

# PS 341: Comparative Developed-Democratic Politics

Fall 2013; MonWed 10:00am-11:30am; 3330 Mason Hall

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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 the *Labour* or *Conservative* party won the last British election. The election outcome is an example of a *datum* which, combined with (preferably lots of) other data, may help us evaluate the empirical utility 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 main 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 in proportional-representation (PR) electoral-systems. *Conceptual Variables*: electoral system, number of parties in the legislature. *Empirical Data*: in 24 developed 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 it 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. (We can be more precise as to the statistical strength of this support by, say, a Chi-squared test of independence of these two variables.) 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 the University's troika of book stores have ordered them. They are also on reserve, now located at Askwith Media Library (Room 2002 Shapiro), as are the *reserve* texts. Required selections from the reserve texts and all required or further readings not in the required texts are also available electronically via the course's C-Tools site.

### **REQUIRED TEXTS:**

- GLM: Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, Peter Mair, *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (McGraw-Hill: 2011).  
 LAVER & 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 TEXTS:**

- DALTON: Dalton, Russell J., *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Western Democracies*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (CQ Press: 2005).  
 FRANZESE: Franzese, Robert J., Jr., *Macroeconomic Policies of Developed Democracies* (Cambridge UP: 2002).  
 LANE & ERSSON: Lane, Jan-Erik, Svante O. Ersson, *Politics and Society in Western Europe*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Sage:1994).  
 LNN: Leduc, Lawrence, Richard G. Niemi, Pippa Norris, *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective* (Sage: 1996).  
 LNN II: Leduc, L., R.G. Niemi, P. Norris, *Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting* (Sage: 2002).  
 LNN III: Leduc, L., R.G. Niemi, P. Norris, *Comparing Democracies 3: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting* (Sage: 2010).  
 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 as 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 extending* or *empirically considering* some part of that (those) week(s)'s material. A *theoretical 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, 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 *short-to-medium* length (shoot for 10-12 double-spaced, 12-point-font, 1"-margins pages), so you should develop your theory or empirical evaluation to a commensurately intermediate depth. I strongly encourage you to visit our office hours early & often to discuss your papers; you may also find the Sweetland Writing Center (<http://www.lsa.umich.edu/sweetland>) helpful.

I will also 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 you undertook in your first.

*Final Exam:* Our final (cumulative) exam is on Tuesday, December 17, 1:30 pm - 3:30 pm.

*Grading:* General Readiness & Participation: 15%; Resident-Expert Duties & Papers: 50% (25% each; 10% 1<sup>st</sup> draft, 15% 2<sup>nd</sup>); Final: 35%.

## **Due Dates:**

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

Short Papers: Deliver your first-draft papers to the GSI in the manner s/he determines by Friday 5pm of the last week of each of your resident-expert group's sections. S/he will return them to you the following Monday, and your revisions are due 5pm that Friday following.

Final Exam: Tuesday, December 17, 1:30 pm - 3:30 pm.

**SPECIAL ACCOMMODATIONS:** If you think you need an accommodation for a disability, please let me know at least two weeks prior to the time when the accommodation will be needed. Some aspects of this course, the assignments, the in-class activities, and the way the course is usually taught may be modified to facilitate your participation and progress. As soon as you make me aware of your needs, we can work with the Office of Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) to help us determine appropriate academic accommodations. SSD (734-763-3000; <http://www.umich.edu/sswd>) typically recommends accommodations through a Verified Individualized Services and Accommodations (VISA) form. Any information you provide is private & confidential & will be treated as such. You can find the *Standards of Academic Integrity* on the LS&A webpage: <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/academicintegrity>.

You can find the political science department's *Grade-Grievance Procedure* on our webpage: <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/polisci/undergraduate/advising>.

### **Syllabus and Class Schedule:**

### **The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Fall Term 2012 Calendar**

Registration (for students not pre-registered) .....	Aug 30, Fri
Labor Day (Holiday) .....	Sep 2, Mon
Classes begin .....	Sep 3, Tue
Fall Study Break .....	Oct 14-15, Mon-Tue
Thanksgiving recess 5:00 p.m. ....	Nov 27, Wed
Classes resume 8:00 a.m. ....	Dec 2, Mon
Classes end .....	Dec 11, Wed
Study Days .....	Dec 12 & 14-15, Thu & Sat-Sun
Examinations .....	Dec 13, 16-20 Fri, Mon-Fri
Commencement .....	Dec 15, Sun

### **Week 1: Logistics, Administrative Details, Introduction**

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

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

Monday (9/9): The Politics and Policymaking Cycle in Developed Democracies/ Intellectual History of Comparative Politics  
*Introductory Reading:* LNN II, ch. 1, pp. 1-39; GLM, ch. 1, pp. 1-22 (1-23 in 4<sup>th</sup> ed). LANE & ERSSON, Intro., pp. 1-14. Franzese, ch. 1, pp. 1-61 (*skim*: Sect 1.3, pp. 14-41)

Wednesday (9/11): Socio-Economic Structure & Politics

*Required:* POWELL II, chs. 1-2, pp. 1-29; LANE & ERSSON, ch. 1., pp. 15-51 (in 3<sup>rd</sup> edition; in 4<sup>th</sup> edition: pp. 17-36).

