

PS 341: Comparative Politics of Developed Democracies

Fall 2007; TuTh 10:00-11:30am; 2002 MLB

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Introduction:

Course Description:

This course introduces the *comparative political science* of developed democracies. It aims to elucidate some of the systematic relationships that may exist between certain social, political, and economic *variables* in such countries, and *not* to detail the political *history* of developed democracies, much less of any subset thereof. For example, we study whether and why different electoral systems produce different party systems not whether *Labour* won the last British election, or by how much. The *Labour* victory is an example of a *datum* which, combined with (preferably lots of) other data, may help us evaluate the empirical validity of some of these theories about the relationships between variables.

We define our universe of cases, *developed democracies*, as those countries in which relatively liberal democracy and relatively free-market capitalism no longer engender serious debate but rather serve as the systemic bounds within which politics occur. Empirically, that corresponds least ambiguously to the countries of North America, Western Europe, Japan, and Australasia, since World War II in most cases, so these country-times serve as our empirical referent. This time period in these 24± countries are our *cases*; i.e., each country-time exemplifies a political system with certain features operating in a certain context. Comparing across as many of these country-times as possible, we hope to develop an understanding of the systematic relationships among society, economy, and polity in developed democracies.

Example:

To help clarify the aims of our study, consider a simple example of a hypothesized relationship between variables and of how political scientists might use the history of these 24± countries as comparative empirical referents to evaluate the hypothesis. *Theoretical Hypothesis*: fewer parties tend to gain legislative representation in plurality/majority (P/M) electoral-systems than do so in proportional-representation (PR) electoral-systems. *Conceptual Variables*: electoral system, number of parties in the legislature. *Empirical Data*: in 24 capitalist democracies, code the electoral system as either P/M or PR (PR defined as cases where the number of legislative seats per district exceeds one, P/M by cases where the numbers of seats per district equals one); code the number of parties as 4 or fewer or 5 or more (counting only parties that win seats in the lower, more powerful house of the legislature). The data below refer to the last election before 1990. *Comparative Evidence*: 4 of 6 countries with P/M electoral systems elected four or fewer parties to the legislature in the last election prior to 1990 whereas 15 of 18 countries with PR systems elected five or more parties. The comparative-historical record does seem to offer our conjecture some support. These are the sorts of questions we will ask; the next question, of course, is “So what?” I.e., after this question, we naturally wish to ask whether legislatures with many parties exhibit systematic differences in the sorts of legislation they produce from legislatures with fewer parties. Do many-party legislatures act slower than two-party legislatures, perhaps? Are the latter prone to more extreme policies? *etc.*

An Example Table of Data

	<i>Countries with Four or Fewer Parties in Legislature</i>	<i>Countries with Five or More Parties in Legislature</i>
<i>Countries with Plurality / Majority Electoral Systems</i>	US, Canada, N.Z., Australia	France, U.K.
<i>Countries with Proportional Representation Electoral Systems</i>	Austria, Greece, Malta	Jap., W Ger., Italy, Bel., Den., Fin., Ice., Ire., Lux., Neth., Nor., Port., Spa., Swe., Swi.

Course Requirements and Grading:

The *required* texts provide our core readings, and Shaman Drum has ordered them. They are also on reserve at the UGLi, as are the *reserve* texts. Required selections from the reserve texts and all required or further readings not in the required texts are also on electronic reserve.

Texts:

REQUIRED:

FRANZESE: Franzese, Robert J., Jr., *Macroeconomic Policies of Developed Democracies* (Cambridge UP: 2002).

GLM: Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, Peter Mair, *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, 4th ed. (McGraw-Hill: 2005).

LAVAR & SHEPSLE: Laver, Michael, Kenneth Shepsle, *Making and Breaking Governments: Cabinets and Legislatures in Parliamentary Democracies* (Cambridge UP: 1996).

LIJPHART: Lijphart, Arend, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in 36 Countries* (Yale UP: 1999).

POWELL: Powell, G. Bingham, Jr., *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian & Proportional Visions* (Yale UP: 2000).

