

PS341: Comparative Politics of Developed Democracies (Fall 2011)
Final-Exam Review/Summary-Outline/Study-Guide

I. Start by **define subject matter**: What is a “Developed Democracy”?

A. Powell: *Democracies*:

1. *governments* in which the people participate in *policymaking* (pp. 3-4)
 - a. With many people, democracy nec’yly *indirect*: choose policymakers in competitive elections
 - b. *Elections* are instruments of democracy to degree give people influence over pol-makers
 - c. Elections not only, but universally seen as crucial instrument, compel or encourage p-m’s to pay attention to citizens.
2. Two Views (each normative & positive): *Majoritarian v. Proportional* Visions

B. Lijphart:

1. *Democracy*: government for & by the people (Daniel Webster, 1830) (pp. 1-3). But, what if the people disagree & have divergent preferences?
 - a. The *majority* of people [Majoritarian Democracy];
 - b. As many people as possible, *proportionally* [Consensus Democracy].

C. **Developed Democracies**: systems in which relatively “liberal democracy” & “free-market capitalism” no longer part of but rather the general boundaries within which citizens and leaders (actors of our models) conduct day-to-day politics.

II. **Course Organization & The Cycle of Democratic Policymaking**

A. [This just a sequential outline of what we covered:]

B. Socio-Political-Economic Structure & Politics

1. Socioeconomic development and democratic politics
2. Socioeconomic cleavage-structure and democratic politics
 - a. Participation, Government Stability & Efficacy, Sociopolitical Order & Peace

C. Comparative Governmental Systems

1. Description of Alternative Democratic Arrangements
2. Alternative Visions of Democratic Government & Its Core Challenges (Powell and Lijphart):
 - a. Majoritarian vs. Proportional Visions
 - b. *Us Citizens vs. Them Politicians* (Accountability) & *Us Citizens vs. Them Citizens* (Representation)

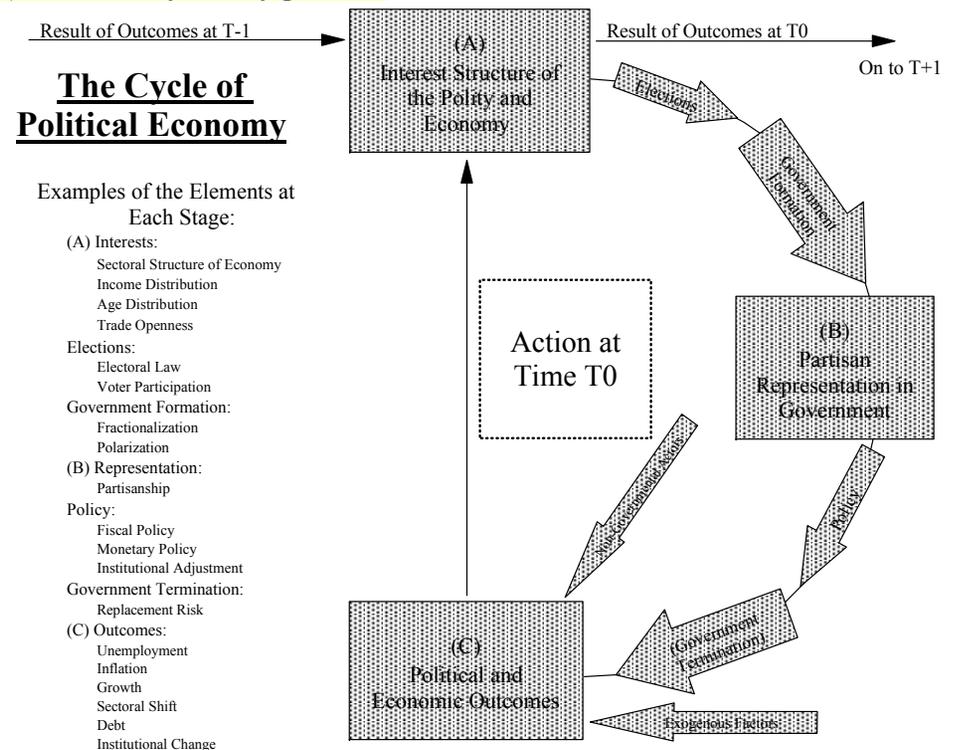
D. Electoral Systems

1. Proportional vs. Majoritarian and district-magnitude
2. Candidate Centered vs. Party Centered

E. Parties & Party Systems

1. Fractionalization and Polarization
2. Party Internal Structure and Party Discipline

F. Participation and Representation



1. Voting: who votes, how many vote, how do citizens vote
2. Extra-electoral Participation & Interest Groups [not covered Fall 2011]
- G. (Parliamentary) Governmental Formation & Dissolution
 1. Unidimensional Models
 2. Multidimensional Models
- H. CGS: Political-Authority Allocation; Accountability, Mandates, & Representation
 1. The Competing Visions
 2. The Central Conflicts
 3. And the terms of the trade-offs
- I. Policies & Outcomes [Not covered in Fall 2011 beyond Powell's *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*]
 1. Do the Varieties of Democracy Matter?
 2. How Do the Varieties of Democracy Matter? Recent Research
- III. Intellectual History of Comparative Politics as a Field of Inquiry (another introduction, built from Lane&Ersson, intro-ch. 1)
 - A. "Traditional" (to ca. 1950s) Study of Politics: 5 Characteristics
 1. *Configurative [Historical] Description*: just describe from A to Z everything political that exists or happens in some country
 2. *Parochialism*: Western (& predominantly US) slant on what issues for consideration
 3. *Formal Legalism*: Descriptive focus on the constitutional & legal details of a country
 4. *Absence of Empiricism, Methodology, & Theory*: description & legalism w/ no attempt to relate aspects & outcomes systematically
 5. *Non-Comparative*: despite the name, the field tended to focus on one country at a time (relates to previous problem)
 - B. Gabriel Almond & the Parsonian Revolution (mid 1950s)
 1. Intro's Central Q: What fosters (stable) (democratic) political development
 2. Theory/Argument: Almond argued Anglo-American political systems stable b/c high degree consensus on political means & ends & b/c political roles of individuals & institutions clearly differentiated & delineated.

Socio-Pol Struct (<i>Culture</i>) → Political Role Structure ↓	Homogenous	Fragmented
Highly Differentiated	Anglo-American	Continental European
Low Differentiation	Totalitarian	Pre-Industrial (Traditional)

- C. Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man* (1959): 'conditions necessary for democracy in societies & organizations'; factors facilitating stability
 1. Economic Development: produces greater income, economic security, & widespread education—all considered conducive in that they form the terms of the 'class struggle' permitting the less well-off to take a long-term [and optimistic] view
 2. Class Structure: large middle class good
 3. 2-Party System: claims two-party competition fosters integrative rather than divisive politics
 4. **Cross-Cutting [as Opposed Reinforcing] Cleavages**
 - a. Claims territorial rather than proportional representation help in this regard
 5. Federal, not Unitary, System: (claims concentration of power frequently a threat to democracy; others note Weimar)

6. Historical development of conflict resolution (problematic?)

Cleavage Structure → Class Stratification ↓	Cross-Cutting	Reinforcing
Highly Stratified	Intermediate	Least Stable
Low Stratification	Most Stable	Intermediate

D. Stein Rokkan: Cleavage Structure & Democratization; Four fundamental developmental processes in democratic transformations of Western Dems

1. Protestant Reformation—divided Catholic/Protestant
2. National Revolution—breaking local & regional affiliations (Germany & Italy mid to late 19th century)
3. Industrial Revolution—replacing diffuse agrarian & religious loyalties w/ class
4. Communist Revolution—international fault lines

E. Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy* (1971): Conditions for & **Conceptualizing Degree / Quality of Democracy** (“polyarchy”)

Contestation ↓	Participation →	High	Low
High		<i>Polyarchies: Italy, Finland</i>	<i>Competitive Oligarchies: Switz., Ire.</i>
Low		<i>Inclusive Hegemonies: Hungary, Poland (pre-Dem.)</i>	<i>Closed Hegemonies: Portugal, Spain (pre-Dem.)</i>