### **Week 3: SES, Part I: Socio-Economic Structure & Politics (*Resident Expert: 1a, SES*)**

Monday (9/16): Socio-Economic Structure & Politics

*Required:* LANE & ERSSON, ch. 2., pp. 52-101 (in 3<sup>rd</sup> edition; in 4<sup>th</sup> edition: pp. 37-75).

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

*Required:* POWELL II, ch. 3, pp. 30-53.

Friday (9/20): Resident Expert Group 1, Paper 1, First Draft Due (5pm)

### **Week 4: SES, Pt. II: Socio-Economic Structure & Political Behavior (*Resident Expert: 2a, CGS*)**

Monday (9/23): Socio-Economic Structure & Party-System Formation, Freezing, & Unfreezing

*Required:* GLM, ch. 9, pp. 278-325 (263-306 in 4<sup>th</sup> ed.).

Wednesday (9/25): Socio-Economic Structure and Citizen Electoral-Behavior & Party Electoral-Competition

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

*Recommended:* **Comparative Governmental Systems (CGS)**, Pt. I: Description – Alternative Design of Constitutions, Executives, Parliaments, & Judiciary; Levels of Government, Constitutional Origins: GLM, chs. 2-6, pp. 23-194; POWELL II, ch.4, pp.54-73.

Friday (9/27): Resident Expert Group 1, Paper 1, Revised Final-Version Due (5pm)

### **Week 5: Comparative Governmental Systems, Part II: Alternative Visions of Democracy (*Resident Expert: 2a, CGS*)**

Monday (9/30): Majoritarian vs. Consensus Democracy

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

Wednesday (10/2): Majoritarian vs. Proportional Visions of Electoral Democracy

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

Friday (10/4): Resident Expert Group 2, Paper 1, First Draft Due (5pm)

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

Monday (10/7): Electoral Systems

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

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

Wednesday (10/9): Electoral Systems

*Required:* GLM, ch. 11, pp. 366-411 (340-80 in 4<sup>th</sup> ed.). *Further Reading:* LIJPHART II, entire.

Friday (10/11): Resident Expert Group 2, Paper 1, Revised Final-Version Due (5pm)

### **Week 7: Electoral Systems & Party Systems (*Resident Expert: 3a Electoral Systems*)**

Monday (10/14): **FALL STUDY BREAK; NO CLASS MEETING!**

Wednesday (10/16): Electoral Systems & Party Systems (continued)

*Required:* GLM, ch. 11, pp. 366-411 (340-80 in 4<sup>th</sup> ed.). (continued); *Further Reading:* LIJPHART II, entire.

### **Week 8: Electoral & Party Systems Wrap-Up**

Monday (10/21): Electoral Systems & Party Systems Wrap-up

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

Wednesday (10/23): Electoral Systems & Party Systems Wrap-up

*Required:* W.R. Clark, M. Golder 2006. "Rehabilitating Duverger's Theory," *Comparative Political Studies* 39(6):679-708.

Friday (10/25): Resident Expert Group 3, Paper 1, First Draft Due (5pm)

### **Week 9: Parties & Party Systems (*Resident Expert: 1b Parties & Party Systems*)**

Monday (10/28): Patterns of Party Politics & Party Families

*Required:* GLM, chs. 7-8, pp. 195-277 (187-262, 307-339 in 4<sup>th</sup> ed.); GLM, ch. 10, pp. 326-65 (307-339 in 4<sup>th</sup> ed.).

*Further Reading:* Reuven Y. Hazan "Candidate Selection," in LNN II, ch. 5, pp. 108-126; LANE & ERSSON, chs. 3-5, pp. 102-192.