RESERVE:

DALTON: Dalton, Russell J., *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Western Democracies*, 4th ed. (CQ Press: 2005).

LANE & ERSSON: Lane, Jan-Erik, Svante O. Ersson, *Politics and Society in Western Europe*, 3rd ed. (Sage: 1994).

LNN: Leduc, Lawrence, Richard G. Niemi, Pippa Norris, *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective* (Sage: 1996).

LNN II: Leduc, Lawrence, Richard G. Niemi, Pippa Norris, *Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting* (Sage: 2002).

LIJPHART II: Lijphart, Arend, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990* (Oxford UP: 1995).

POWELL II: Powell, G. Bingham, Jr., *Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability, and Violence* (Harvard UP 1982).

Reading and Class Participation:

Everyone is responsible for being prepared to discuss all of each week's readings when you come to class. I will endeavor to make this learning experience as interactive as course size permits. Your cooperation in that endeavor by participating in discussion, providing comments and criticism when asked, and asking questions as you have them is crucial (and is a noticeable part of your grade). If class size prohibits free discussion, I will direct it: expect to be called.

Resident Experts and Short Papers:

Early in the semester, I will divide the class into 3 groups. Throughout the rest of the course, one group will serve as our *resident experts* on each week's materials. We rotate through the groups twice. This is *NOT* a "group assignment". Each *resident expert* acts on her/his own for all aspects of the assignment, and we will grade you each individually.

Each *resident expert* must write a *short paper* *theoretically reviewing and extending* or *empirically considering* some part of that (those) week(s)'s material. A *theoretical review & extension* does not merely summarize the readings; rather, it selects one argument (or a few related arguments), summarizes it or them, *and*, most importantly, extends it (them) theoretically: offering intelligent argumentation as to why that (those) argument(s) may not be quite right, or further reasons that the argument(s) may hold, suggestions as to what follows logically instead or also, *and/or* some other further implications the author has not considered. That is, you must make your own positive (not normative) argument, extending in some way one (or a few related) argument(s) from the relevant readings. You must also provide some discussion of what kind of evidence would weigh for or against your own argument. You need not actually provide evidence (although if you can, great), but you must describe what kind of evidence would be relevant and how it would array if your argument is correct and if it is incorrect. An *empirical consideration*, similarly, does not merely summarize the readings; it attempts to apply some argument(s) from the text(s) empirically to some new case(s). That is, you sketch how the author(s)'s argument might work in some country-time(s) beyond the original sample or otherwise go beyond the original empirical application. Do not simply replicate the authors' empirics. Again, you must describe how the way events unfolded supports the author(s)'s explanation and what would have occurred differently if the author(s)'s explanation were lacking or how the evidence fails to support the author(s)'s arguments and how that evidence would have looked had it followed the author(s)'s argument. These papers are to be *medium* length (shoot for 7 double-spaced, 12-point-font, 1"-margins pages), so you need to develop your theory or empirical evaluation to some intermediate depth.

I will hold *resident experts* especially responsible for rescuing class discussion if it stagnates (or fails to start). Recall that I will grade such participation for everyone; it is doubly important—it literally counts twice—for *resident experts*.

As noted, we will rotate through the groups so that each student is a *resident expert* twice. Try to write at least one paper of each type for your own edification, although we will grant exceptions if you come to us before-hand with a compelling interest in pursuing the same type of analysis in your second resident-expert round as in your first.

Final Exam: Our final (cumulative) exam is on Friday, December 14, 4:00 - 6:00.

Grading: General Readiness & Participation: 15%; Resident-Expert Duties & Papers: 50% ± (25% each); Final: 35%.

Due Dates:

Readings: Please complete all readings for each week before that week's Tuesday session.

Short Papers: Deliver your first-draft papers to the GSI in the manner determined by Friday 12pm (noon) of the last week of each of your resident-expert group's weeks. He will return them to you the following Tuesday, and your revisions are due that Friday.

Final Exam: Friday, December 14, 4:00 - 6:00.