1. G. Almond & Sid Verba, *The Civic Culture* (1965): key to democracy is how citizens relate (sub & ob-jectively) to political system
 - a. People have attitudes toward: political system; input activities of cit’s (e.g., voting); output activities govt (pol’s & prog’s); themselves as political participants These configure into three archetypes of society

Involvement in Pol. Sys. → Knowledge of Pol&PolSys ↓	High	Low
High	Participant Society	Subject Society
Low	[Not Considered]	Parochial Society

F. Arend Lijphart [IN EARLIER WORK THAN OUR TEXT]: *Consociationalism* (Consensus), Inst’lism, & Democ

1. Social heterogeneity creates impetus to instability, but impetus modified or redirected by institutions ⇒ two original foci
 - a. **capacity** of pol institutions & pol leaders to respond to stimuli from society
 - b. institutional means of dividing power to diffuse disruptive conflict:
 - (1) Minority representation
 - (2) Division of power: geographic, demographic, or functional
2. Then on elite behavior:

Elite Behavior ↓	Social Structure →	Homogenous	Plural (Heterogenous)
	Coalescent	<i>Depoliticized Democracy: Switzerland</i>	<i>Consociational Democracy: Austria</i>
	Adversarial	<i>Centripetal Democracy: United States</i>	<i>Centrifugal Democracy: Italy</i>

3. Only bottom-right unstable ==> Heterogeneity only a necessary condition for instability, absent consociation it becomes sufficient
4. **Democracies (1984): stress again structure of decision-making process mediating b/w social cleavages & instability =>**

a. Two ideal-types of democracy:

(1) *The Westminster Model*

- (a) 1 party, bare-majority govts
- (b) fused legis&exec pow, & cab dom
- (c) asymmetric bicameralism
- (d) Two-party System
- (e) One-dimensional party-system
- (f) plurality electoral system
- (g) unitary & cntrlzd territorial govt
- (h) unwritten const & parl sovereignty

(2) *The Consensus Model*

- (a) Executive power-sharing
- (b) Sep. powers, formal & informal
- (c) Balanced Bicam & minority rep
- (d) Multi-party system
- (e) Multi-dimensional party system
- (f) Proportional representation
- (g) Territorial & non-terr. fed, decent
- (h) Written const & minority vetoes

G. Giovanni Sartori: *Parties & Party Systems* (1976): fractionalization and polarization

1. Parties do not simply reflect underlying cleavage structure of society ==> independent role of party systems for stability

Party-System Polarization →	Low	High
Party-Sys Fractionalization ↓		
Low	<i>Bipartism: United States</i>	<i>Centripetal Competition: U. K.</i>
High	<i>Segmented Multipartism: Ireland</i>	<i>Polarized Multipartism: Italy</i>

2. Also emphasizes key role of anti-system parties

IV. *Socio-Economic Structure (SES), Democracy, & Democratic Politics*

A. Introduction: Our analysis of SE cleavage-structure & politics had 4 goals

1. Definition of concepts
2. Survey of some empirical facts, two parts
 - a. variation & similarity broad, cross-sectional features w/in & cross ctry
 - b. change & continuity over time
3. Cover some arguments relating SE cleavage-structure to outcomes:
 - a. Democratic Performance: participation, stability, violence
 - b. Party Systems: number & ideological (platform, policy) location

4. Cover some arguments relating SE development to outcomes:
 - a. Democracy & democratization
 - b. Democratic Perform: participation, stability, violence
- B. SUMMARY of DEFINITIONS & TYPES:
1. DEF: Lane & Ehrsson: “a division on the basis of some criteria of individuals, groups, or organizations [between] whom conflict may arise”
 2. Typologies of Cleavages:
 - a. We distinguish **2 Broad Cleavage-Types**:
 - (1) **Ascriptive Cleavages**: bases for division are inherent characteristics of individuals involved, there’s no element of choosing to belong to some group: e.g., race, caste, ethnicity, language
 - (2) **Acquired (Functional, Preference, or Value) Cleavages**: these are adopted views or, at least to some degree, chosen affiliations: e.g., class, preferences, ideology, & possibly religion
 - b. We identify **4 Common Cleavage-Bases**:
 - (1) **Religious**: Christian/Non-Christian, Catholic/Protestant, Fundamentalist/Moderate, Religious/Secular
 - (2) **Ethnic/Linguistic**: Race, Language, Cultures
 - (3) **Class/Economic**: social class, income & wealth, worker/employer, manual/skilled labor, traded/non-traded sector, private/public sector
 - (4) **Regional/Geographic**: Urban/Suburban/Rural, Center/Periphery, *Regionalism*
- C. **Characteristics of Socio-Econ Cleavages & Cleavage Structure that May Affect Democratic Performance: Summary**
1. **Ascriptive v. Acquired**:
 - a. **Argument**: to extent more salient cleavages are more ascriptive as opposed to acquired, conflict may be more likely or conflict may be more likely to become violent if it arises. Because ascriptively defined groups “no escape”, and because there are at least some chances that groups defined by acquired characteristics have members who’ve spent some time on more than one side.
 2. **Cross-Cutting vs. Reinforcing**: Cleavage structures (a set of cleavages) are **cross-cutting** to the degree that each divides the nation differently into different groups & **reinforcing** to the degree that each divides the nation into the same groups
 - a. **Argument**: cleavages are more (less) likely to be more detrimental to democratic stability & social order the more they reinforce (cross-cut) each other.
 3. **Salience**: importance dividing line & its associated conflicts to those involved. (Some refer to dormant cleavages as *latent* & active cleavages as *manifest*.)
 - a. **Argument 1**: cleavages more likely more detrimental to democratic stability & social order the more salient the issues involved.
 - b. **Argument 2**: the more salient are particular cleavages, the more they weigh in determining the effective pattern of cleavage lines and the relative weight of specific cleavage lines in defining the effective socioeconomic structure.
 4. **Divisibility**: degree to which issues over which groups divided by cleavage easily *bargainable* or *compromisable* as opposed to categorical (0-1). **Argument**: cleavages more likely less detrimental to democratic stability & social order the more divisible the issues involved.
 5. **Ranked vs. Unranked**:
 - a. **Argument**: cleavages (un)ranked in socioeconomic standing tend induce more-intense conflicts between groups
 6. **Relative Size/Power** of groups divided by the cleavage
 - a. **Argument 1**: cleavages more likely more detrimental to democratic stability & social order the more closely is power distributed among the groups.

- b. **Argument 2:** cleavages more likely more detrimental to democratic stability & social order the more unevenly is power distributed among the groups.
 - c. **Argument 3:** cleavages more likely more detrimental to democratic stability & social order as the power of ascendant groups approaches that of dominant groups.
7. **Fractionalization & Polarization:** Fractionalization refers to number of cleavages operating (manifest); polarization refers to “distance” separating the parties’ preferred policies & outcomes
- a. **Argument:** cleavages are more likely to be more detrimental to democratic stability & social order the more fractionalized & polarized the cleavage structure
- D. **Patterns of Cleavages & the Number of Political Parties**
- 1. **Pattern of Cleavages & the Number of Parties**
 - a. The SE cleavage-structure of a polity is described in various dimensions
 - (1) *fractionalization* of society (# of sub-groups, *possibly overlapping*)
 - (2) *polarization* of society (“distance” between groups)
 - (3) degree to which cleavages *reinforce or cross-cut*
 - (4) *relative salience* of the various cleavages
 - b. These factors combine to suggest number of political parties that may evolve to represent various issues
 - (1) They tell us number of relevant *disjoint* subgroups
 - (2) If political parties evolve to represent groups of people with distinct interests, that should at least suggest number of parties that evolve
 - c. Social-structural data that would enable operationalize the abstract concepts above & process them into the number of disjoint subgroups is just coming on-line now. However, subjectively, my impression is that relationship not as strong, directly, as might expect:
 - (1) US–many disjoint subgroups, effectively 2 parties; UK–rel’y homog, 2 groups
 - (2) Italy–relatively homog, many parties; Denmark–relatively homog, many parties
 - (3) **Later, we explore how institutions, particularly the electoral system, condition the relationship from SES struct to party sys.**
 - 2. **Argument:** Cleavage structure suggests # & types of social groups that parties could evolve to represent; *i.e.*, soc. struct. gives basis for political org. suggesting that societal fractionalization & polarization may be mirrored by party-system fract. & polar.
- E. **Modernization & Democratic Performance** [Only very cursorily & superficially covered, in quick passing, in Fall 2011]
- 1. **Key features of development:**
 - a. Growth & spread of affluence
 - b. Economic- & social-struct’l change
 - c. Urbanization
 - d. Spread & advance education, literacy, & mass media
 - e. Greater social & occupat’l mobility
 - 2. **Classical Hypotheses:** Dems w/ modernized social structures & developed economies expected to have higher participation, more stable & effective govts, & less political violence than countries with more traditional social structures & underdeveloped economies & dems. Why?
 - a. Simple, monotonic arguments:
 - (1) (*Education & the Modern Person* hypotheses (Lerner, Inkeles: rational/scientific life views)
 - (2) (*Education & the Value-harmonization hypothesis*)