Wednesday (10/30): Parties' Internal Structures & Procedures; Party Systems

*Required:* LIJPHART ch. 5, pp. 62-89; POWELL II, ch. 5, pp. 74-110; P. Mair, 'Party Systems' in LNN, ch. 3, pp. 83-106 **OR**

P. Mair, 'Comparing Party Systems,' in LNN II, ch. 4, 88-107.

Friday (11/1): Resident Expert Group 3, Paper 1, Revised Final-Version Due (5pm)

### **Week 10: VP&R, Part II: Voting Participation & Representation (*Res. Exp.: 1b Voter Participation & Representation*)**

Monday (11/4): [Parties & Party Systems WRAP-UP and] Partisanship & Partisan Representation

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

*Further Reading:* W. Miller, R. Niemi, "Voting: Choice, Conditioning, & Constraint" in LNN II, ch8, 169-88; H Norpoth "The Economy" in LNN, ch12, 299-318; POWELL II, ch6, 111-32; L. LeDuc, "Elections & Democratic Governance" in LNN, ch12, 343-63.

Wednesday (11/6): [Partisanship & Partisan Representation WRAP-UP and] 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.

*Further Reading:* Interest Groups & Social Movements; Extra-electoral Participation & Extra-parliamentary Politics

S. Bashevkin, 'Interest Groups & Social Movements,' in LNN, ch. 5, pp. 134-59; Lijphart, ch. 9, pp. 171-84; GLM ch. 13 (14 in 4th ed.), pp. 458-78 (441-465 in 4th ed.).

### **Week 11: Voter Participation WRAP-UP & Parliamentary Gov't Formation & Dissolution, Pt. I (*Res. Expert: 2b & 3b*)**

Monday (11/11): Voting: Who, How Many, & How? [WRAP-UP; will start Unidimensional Models of Govt Form if Possible]

*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. [**Resident Expert Group 2b**]

Wednesday (11/13): Unidimensional Models of Government Formation [**Resident Expert Group 2b & 3b**]

*Required:* LIJPHART, ch. 6, pp. 90-115; GLM, ch. 12, pp. 412-57 (381-421 in 4<sup>th</sup> ed.).

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

Friday (11/15): Resident Expert Group 1, Paper 2, First Draft Due (5pm)

### **Week 12: Parliamentary Government Formation & Dissolution, Pt. II (*Resident Expert: 2b & 3b*)**

Monday (11/18): A Multidimensional Model of Government Formation

*Required:* L&S, *Making & Breaking Governments*, chs. 1-3, pp. 3-60.

Wednesday (11/20): L&S, *Making & Breaking Governments*, chs. 4-6, pp. 61-124.

Friday (11/22): Res. Exp. Grp. 1, Paper 2, Revised Final-Version Due (5pm); Res. Exp. Grp. 2, Paper 2, First Draft Due (5pm)

### **Week 13: Coalition Formation Wrap-Up (*Resident Expert: 3b, Gov't Form & Dissolve, Pt. II*)**

Monday (11/25): L&S, *Making & Breaking Governments*, chs. 7-13, pp. 125-288. [WRAP-UP]

Tuesday (11/26): Resident Expert Group 3, Paper 2, First Draft Due (5pm)

Wednesday (11/27): **NO CLASS MEETING: HAPPY THANKSGIVING!**

### **Week 14: CGS, Pt III: Distribution of Governmental Authority; Outcomes, Pt I: Does the Variety of Democracy Matter?**

Monday (12/2): *The Allocation of Governmental Authority:* LIJPHART, chs. 7, 10, 14, pp. 116-42, 185-99, 243-57 (skim: chs. 11-13, pp. 200-42). *Accountability, Mandates, & Representation in Governance.* POWELL, chs. 3-5, pp. 47-121.

Monday (12/2): Resident Expert Group 2, Paper 2, Revised Final-Version Due (5pm)

Wednesday (12/4): *Does the Variety of Democratic Systems Matter for the Quality of Democracy?* Powell, chs. 6-10, pp. 122-254.

Friday (12/6): Resident Expert Group 3, Paper 2, Revised Final-Version Due (5pm)

### **Week 15: Outcomes, Pt II: How Does the Variety of Democracy Matter?; and Review Session**

Monday (12/9): *Outcomes, Pt II: How Does the Variety of Democratic Systems Matter for Policies & Outcomes?*

*Further Reading:* GLM, ch. 14 (13 in 4<sup>th</sup> ed.), pp. 479-97 (422-40 in 4<sup>th</sup> ed.); LIJPHART, chs. 15-17, pp. 258-309; FRANZESE, *Macroeconomic Policies of Developed Democracies*, chs. 2-3, pp. 62-195; R.J. Franzese, Jr. 2002. "Electoral & Partisan Cycles in Economic Policies & Outcomes," *Annual Reviews of Political Science*, Vol. 5: 369-421. LANE & ERSSON, chs. 9-10, pp. 294-349; POWELL II, chs. 9-10, pp. 175-228; FRANZESE, *Macroeconomic Policies of Developed Democracies*, ch. 4-5, pp. 196-278.

Wednesday (12/11): Review Session

**Final Exam:** Tuesday, December 17, 1:30 - 3:30 p.m.