Syllabus and Class Schedule:**The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Fall Term 2007 Calendar**

Registration (for students not pre-registered)	Aug 31, Fri
Labor Day (Holiday)	Sep 3, Mon
Classes begin	Sep 4, Tue
Fall Study Break	Oct 15-16, Mon-Tue
Thanksgiving recess 5:00 p.m.	Nov 21, Wed
Classes resume 8:00 a.m.	Nov 26, Mon
Classes end	Dec 11, Tue
Study Days	Dec 12, 15-16 Wed, Sat-Sun
Examinations	Dec 13-14, 17-20 Thu-Fri, Mon-Thu
Commencement	Dec 16, Sun

PS341 Weekly Schedule:**Week 1: Logistics, Administrative Details; Introduction**

Tuesday (9/4): Introduction to Comparative Developed-Democratic Politics

Introductory Reading: LNN II, ch. 1, pp. 1-39; GLM, ch. 1, pp. 1-23. POWELL II, chs. 1-2, pp. 1-29; LANE & ERSSON, Intro., pp. 1-14.

Thursday (9/6): **CLASS CANCELLED**

Week 2: Socio-Economic Structure (SES), Part I: SES & Politics (Resident Expert: 1a, SES)

Tuesday (9/11): The Politics and Policymaking Cycle in Developed Democracies/ Intellectual History of Comparative Politics

Required: FRANZESE, ch. 1, pp. 1-61 (*skim*: Sect 1.3, pp. 14-41); LANE & ERSSON, ch. 1., pp. 15-51.

Further Reading: OFFE, CLAUS, "Competitive Party Democracy & the Keynesian Welfare State," *Contradictions of the Welfare State*, ch. 8, pp. 179-206.

Thursday (9/13): Socio-Economic Structure & Politics

Required: LANE & ERSSON, ch. 2., pp. 52-101; POWELL II, ch. 3, pp. 30-53.

Week 3: SES, Part II: SES & Political Behavior (Resident Expert: 1a, SES)

Tuesday (9/18): Socio-Economic Structure & Politics

Required: GLM, ch. 9, pp. 263-306.

Thursday (9/20): Socio-Economic Structure & Politics

Required: R. Dalton, "Political Cleavages, Issues, & Electoral Change," in LNN, ch. 13, pp. 319-42; DALTON, ch. 8 pp. 148-76.

Week 4: Comparative Governmental Systems (CGS), Part I: Description (Resident Expert: 2a, CGS)

Tuesday (9/25): Executives, Parliaments, Constitutions & Judiciary

Required: GLM, chs. 2-4, pp. 24-114.

Thursday (9/27): Levels of Government, Constitutional Origins

Required: GLM, ch. 6 154-186; POWELL II, ch. 4, pp. 54-73.

Week 5: CGS, Part II: Alternative Visions of Democracy (Resident Expert: 2a, CGS)

Tuesday (10/2): Majoritarian vs. Consensus Democracy

Required: LIJPHART, chs. 1-3, pp. 1-47.

Thursday (10/4): Majoritarian vs. Proportional Visions of Electoral Democracy

Required: POWELL, chs. 1-2, pp. 3-43.

Week 6: Electoral Systems (Resident Expert: 3a, Electoral Systems)

Tuesday (10/9):

Required: GLM, ch. 11, pp. 340-80.

Thursday (10/11):

Required: LIJPHART, ch. 8, pp. 143-170.

Further Reading: LIJPHART II, entire; LANE & ERSSON, pp. 181-182, 226-40; A. Blais & L. Massicotte, "Electoral Systems" in LNN, ch. 2, pp. 49-82; POWELL II, ch. 4, pp. 54-73.

Week 7: Parties & Party Systems (P&PS), Part I: Description (Resident Expert: 1b, P&PS)

Tuesday (10/16): **FALL (STUDY) BREAK; NO CLASS MEETING!**

Thursday (10/18): Patterns of Party Politics & Party Families

Required: GLM, chs. 7-8, pp. 187-262.

Week 8: P&PS, Part II: Analysis of Parties and Party Systems (Resident Expert: 1b, P&PS)

Tuesday (10/23): Parties' Internal Structures & Procedures

Required: GLM ch. 10, pp. 307-339; Reuven Y. Hazan "Candidate Selection," in LNN II, ch. 5, pp. 108-126.