- (3) *Affluence hypothesis*: (Maslow's hierarchy of needs)
- (4) *Government-resources hypothesis*: affluence allows greater fulfillment of social demands, partly *via* increase of government resources
- (5) *Increasing-interdependence hypothesis*
- b. Non-monotonic, Conditional (i.e., complicated) arguments
 - (1) *Ratio econ dev'p to soc-pol mobilization* (Huntington)
 - (2) *Level of Econ dev'p at intro of political competition*
 - (3) *Pace-of-development hypothesis*

II. Interpreting Regression-Analysis Results

- A. Left-hand side, **y**, is **dependent variable**, the thing being explained, right-hand side, **X**, are **independent variables**, things doing the explaining, and **e** is the error term, representing random chance or whatever is unexplained, in a linear equation like this: $y = b_0 + b_1x_1 + b_2x_2 + \dots + e$
 - B. The **b**, like b_1 are **coefficients to be estimated** on those independent variables. The b_0 is the coefficient on a constant (one), otherwise known as the intercept. **Coefficients** tell you how much dependent variable tends to move for each 1-unit increase in independent variable.
 - 1. **Sign**, therefore, tells you direction of the relationship
 - 2. **Size** tells you magnitude (keeping in mind substantive scales of independent & dependent variables (what is 1 unit of x in real-world terms)).
 - C. The **standard error** is usually given in parentheses below the coefficients. They tell you precision of the estimated relationship: with how great certainty do increases in independent variable lead to movements in the dependent variable? You can read these as loosely something like the +/- number that comes with every survey. E.g., "When percent of population high-school educated or better goes up by 1, natural log of political attacks & oppressions go up by about .04 [coefficient on *edsec*] give or take .034 [std error on *edsec* coeff]."
 - D. **t-statistics**: Std errors should at very least be smaller than coefficient for us to lend any credence to coefficient estimate. We'd prefer them to be no larger than half as large as coefficient. T-statistic is just coefficient divided by standard error. So, loosely, larger t-statistics imply more precise relationships (tighter relationships, not necessarily larger ones). We like t-stats approaching or exceeding about 2 (very crude advice, please don't ever tell a statistician this).
 - E. "P-levels" are the probability, under certain assumptions, of having estimated a coefficient this far or farther from zero if the true relationship actually were zero. We look to these to see if we can say with any statistical certainty that a relationship (positive or negative) exists. We like these "**p-levels**" (a.k.a. *significance levels*, *alpha levels*) approaching or smaller than 0.10 (again, this very rough statement...).
 - F. **Multiple regression** is just like bivariate scatter-plots for two variables with which you are probably familiar, only now looking for relation between a **set** of possible independent variables & the dependent variable. Thus, each coefficient is "the effect of X on Y, holding all else constant" or "the effect of X on Y after having 'netted out' all relationships between the other x's & Y".
 - 1. Coefficients (and standard errors, t-stats, and p-levels) defined above all related to how (and the certainty with which) *each variable, controlling for all the others*, relates to the dependent variable.
 - 2. R^2 term ("**R-squared**" at top-right of table) indicates share of total variation of dependent variable that can be "explained" (i.e., linearly accounted) by, that is systematic in, (*all of*) the independent variables.
- ## III. Lipset & Rokkan's "Diachronic Model" of Cleavage-Structure Formation & Freezing
- A. Overview of Model:
 - 1. Two fundamental stages/transformations of modern nation-state:
 - a. **Process Nation-Building**
 - b. **Industrial Revolution**

2. Each brings two fundamental conflicts, which in turn, shape the nation's underlying socioeconomic cleavage structure
 - a. Nation Building I: **Church v. State**
 - b. Nation Building II: **Center v. Periphery**
 - c. Industrial Revolution I: **Urban v. Rural**
 - d. Industrial Revolution II: **Labor v. Capital**
3. Nature of resolution to these fundamental conflicts during transformation *frozen* into party system of developed democracy that emerges
- B. 2 stages, **Process Nation-Building & Industrial Revolution**, each bring 2 fund'l conflicts ⇒ underlying cleave struct. Nature resolution ⇒ prty sys.
 1. **Nation Building I: Center v. Periphery.** Those seeking to standardize laws & consolidate power in nation-state (center) v. those striving to maintain local powers & privileges (periphery)
 - a. The struggle can end in: secession (Ireland from UK), absorption of periphery & its gradual fade as distinct (France: Bretton, Occitan), local autonomy (some Spanish & Italian regions), or retention diffuse, persistent tension (e.g., Germany, exc. Bavaria which more local-autonomy resolution)
 - b. Only last 2 likely to result in cleavage's reflection in party system [Why?]
 2. **Nation-Building II: Church v. State**
 - a. Conflict b/w (Catholic) Church's claim of rights & privileges, esp. its supremacy in certain moral areas, vs. state consolidators; central issue often education.
 - b. Resolve depends centrally nation's history & role Protestant Ref & later secularist movements:
 - (1) Where Protestant moves allied state & won, prty sys not usu reflect Ch-St cleave (e.g., UK, Scand)
 - (2) Where Catholicism continued to dominate, Church-State cleavage tended to persist (e.g., Latin Europe)
 - (3) Where secularists had most momentum (e.g., France), party system often evolved anti-clerical elements
 3. **Industrial Revolution I: Urban v. Rural**
 - a. Conflict b/w traditionally dominant rural interests & new commercial & industrial classes
 - b. Have almost universally faded (largely b/c urban interests won), but...
 - (1) ...in some places agrarian parties emerged, & some persist if leader strategists allowed party flexibility from early aims & purposes, (e.g., Swedish, Finnish agrarians)
 - (2) ...divide has perhaps seen rebirth in reverse as urban decline began, (e.g., US, UK)
 - (3) ...some rebirth also in conflicts over agricultural protection (e.g., esp. Eur, esp. esp. France, & Jap)
 4. **Industrial Revolution II: Labor v. Employers**
 - a. ↑ concentration of production, & accompanying ↑ organization of labor & employers as groups, ⇒ almost-inherently-organized conflict
 - b. Resolution occurred by two patterns:
 - (1) Where workers rose & *bourgeoisie* adopted an accommodative strategy, Socialist parties arose as the representatives of labor (e.g., UK, Sweden)
 - (2) Where workers rose & *bourgeoisie* adopted stonewalling &/or repressive strategy, Communist parties arose as representatives of labor (e.g., Fra, Ita, Ger, Spa)
 - (3) [Unless unequivocal, decisive bourgeoisie victory? E.g., the U.S. & Japan, where instead get even weaker quality &/or quantity of labor representatives.
- C. **Argument:** Pattern of how these conflicts arose in each ctry & how had been or were being resolved at time mass dem arrived frozen. I.e.,

cleavage structure *frozen* into party system by mid-20th Century because:

1. **Underlying conflicts persist & grps involved developed collective identities**
2. Major new political entities typically can arise only w/ large increase in suffrage & **universal suffrage mostly completed by then.**
3. **Political rules made by & so favor established parties**
4. **Established parties follow electoral strategies to isolate their supporters from outside appeals**
5. **Close alignment of cleavage structure and party support-bases beneficial to both voters & parties [how?]**

D. ↑ electoral volatility in '70s ⇒ seek explanations *unfreezing* (*thawing*):

1. **Social-Structural Changes in Developed Democracies**

a. **Sectoral-Structure:** industry ↓, agriculture ↓↓, service-sector ↑↑

b. **Erosion of Class Boundaries**

- (1) general education & more wide-spread higher education
- (2) changing work modes: relative ↓ manual labor; more-fluid occupational change
- (3) increasingly widespread affluence (though relative disparities widened too)

E. **Changes in Patterns Individual Voting Behavior: Decline Structural Voting**

a. Decline class voting & religious voting but still recognizably different

b. **Arguments:** suggested reasons for former listed above, to which add:

- (1) secularization & decreasing coherence of views among religious & secular alike
- (2) increased individuality & political sophistication

2. **Changes Issues on which bases Individuals Vote: *Dealign- v. Realignment***

a. **Realignment:** new parties & changing support among existing

(1) Some see a “New Politics” movement

(a) new, highly educated, young middle class

(b) distinctive new values & issues: environment, feminism, etc.

(c) new-left: greens, new comm.; new-right: anti-government, xenophobic, protest

(2) GLM suggest this may be exaggerated

(a) most of these new parties are still marginal electorally

(b) parliamentary and/or electoral necessity implies increasing association of the “new” lefts & rights with “old” ones

(3) Conclusion: *Realignment* very limited, some new dim's in still-recognizable left-right divide. Great electoral stability remains across left-right blocks of parties/issues; instability w/in blocks.

b. **Dealignment:** non-partisan allegiances & no allegiances. Supposed evidence: (a) ↓ party ID, (b) ↑ new parties & party-sys fractionalization, & (c) ↑ elect volatility. All of which questionable.

IV. Dalton, ch. 13 in LNN, & ch.8 in Citizen Politics, 2nd ed.

A. Broad Theme:

1. 2 prominent changes in link from SES to voting behavior

a. Traditional cleavages (esp. class & religion) transformed & weakened as predictors of individuals' electoral choices

b. Changing bases of ideological conflict: rise of “post-materialism”

2. These producing general rise in “issue-based” voting

- a. Less based on socially pre-determined & structured competition
 - b. A new calculus electoral decisions: Individualistic, varying issue positions & weights thereupon
- B. The post-war era through late 1960s to 1970s
1. Party competition & voting patterns structured around social divisions within a polity
 - a. Lipset & Rokkan's Diachronic Model & Social-Cleavage/Party-System "Freezing" Hypothesis
 - b. **Expected to persist because...**
 - (1) Such cleavage structures long-lasting: underlying conflicts persist & grps developed collective ID
 - (2) Universal suffrage largely completed: new parties tend to form (only) when new grps enter electorate
 - (3) Political rules made by & so favor estab'd parties
 - (4) Estab'd party strategies: often try to isolate supporters from outside appeals
 - (5) **NEW: Alignment w/ underlying social-structural groups advantageous to parties & voters :**
 - (a) Groups so divided provided social & political reference & source info for their members (voters)
 - (b) They provide organizational structure, people, & political ally for parties
 2. General ↓ in sociologically determined vote:
 - a. **Define class voting...**
 - (1) **Explanations for specifically this cleavage decline:** Blue/White collar divide appears decreasingly relevant as predictor of party vote
 - (a) Class division better defined by degree of job autonomy & authority
 - (b) Rise of the middle class "salariat" & affluent blue-collar worker
 - (c) Educational divide: skilled v. unskilled labor, human-capital rich v. poor
 - (d) Broad sectoral: public v. private; traded v. non; service v. industry v. agr
 - (e) Life-style differences: industrial v. yuppie
 - (2) Even so, *general* decline in ability such socioeconomic status indicators to predict vote choices
 - b. Religious Voting "Decline": **Define religious voting, two types...** Religious v. Secular voting, Denominational voting
 - (1) **Explanations spec'ly these declines...**
 - (a) Secularization
 - i) Decreasing church memberships & attendance
 - ii) Ethical individuality—e.g. US Catholic Church
 - (b) Church/state, secular/relig conflict largely resolved
 - c. NOTE: Other structural voting (regional, urban/rural, race/ethnicity), esp. religious/secular, seems persisted to much greater degree than class voting; Dalton's broader claim of falling structural voting rests more solidly therefore on fact that most of these divisions (race / ethnicity an important likely exception) of relevance to declining proportion of population
 - d. Other Key Social Divisions
 - (1) *Region*: Despite some dramatic flare-ups & hotspots, prob'ly some gen. fall region's predictive
 - (2) *Urban/Rural & Center/Periphery*: Differences diminishing due to transport & communications revolutions; But still-present agricultural-industry-service divide
 - (3) *Race/Ethnicity*: Prominent exception to general declining relevance of socioeconomic structure to one's vote-choice; Many societies still homogeneous or nearly so, less relevant there obviously

3. Explanations (hypotheses) *general decline SES as predict vote choice*

a. Underlying conflicts have increasingly been resolved:

(1) E.g., Nieuwbeerta (1995) finds that strength of class voting declines in size of welfare state

(2) [Note: this would also explain persistence of race-ethnicity & relative decline of other cleavages]

(3) Dalton dismisses this, but I think case for “relative resolution of underlying conflicts” arg. could be made more strongly:

(a) **Notice that deg. to which underlying conflicts “resolved” might explain relative decline of some types of struct voting & relative persistence or rise of others**

b. Parties broadened, or sought to, appeals across cleavage lines

(1) Some evidence platform convergence broad socioeconomic issues [eg. nationalization industry], but recent evidence unclear:

c. As Dalton notes, voters, party leaders, & “political experts” still perceive large &/or clear partisan differences which would imply...

(1) ...that it’s not that voters don’t perceive or are unclear about partisan differences, nor that parties no longer express such differences, but rather...

(2) ...that socioeconomic status of voter serves less as determinant of how voter will interpret & react to different signals parties send & voters receive.

d. Dalton’s preferred explanation stresses struct’l & inst’l changes that produced ↓ relevance relatively fixed social characteristics for contemporary electoral politics

(1) These social cleavages still very relevant to those deeply enmeshed in them, but fewer & fewer (race/ethnicity exception).

(2) Increasing proportion of population characterized by:

(a) “Fragmentation of life spaces” [Define]

(b) ↓ participation, membership, or involvement “stable & bounded social structures”

(c) Lifestyles becoming increasingly individualized & diverse

(3) **Social fluidity & individual mobility across structured divides. Notice how this explains relative ↓ class & less ↓ in religion & no ↓ in race/ethnicity.**

(4) **Change in character of modern voter: *cognitive mobilization* [DEFINE]**

(5) D acknowledges that parties contributed to & reinforced all this:

(a) By seeking to accommodate these changes in structure & institutions within existing party struct. they have eroded their core estab’d images/reputations

(b) But they do not wish to commit yet to any strong stand on the new issues.

4. New Bases of Political Cleavages, *i.e.* Post-Materialism. **Define/Examples of “Post-Materialism”:**

a. How did/do they arise?

(1) The *Open-Space* Argument: ↑ New issues benefit from ↓ Old ones.

(2) *Vice versa*, *i.e.*, causality in other direction, new issues cut across old divides, weakening their ability to divide: the “emergence of cross-cutting issues” arg.

(3) Meanwhile, citizens everywhere increasingly demanded ↑ opportunities to participate more actively in policymaking: a kind of general “further democratization of society & politics” arg

(4) Finally, notice that new issues appeal exactly to those groups increasingly outside traditional struct’d & inst’lized cleavages: young, new middle class, educated, non-religious, [others?]

