter and Breyer dissents). <i>Washington Post</i>
April 16*	Wrap up/Review	
April 21	Final Exam—In Class	

READINGS

- Colomer, Josep M. 2001. *Political Institutions: Democracy and Social Choice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Riker, William. *Liberalism Against Populism*. Waveland Press, 1982. (Ch.2-4, 10).
- Clark, William Roberts and Matt Golder. 2006. "Rehabilitating Duverger's Theory: Testing the Mechanical and Strategic Modifying Effects of Electoral Laws." *Comparative Political Studies* 39: 679-708.
- Powell, G.B. and George Vanberg. 2000. "Election Laws, Disproportionality and Median Correspondence: Implications for Two Visions of Democracy." *British Journal of Political Science* 30(3): 383-411.
- Samuels, David and Richard Snyder. 2001. "The Value of a Vote: Malapportionment in Comparative Perspective." *British Journal of Political Science* 31(4): 651-671.
- Salmond, Rob. 2006. "Proportional Representation and Female Parliamentarians." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31(2): 175-204.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2007. "Candidate Gender Quotas: A Framework for Analysis." *European Journal for Political Research* 46(3): 367-394.
- Golden, Miriam A. and Eric C.C. Chang. 2001. "Competitive corruption: Factional conflict and political malfeasance in postwar Italian Christian democracy." *World Politics* 53(4)(July):588-622.
- Hicken, Allen. 2007. "How Do Rules and Institutions Encourage Vote Buying?" In *Elections for Sale: The Causes, Consequences, and Reform of Vote Buying* Frederic C. Schaffer, ed. Lynne Rienner.
- Shugart, Matthew S. 2001. "Electoral 'efficiency' and the move to mixed-member systems." *Electoral Studies* 20(2)(June): 173-193.
- Moser, Robert, Ethan Scheiner. 2004. "Mixed electoral systems and electoral system effects: controlled comparison and cross-national analysis." *Electoral Studies* 23(4): 575-856.
- Lijphart, Arend. 2004. "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy*. 15:2 (April).
- Reilly, Benjamin. 2002. "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy*. 12:2 (April).
- The Economist*. 1999. "Politics brief: The people's voice." Aug 14, 1999.
- LeDuc Lawrence. 2003. *The Politics of Direct Democracy: Referendums in a Global Perspective*. Broadview Press. (chs. 1 and 8.)
- White, Stephen, Richard Rose, and Ian McAllister. 1997. *How Russia Votes*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, Inc. Pp. 69-109 (chs.4-5).

Reynolds, Andrew and Marco Steenbergen. 2006. "How the World Votes: The Political Consequences of Ballot Design, Innovation and Manipulation." *Electoral Studies*. 25:3, 570-598.

Niemi, Richard G., and Paul Herrnson. 2003. "Beyond the butterfly: The complexity of U.S. ballots." *Perspectives on Politics* 1(2):317-326.

Jenkins Commission Report (a.k.a. *Report of the Independent Commission (of the UK) on the Voting System*) Volume 1. (Volume 2 recommended, selectively). **AVAILABLE ONLINE AT:**
<http://www.archive.official-documents.co.uk/document/cm40/4090/contents.htm>

Hicken, Allen. 2006. "Party Fabrication: Constitutional Reform and the Rise of Thai Rak Thai". *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 6:3, 381-408.

Hicken, Allen. **TBA**

Reed, Steven R. and Michael F. Thies. 2001. "The Causes of Electoral Reform in Japan." In *Mixed Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds*. Matthew Soberg Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds. Oxford University Press.

McKean, Margaret and Scheiner, Ethan. 2000. "Japan's New Electoral System: Plus la change..." *Electoral Studies* 19(4): 447-477.

Reed, Steven R. "Evaluating Political Reform in Japan: A Midterm Report." *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 3(2): 243-63.
<http://journals.cambridge.org/production/action/cjoGetFulltext?fulltextid=129268>

Corrado, Anthony. 2005. "Money and Politics: A history of federal campaign finance law." Anthony Corrado, Thomas Mann, Daniel Ortiz, and Trevor Potter, eds. *The New Campaign Finance Sourcebook*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. **AVAILABLE ONLINE AT:**
<http://www.brookings.edu/gs/cf/sourcebk01/InternetChap1.pdf>

Ortiz, Daniel R. 2005. "The First Amendment and the limits of campaign finance reform." Anthony Corrado, Thomas Mann, Daniel Ortiz, and Trevor Potter, eds. *The New Campaign Finance Sourcebook*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. **AVAILABLE ONLINE AT:**
<http://www.brookings.edu/gs/cf/sourcebk01/InternetChap3.pdf>

Mann, Thomas E. (2008) "A Collapse of the Campaign Finance Regime?," *The Forum*: Vol. 6 : Iss. 1, Article 1.

La Raja, Raymond J. (2008) "From Bad to Worse: The Unraveling of the Campaign Finance System," *The Forum*: Vol. 6 : Iss. 1, Article 2.

Briffault, Richard (2008) "Decline and Fall? The Roberts Court and the Challenges to Campaign Finance Law," *The Forum*: Vol. 6 : Iss. 1, Article 4.

Magleby, David B. (2008) "Rolling in the Dough: The Continued Surge in Individual Contributions to Presidential Candidates and Party Committees," *The Forum*: Vol. 6 : Iss. 1, Article 5.

Hasen, Richard L. (2008) "Political Equality, the Internet, and Campaign Finance Regulation," *The Forum*: Vol. 6 : Iss. 1, Article 7.

Clark Muntean, Susan (2008) "BCRA's Impact on the Political Expenditures of Corporate Interests," *The Forum*: Vol. 6 : Iss. 1, Article 9.

Guinier, Lani. 1991. "No Two Seats: The Elusive Quest for Political Equality." *Virginia Law Review* 77(8):1413-1514.

US Supreme Court (1992). *Official Reports of the Supreme Court* vol.509US part 3. Shaw v. Reno:630-658. [Selections: Syllabus, Opinion (O'Connor)] **AVAILABLE ONLINE AT:**
<http://straylight.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/92-357.ZO.html>

Toobin, Jeffrey. 2003. "The great election grab: When does gerrymandering become a threat to democracy?" *The New Yorker*. December 8, 2003.

The following articles are all included in *Extensions: A Journal of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center*, Fall 2004.

- Peters, Ronald M. "Redistricting and representation:" 2-4.
- Bensen, Clark. "Substantial political consequences: A practitioner's perspective on redistricting:" 5-8.
- Bullock, Charles S. III. "Two generations of redistricting: An overview:" 9-13.
- McDonald, Michael P. "Drawing the line: Redistricting and competition in congressional elections:" 14-18.
- Gaddie, Ronald Keith. "The Texas redistricting, measure for measure:" 19-24.

AVAILABLE ONLINE AT:

<http://www.ou.edu/special/albertctr/extensions/fall2004/Contents.html>

US Supreme Court (2004). *Official Reports of the Supreme Court*. Vieth v. Jubelirer [Selections: Syllabus, Opinion (Scalia), Dissent 2 (Souter), Dissent 3 (Breyer)]. **AVAILABLE ONLINE AT:**
<http://straylight.law.cornell.edu/supct/search/display.html?terms=vieth&url=/supct/html/02-1580.ZS.html>

"Redistricting Reconsidered." *The Washington Post*. 15 November, 2006. **AVAILABLE ONLINE AT:** <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/11/14/AR2006111401088.html>