Further Reading: LANE & ERSSON, chs. 3-5, pp. 102-192; .

Thursday (10/25): Party Systems

Required: LIJPHART ch. 5, pp. 62-89; P. Mair, "Party Systems" in LNN, ch. 3, pp. 83-106 *or* P. Mair, "Comparing Party Systems," in LNN II, ch. 4, 88-107, POWELL II, ch. 5, pp. 74-110.

Week 9: Voting, Participation, & Representation (VP&R), Part I: Voting (Resident Expert: 2b, VP&R)

Tuesday (10/30): Partisanship and Partisan Representation

Required: DALTON, chs. 7-11, pp. 127-242 (ch. 8, pp. 165-95, is review).

Thursday (11/1): Voting: Who, How Many, & How?

Required: M. Franklin, "Electoral Participation" in LNN, ch. 8, pp. 216-35; M. Franklin, "The Dynamics of Electoral Participation" in LNN II, ch. 7, pp. 148-68; W. Miller & R. Niemi, "Voting: Choice, Conditioning, & Constraint" in LNN II, ch. 8, pp. 169-88.

Further Reading: H. Norpoth "The Economy" in LNN, ch. 12, pp. 299-318; POWELL II, ch. 6, pp. 111-32; L. LeDuc, "Elections & Democratic Governance" in LNN, ch. 12, pp. 343-63.

Week 10: VP&R, Part II: Extra-electoral Participation & Interest Groups (Resident Expert: 2b, VP&R)

Tuesday (11/6): Interest Groups & Social Movements

Required: S. Bashevkin, "Interest Groups & Social Movements," in LNN, ch. 5, pp. 134-59.

Thursday (11/8): Extra-electoral Participation & Extra-parliamentary Politics

Required: LIJPHART, ch. 9, pp. 171-84; GLM ch. 14, pp. 441-465.

Week 11: CGS, Part III: The Distribution of & Citizen Influence on Governmental Authority (Resident Expert: 3b)

Tuesday (11/13): The Allocation of Governmental Authority

Required: LIJPHART, chs. 7, 10, 14, pp. 116-42, 185-99, 243-57 (skim: chs. 11-13, pp. 200-42).

Thursday (11/15): Accountability, Mandates, & Representation in Governance

Required: POWELL, chs. 3-5, pp. 47-121.

Week 12: Parliamentary Government Formation & Dissolution (PGF&D), Part I: Unidimensional Models (R.E.: 3b)

Tuesday (11/20): Unidimensional Models of Coalition Government Formation

Required: LIJPHART, ch. 6, pp. 90-115; GLM, ch. 12, pp. 381-421.

Further Reading: POWELL II, ch. 7, 133-53; LANE & ERSSON, pp. 240-246.

Thursday (11/22): **Happy Thanksgiving**

Week 13: PGF&D, Part II: A Multidimensional Model (Resident Expert: 3b, CGS or PGF&D)

Tuesday (11/27): L&S, chs. 1-4, pp. 3-89.

Thursday (11/29): L&S, chs. 5-9, pp. 90-192.

Week 14: Outcomes, Part I: Does the Variety of Democracy Matter?

Tuesday (12/4): Does the Variety of Democratic Systems Matter for Policies?

Required: GLM, ch. 13, pp. 422-40; LIJPHART, chs. 15-17, pp. 258-309.

Further Reading: LANE & ERSSON, chs. 9-10, pp. 294-349; POWELL II, chs. 9-10, pp. 175-228;

Thursday (12/6): Does the Variety of Democratic Systems Matter for the Quality of Democracy?

Required: Powell, chs. 6-10, pp. 122-254.

Week 15: Outcomes, Part II: Current Research on How the Variety of Democracy Matters

Tuesday (12/11): Redistribution, Public Debt, and the Variety of Democratic Government

Required: FRANZESE, *Macroeconomic Policies of Developed Democracies*, chs. 2-3, pp. 62-195.

Further Reading: FRANZESE, *Macroeconomic Policies of Developed Democracies*, ch. 4-5, pp. 196-278.