- (5) [Other hypoths? esp. regarding environmentalism, are non-material problems increasing? affluence? education? cross-derivatives, i.e. implications of Maslow's hierarchy?]
- (6) Before we proclaim "all new" divides, new cleavage patterns, though, we need to keep in mind:
 - (a) Not all these issues so terribly new, even if perhaps their current prominence might be unprecedented.
 - (b) Compared to the structured ideologies underlying class & religious cleavages, materialist vs. post-materialist framework (still) diffuse & imprecise: what beside their novelty links these concerns?

5. **So what is the impact of all this change? Decline in long-term partisan predispositions ==>**

- a. ↑ short-term factors like issues & image?
- b. ↑ performance-based voting, like econ voting?
- c. ↑ "candidate-cntrd" politics [DEF, *n.b.* US always more so? Why?]
- d. ↑ in "issue-voting"? [Define]

V. Comparative Governmental Systems I: DESCRIPTION (just be able define some important concepts & maybe give example important configurations)

- A. Executives, Government, Prime Minister, President, Cabinet
- B. Party cohesion & discipline
- C. Unicameral v. Bicameral; Unitary v. Federal; Parliamentary v. Presidential

VI. Comparative Governmental Systems II: Lijphart & Powell

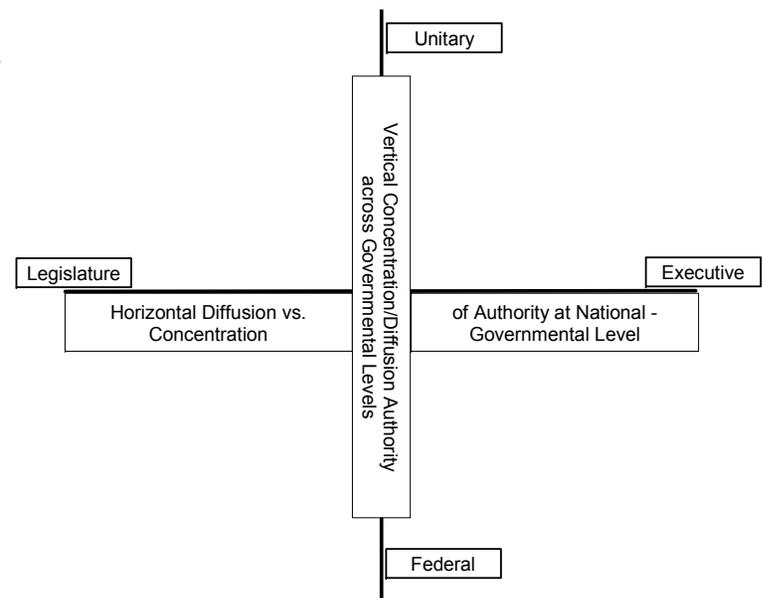
A. Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy* (1999): Chs. 1-3

1. **Ch1:** Many ways to organize democracy, but clear grouping or *clustering* along *Majoritarian vs. Consensual* nature rules & practices

- a. All agree Democracy = "govt by & for people," but which people if divergent preferences and disagreement?
 - (1) The majority (⇒ median rule [*Aside: Median Voter Theorem*]) or
 - (2) As many as possible (weighted accordingly)
- b. *Majoritarian model*: exclusive, competitive, & adversarial;
- c. *Consensus model*: inclusive, negotiation, bargaining, compromise

2. Logically internally consistent & unified principles ⇒ corresponding clusters of institutional arrangements, but in 2 dimensions (a *horizontal* & a *vertical* dim):

- (1) [Describe vertical dimension & observable components]
- (2) [Describe horizontal dimension & observable components]
- b. Logically internally consistent & unified principles ⇒ corresponding clusters of institutional arrangements, but in 2 dimensions (a *horizontal* & a *vertical* dimensio):
 - (1) Executives-Parties Dimension [*Horizontal Concentrate/Diffuse Authority @ Nt'l-Govt Level*]:
 - (a) Concentration of executive power in single-party (majority) cabinets v. executive power-sharing in broad multi-prty (& minority) coals
 - (b) Executive-dominant v. Executive-Legislative balance
 - (c) Two-party v. multi-prty sys (&, correlated, 1 v. 2+ dimens'l politics)
 - (d) Majoritarian & disproportional v. proportional electoral systems



- (e) Pluralist interest-groups w/ free-for-all competition v. coordinated & corporatist interest-groups w/ compromise & concertation
- (2) Federal-Unitary Dimension [*Vertical Conc./Diff. Authority Across Govt Lvl/Jurisdictions*]:
 - (a) Unitary & centralized government v. federal & decentralized government
 - (b) Concentrate legislative power in unicameral v. bicameral leg. power w/ diff constituencies
 - (c) Flexible constitutions w/ simple-majority amendment v. rigid constitutions w/ extra-ordinary amendment procedures.
 - (d) Legislature final say on own legislation v. independent judicial review final
 - (e) Central banks dependent v. independent on/of executive.
- c. Evaluation: guard against *majoritarianist* tendency to over-emphasize:
 - (1) Opposition existence/nature; with one, single goal “to become government”:
 - (a) Tends assume two-parties (or at least two-blocks);
 - (b) Neglects coalition, supermajoritarian and consensus approaches.
 - (2) Turnover tests
 - (a) Tends assume two parties/blocks;
 - (b) Neglects partial alternation.
- d. So What? Effect of such Differences?
 - (a) Small differ. (economic) broad governing efficacy. [Lrgr diff’s in more fine-grained policies & outcomes & in tradeoffs made]
 - (b) Large diff’s on democratic quality, favoring consensual systems.
- B. Ch2: The Westminsterian (Majoritarian) Model [Be able to give examples of more “Majoritarian” (in Lijphart’s terms) polities]
 - 1. 10 Elements of Majoritarian/Westminsterian Democracy (illustrating ideal-type majoritarian govt, concentration on both dims)
 - a. First, Horizontal, Executive-Legislature Dimension
 - (1) **Concentration of Executive Power in 1-Party, Bare-Majority Cabinets**
 - (a) Cabinet composed of *disciplined* members of *majority* party
 - (b) Usually 1 of 2 main parties in system
 - (c) Usually bare majority; in fact, more-usually just plurality & sometimes not even that
 - (d) Coalition & minority government rare. (*Labour* ‘70s examples)
 - (e) ⇒ *Majoritarian Principle*: vast pol pow to rule as rep of & in interest of a narrow majority.
 - (2) **Cabinet Dominance**
 - (a) Parliamentary Government ⇒ Cabinet responsible to & dep on confidence Parl, but...
 - (b) Combo *Majority Parliamentary Support & Party Cohesion/Discipline* ⇒ Cabinets dominate Parliament [*n.b.*, degree dominant = *function of Majority Parliamentary Support, Party Cohesion/Discipline* [e.g., *Labour* ‘70s v. *Thatcher* ‘80s]
 - (c) So, *disciplined 2-partism* more than *parliamentarism* that ⇒ cabinet dominance.
 - (d) *N.b.*, Presidential systems decidedly more exec-leg balanced (more even than consensus parl)
 - (3) **Two-Party System**
 - (a) Vote-, & esp. seat-, share dominance of two major, roughly even parties
 - (b) *E.g.*, UK, *Labour+Tory* = 70-90% vote & 93+% seats
 - (c) Notes/Examples:
 - i) Lib, SD, LibDem as much as 25%, but only 25 (of 659) seats

- ii) N. Ire. + *Scot Ntls & Plaid Cymru*, seats%>vote%, but very small numbers.
- (d) *Strong Correlation 2-Party Sys to 1-dimensional party sys.* (minor excepts. in UK) **[explain]**
- (4) **Majoritarian & Disproportional Electoral System**
 - (a) *Single-Member Simple-Plurality (SMSP)* (**DEFINE**) archetypal system
 - (b) Highly disproportional (*i.e.*, seat-vote ratios far from 1).
 - (c) *Manufactured Majorities* (**DEFINE**). *E.g.*, 100% manufactured post-‘45 UK
 - (d) Small-party disadvant; Large-party advant. *Note*: LibDem hardest hit; N. Ire, SNP, & *Plaid Cymru* act’ly over-rep’d. (**EXPLAIN**)
- (5) **Interest-Group Pluralism**
 - (a) “Free-for-all” conflict in “competitive Interest-Group market” as opposed to...
 - (b) Corporatist arrangements of concertation and coordination in system of large & powerful peak-associations in (tri-partite) bargains w/ government.
 - (c) UK Example: General lack integration of unions or management in economic policymaking, except the (mostly failed) ‘75 Social Contract.
- b. Second, Vertical, Federal-Unitary Dimension:
 - (1) **Unitary & Centralized Government**
 - (a) Local govt at behest of center; has whatever authority center gives (& can retract).
 - (b) Notably, local financially dependent on center; centralized fisc.
 - (c) *E.g.*, UK “most cntrlzd govt any large dem state,” but *excepts or trend?*
 - i) N Ire. home rule ‘21-‘72, but, *note*, national parliament can & did remove by simple majority
 - ii) Gradual *devolution* Scot.&Wales (& some, broader fisc decent too), through ‘97 ref’s estab local parls.
 - (2) **Legislative-Power Concentration in Unicameral Legislature**
 - (a) Concentrated unicameralism
 - (b) UK deviates slightly, but strongly *asymmetrical bicameralism*: Lords (hereditary & life-peers) power to delay: 1-month budgetary; 1-year other; & rarely used.
 - (3) **Constitutional Flexibility**
 - (a) Unwritten (or not one, single written) constitutional document. *E.g.*, UK:
 - i) Magna Carta 1215, BoR 1689, Parl Acts 1911, 1949
 - ii) Common law principles, customs, conventions (& which const’l also unwritten)
 - (b) Simple majority to change constitution.
 - (4) **Absence of Judicial Review**
 - (a) Pure parliamentary sovereignty (of (current) majority) ⇒ no authority beyond parliament (*i.e.*, current majority) to determine const. & const’l intepretation.
 - (b) *Excepts or Trends*: EU member ⇒ Eur Ct Justice (ECJ); E.ConventionH.R. ⇒ E.Ct.H.R. rev.
 - (5) **Central Bank Dependence**
 - (a) Pure parliamentary sovereignty ⇒ ... Same principle: nothing is above parliamentary majority
 - (b) However, EU member, & econ. theory &... ⇒ ‘97 change in BoE status.
- c. New Zealand: *More Westminsterian than Westminster*. (also Barbados)

- (1) *Concentrated 1-party bare-majority cab*: ‘35-‘93 (as system-change loomed) w/o exceptions.
- (2) *Cabinet dominance*: always maj & tight party disc through mid-‘90s (as sys-Δ loomed)
- (3) *2-Party system*:
 - (a) *Labour & National Parties* 95+% (of 99) seats.
 - (b) Almost exclusively 1-dim (soc-econ left-right) ideological space.
- (4) *Majoritarian & Disproportional Electoral System*:
 - (a) SMSP, but also 4 large districts that over-lap geographically reserved for Maori (12% pop); minority representation being reserved is a deviation pure-majoritarianism.
 - (b) Severely disproportional: ‘78 & ‘81 *National* won w/o even a plurality! (Seeds of sys-Δ lie in these events.). All post ‘54 *manufactured majorities*.
- (5) *Interest-Group Pluralism*: until recently, no coordinated/peak-association IG’s.
- (6) *Unitary & Centralized Govt*: fully ctrlzd since 1875 when the UK bequethed 6 rel’ly auton provinces abolished. (Is small country: less surprising that unitary.)
- (7) *Legislative Concentration in Unicameral Parliament*: fully unicameral since 1950 when the UK-bequethed upper house abolished.
- (8) *Constitutional Flexibility*:
 - (a) Basic Laws (Constitutional Acts of ‘56 & ‘93; Bill of Rts Act ‘90), conventions, customs
 - (b) Some these req 3/4 maj HoReps or maj referendum, but status removable by simple maj...
- (9) *Absence Judicial Review*: HoR only & final judge constitutionality.
- (10) *Central Bank Dependence*: through ‘89 Reserve Bank NZ lowest *cbi*, but since: most!

C. Ch3: The Consensus (Proportionalism) Model [Be able to give examples of more “Consensus” (in Lijphart’s terms) polities]

1. To extent *democracy* ⇒ those affected by policy have a say in its making, *majoritarian* can conflict w/ *democratic* principles.
 - a. Conflict mitigated by *alternation & homogeneity*.
 - b. *Plural Societies* lack homogeneity & perhaps voter behavior & societal divisions more rigid ⇒ maj not only somewhat undem but also quite possibly dangerous.
 - (1) *Example*: N. Ire. ‘21-‘72 Protestant Majority won every election, formed all governments ⇒ (perhaps) late ‘60s Catholic protests, which grew into, essentially, civil war.
 - (2) *Consensus system*: consensus, not opposition; inclusion, not exclusion; max size of ruling group, not bare-min majority; limit & constrain maj power, not concentrate it.
 - c. N.b., consensus system may help esp. plural soc’s, but may work eff’ly anywhere
2. *Consensus Principles*: Share, disperse, & restrain rather than concentrate majority power. Switzerland, Belgium, EU.
 - a. First, Horizontal, Executive-Legislature Dimension:
 - (1) **Executive Power Sharing in Broad Coalitions**:
 - (a) *Swiss* 2:2:2:1 party & 4±:2±:1± language formulae.
 - (b) *Belg*: balanced-lang cabs (pre-‘70 informal, post=form);all but 1yr coal
 - (2) **Executive-Legislative Balance of Power**:
 - (a) *Swiss Fed Council* elected to fixed 4-yr terms by Parliament, but without *confidence votes*
 - (b) *Belg*: std parl sys, but somewhat less party cohesion, & mostly coal & sometimes min govts.

(3) **Multiparty System:**

- (a) Multiple parties in parliament, & multiple potential real players in government-form game.
- (b) Multi-D societal struct (relig, lang, reg, +econ) reflected in party system:
 - i) *Swiss*: regional/language structure w/in relatively non-cohesive single-D parties
 - ii) *Belg*: like Swiss, 3 dominant parties on relig&class, but sub-divide by language/region.

(4) **Proportional Representation:** proportional electoral system not inhibit translation of societal cleavages into party system.

(5) **Interest-Group Corporatism:**

- (a) Both business-led or “liberal corporatist”
- (b) Encompassing & strongly cohesive peak associations, big role in policy-making

b. Second, Vertical, Federal-Unitary Dimension:

(1) **Federal & Decentralized Government** (2nd dim):

- (a) *Swiss*: 20 cantons+6 half-cantons; 46-member upper house; large role in constitutional amendment; one of world’s most decentralized nations.
- (b) *Belg*:
 - i) Unitary & centralized state through ‘70, but gradual decent., & full formal fed in ‘93.
 - ii) *Unique, Byzantine Federalism*: both lang-cult rep (Frnch, Dtch, Germ) & geog-cult (Flem, Wall, Bruss)

(2) **Strong Bicameralism:**

- (a) Different selection mechanism to two houses ⇒ different constituency structure
- (b) Strong 2nd chamber (ideal-type: equal power).
- (c) Swiss: perfect match to ideal-type; Belg: pre-fed lacked (a)-(b), now perfect.

(3) **Constitutional Rigidity:**

- (a) Swiss & Belg both written.
- (b) *Swiss*: requires referendum, winning majority & majority in majority of cantons, to change
- (c) *Belg*: requires 2/3 majority both houses to change, plus, for law on community organization & powers, 2/3 majority both houses + majority of Dutch & of French in each house.

(4) **Judicial Review:**

- (a) *Swiss: Federal Tribunal* has right of constitutional review
- (b) *Belg*: No judicial review (but international agreements like UK) ‘til ‘84 & ‘88 steps gave full review to *Court of Arbitration*. [likely very import now given the new federal system]

(5) **Central Bank Independence:**

- (a) *Swiss Central Bank*: always as/more independent as/than *U.S. Fed* & *German BB* (archetypes).
- (b) *Belg*: exception, among more dependent CB’s until Maastricht (‘92-‘93).

VII. Powell, *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*: Ch1

A. Central Issue/Subject of Powell’s Study:

1. De Tocqueville: “2 opinions...old as world...& perpetually met...diff forms & names in all free... 1 to limit & other to extend indef’y...power of people”. Two visions: majoritarian, proportional.
2. Powell: role competitive elections in give citizens influence over pol-mkr’s.

3. Powell: positive study driven by normative concern -- claim of democracies to be govts in which cit's participate in policymaking: want evaluate that claim.
 - a. With many people, participation in policy-making must be indirect.
 - b. ⇒ Participate by choosing policymakers in competitive elections
 - c. Elections=*instruments of democracy* to degree they confer popular influence pol-mkng
 - d. Elections not only instrument, but seem crucial...
 - (1) Compel or greatly encourage policymakers to pay attention to citizens;
 - (2) Consensus that *free & competitive elects* more than any other feature signals presence of *true democracy*.

B. Two Camps: **Majoritarian & Proportional**

1. Alternative, positive (not negative) conceptions of democratic ideals.
 - a. *Positive* (not negative) conceptions: e.g., Prop. > emph. limit majority power (over min.)
 - b. Majoritarian = to *control* & Prop. = to *influence* pm's, but matter of °, of *conception*.
 - c. Each has closely associated normative concept of appropriate citizen influence, & empirical model "in mind" of working electoral & legislative institutions
2. Powell: aim here to i.d. contrasting elements & test expectations
3. *Majoritarian Vision*: elections as instruments of citizen control:
 - a. "Concentrated pol-mkng power, whose exercise made direct target of citizen action"
 - b. Elected officers able to make & implement policies.
 - c. Responsibility for policy obvious to everyone.
 - d. Elects: *choose b/w prospective teams* or *reward/punish (retrospect) incumbents*
 - e. N.b., concentrated power necessary but not sufficient:
 - (1) Diffuse power ⇒ pol-mkng results from complex bargain b/w multiple representatives
 - (2) ⇒ Retroactive responsibility difficult to pinpoint
 - (3) ⇒ Election only indirect relation to formation winning policy coalitions.
 - f. Sum: decisiveness & effectiveness in response to popular will: either pro- or retro- view of role of election requires concentrated pol-mkng power which is direct object of citizen's electoral behavior (i.e., one elects governments).
 - g. Absolute sovereignty of majority ⇒ *Majoritarian*
4. *Proportional Vision*: elections as instruments of citizen influence
 - a. Dispersed pol-mkng power; elections indirect role: bring representative agents of all societal factions into pol-mkng arena, where they bargain on behalf of rep'd
 - b. ⇒ premium on accurate reflect of pop. prefs. in pm arena. JS Mill: "In really equal democracy, every or any section would be represented, not disprop'ly, but prop'ly."
 - c. Elections clumsy instruments, esp. as held in majoritarian systems.
 - d. Preferences of all citizens, not just majority, should weigh in pol-mkng
5. *Majoritarian & Proportional* proponents have diff. weighting of concerns:
 - a. *Maj*: suspicious of representatives' autonomy, less concerned re: minorities, emphasis clear & direct accountability ⇒ prefer concentrated power

- b. *Prop*: suspicious of majorities, esp. majorities created by clumsy elects; more worried for minorities; less worried re: representatives' autonomy, provided citizens have role in selecting, & less worried re: negotiated inaction → prefer dispersed power
- 6. Also → Different empirical tests of visions appropriate:
 - a. **Majoritarian vision** assumes can i.d. citizen preferences, or at least who wins majority; **the problem for elections to address is to make policy-makers follow that directive.**
 - b. **Proportional vision** assumes citizens highly heterogeneous; **problem for elections to address is to ensure all groups proportional say in policy-making.**

C. Views of Elections & Citizen Relations to Policymakers

1. 2D of Vote Choice (Fig I.1): Target & Time Perspective

a. Target:

- (1) Vote for/against Govt w/ power to make policy v. Vote for representative agent, not control Govt, but bargain on behalf
- (2) Voter anticipates decisive elect, directly determines pol-mkr's v. barg & negot coal-bldng follows elect (once or continuously).
- (3) Both may be desirable to voters...:
 - (a) Issues clear-cut, cit's w/ united prefs, voters may pref former. [N.b, game of elected-reps v. voters.]
 - (b) Issues complex & voters divided, prob's arise diff to antic., each grp may prefer rep by trustworthy rep's [N.b, game between / among voters.]

b. Temporal Direction: Prospective v. Retrospective

- (1) Govt Retro → (*throw rascals out*) Evaluate Incumbents.
- (2) Govt Pro → (*mandates*) Forecast performance of Incumbent vs. Challenger.
 - (a) Elements of Forecast: credibility, desirability, etc. of promises
 - (b) → past record relevant, even though prospective
- (3) Agent Pro ⇒ (*Representative Delegate*) Choose agent believe will act as (informed) voter would
 - (a) → seek agents whose pref's mirror voter's own
 - (b) → seek agents who will be effective bargainers
- (4) Agent Retro ⇒ (*Representative Trustee*): bring home bacon
 - (a) Despite centrality... Fenno's *Homestyle*; Burke's (1774): trust agent s.t. retro oversee; Tip O'Neill: "All politics is local." ...
 - (b) ...Powell essentially punts on this aspect/possibility

D. Intermediate Conditions for Effective Voting Each Type

- 1. Each has corresponding vision, information requirement, & ideal govt-sys:
- 2. **Accountability Model**: Incumbent Evaluation: support *Ins* when going well, *Outs* when badly; some view as essence of dem (Lippmann)

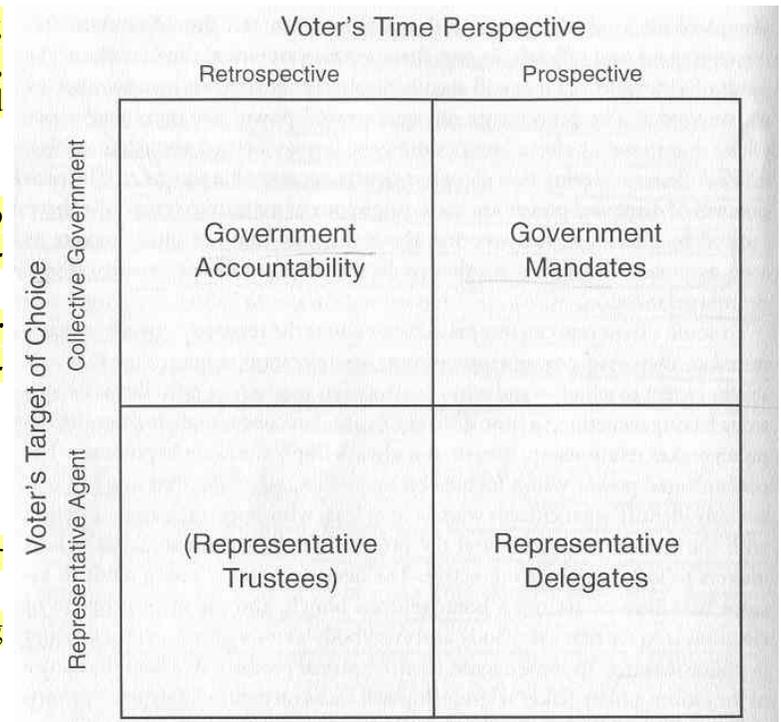


Figure I.1. Citizen Control Through Elections: A Voter's Eye View of the Processes

- a. Minimum: periodic opportunity to change policy-makers
- b. How it Works:
 - (1) Ability to reject unwanted policy-makers.
 - (2) Threat of rejection ⇒ all policy-makers (who want retain office) worry about cit reactions.
 - (3) Simplicity & Limited Information Requirements (E.g., no worries about credibility: [Pure Accountability Model = Yoda theory of democracy: “do or do not; there is no try.”])
- c. **What it Needs to work well?**
 - (1) But *do* need **clarity of responsibility** for optimal punish/reward [DEFINE, EXPLAIN]
 - (2) *Westminster Ideal*: Single, unified party controls all policy-making & governance, citizens can vote simply for or against that party in elections (single, simple, concentrated contest).
 - (3) N.b., if policy-making divided among numerous parties (proportional-parliamentary) or if pol-mkng coalitions changed from issue to issue (pres-cong), not work well.
 - (4) Also: **decisive incumbent replacement** must follow voters’ rejection
- 3. **Electoral-Mandates Model:**
 - a. Ideal party system: strong, cohesive parties, including opposition, offer clear effective alternative choices. Voters evaluate prospects of each team at each election.
 - b. How it Works/What it Needs
 - (1) Possible for voters to i.d. alternative future governments @ election time: **Identifiability**
 - (2) Expectation of tight link from election outcome to govt/policy formation: **Identifiability & unblocked mandate**
 - (3) Winning party(ies) have full power to make policy once in office: **unblocked mandate**
- 4. Majoritarian Visions of Elections as Instruments of Democracy:
 - a. Both *Accountability & Mandate* models are *Majoritarian*.
 - b. [N.b., also called, jointly, *Responsible Party Govt* model]
- 5. **Representative Delegates Model:**
 - a. Two stages: election & post-election bargaining [recap model of role elections by the representative-delegates model]
 - b. Pro-/Retro- distinction less central [but could do something analogous to above distinction of *accountability & mandate* models]
 - c. How it Works/What it Needs
 - (1) Each voter group must find party reasonably near its preferences & views
 - (2) Voter groups represented proportionally *in the policy-making process* (bargaining)
 - (3) Policy-making does not occur at the election but begins after, as representatives bargain (not as collective govt implements its promises or anticipates future sanctions).
 - (4) Flexibility in post-electoral coalition formation, allowing different majorities to form on different issues [is thus a plus for this vision; minus for majoritarian].
 - d. **Authorized Representation in Policymaking Bargaining**
- 6. [N.b., not that *Accountability & Mandates* do not occur in *Proportional* systems or that *Authorized Representative Bargaining* not occur in *Majoritarian* systems, but that these weaker/stronger in each model.]
- E. **Constitutional Designs as Visions Maj/Prop Democracy (ch2) [Again: be able define the continuum, *maj to prop*, & give example polities]**

1. Constitutional Design:
 - a. Stable democracies = *rules* re: how pol-mkrs chosen & policies made
 - b. These *rules* shape context & consequences democratic elections
 - c. Rules embody specifics visions/theories of democracy: maj or prop
 - d. Constitutions = Many-layered texts, result historic moment intense bargaining, reflect values & concerns of constitution-writers, but, for us key is:
 - e. Implications for concentration/dispersal political [representation &] power
 - (1) Do representation rules encourage legislative majorities that can control executive?
 - (2) Do rules for pol-making concentrate pow this party-government's hands?
 - (3) Both yes \Rightarrow Majoritarian Vision; Both no \Rightarrow Proportional Vision; Mixed otherwise.
 - f. Alternative Statement of Distinction (Mueller):
 - (1) Elect a govt–i.e. party whose policies preferred–to legislature & executive, *versus*
 - (2) Elect a truly representative body to vote as voters would, policy by policy.
 - (3) Different electoral [& policy-making] rules required to produce each.
2. Electoral Systems: **Rules of Representation** by which citizens' votes aggregated to determine winning candidates
 - a. Duverger's Law, rests 3 theoretical aspects [EXPLAIN]
 - (1) (Strategic) Decisions parties in offering candidates for election
 - (2) (Strategic) Decisions citizens in voting for candidates
 - (3) (Mechanical) Effects rules aggregate votes into represent seats
 - (4) \Rightarrow limit # candidates to slightly $>$ # with realistic chance win (*M+1 rule*)
 - b. Notes:
 - (1) D's Law works @ district level, further considerations needed to explain degree to which, e.g., 2/district $\Rightarrow \approx 2$ nationally [e.g.]
 - (2) D's Law: *force* toward 2-prty as $M \downarrow$, but only *allow* > 2 as $M \uparrow$: soc struct key in latter.
 - (3) Many possible strategic *mistakes*, esp. 1st few elects new rules.
 - (4) Effects help assure majority as $M \downarrow$, fits *maj* vision, but also \Rightarrow disprop., esp. to $^\circ$ rely on mechanical effect, = problem from *prop* vision, even possible that plurality vote-winner not plurality seats, = problem for both.
 - (5) In any system, proportionality also rests equal apportionment, *inter alia*
 - c. Source of key effects–on prop, # parties, maj...–can be summed in **Effective Threshold**: $T_{eff} \approx \text{Max}\{.75/(M+1), \text{LegThresh}\}$
 - d. Empir. Explore: T2.1 [*bas'ly*: works]
3. **Policymaking Rules: Majoritarian & Proportional Visions**
 - a. Elects allow citizens to choose representatives, but after elects more rules affect how those reps make policy: *decision rules*.
 - b. Again, sample much common: all dem's, elect national assembly that usually = ultimate authority, many are relatively centralized parliamentary systems
 - c. **Key: Rules Structuring Executive-Legislative/Govt-Opposition Relations**
 - (1) *Maj*: rules favor 1-party majority w/ full control pol-mkng, w/o check or division
 - (2) *Prop*: rules favor all parties influence pol-making proportionately, govt to negotiate w/ other groups, esp. opposition groups.
 - (3) N.b., Powell assumes tight party cohesion; to $^\circ$ lacking $\Rightarrow \uparrow$ opposition/legislative infl

(4) Strom (1984): Gauge Opposition Influence by Strength *Committee System*:

- (a) Number of standing committees
- (b) Fixed areas committee specialization (jurisdiction, expertise)
- (c) Correspondence committee with ministerial jurisdictions
- (d) Restrictions on number committee assignments *per* legislator
- (e) Proportional distribution committee chairs

(5) Two parts to Committee-System Strength as gauge leg/opp influence:

- (a) Committees influential, not mere rubber stamp govt-formed policy
- (b) Committees give pol-mkng scope to actors (esp. opp) not fully tied to govt
- (c) Strom's 1st 4 on pt (1), 5th on pt (2).

(6) Table 2.2: *Committee-System Strength (Leg-Opp Influence)*

d. **Other Institutional Features that Disperse Power (beyond Parliament)**

- (1) Indep Exec (pres'ism): w/ veto & decree powers esp.
- (2) 2nd Leg Chamb w/ Ind Select Base & Veto+ Pow's
- (3) Fed'ism: local author. not fully dependent on central
- (4) Judicial Review

e. **Table 2.3: Electoral & Policymaking Institutions & Concentration/Diffusion Representation & Authority** [JUST 1 OR 2 EXAMPLES EACH TYPE & MIXED]

- (1) Seems most systems more-purely maj or prop than mix.
- (2) Large change rare, esp across visions, smaller change w/in type more common
- (3) **Why constitutional designs so stable?**
- (4) Why constitutional designs so stable?
 - (a) Incumbents won under existing system, ∴ rarely incentive to change
 - (b) Supportive, internally logically consistent philosophies of underlying *Maj* or *Prop* vision
 - (c) Unless *very* widespread & large disaffection, voters strongly disapprove short-term manipulation [elaborate?].
 - (d) [1st few elects new elect rules, & presumably first few acts new pm rules, highly uncertain.]
- (5) Consequences:
 - (a) Citizens & Pol-Makers approach elections w/ great knowledge/experience how sys works
 - (b) Party & voter strategies highly dependent, and, unless can change system itself, likely vary [considerably] depending on system w/in which they are operating.

VIII. **Electoral Systems**

A. Some preliminary issues discussed:

- 1. Turnout:

Table 2.3. Two Dimensions of Constitutional Rules:
The Potential to Concentrate Power

Legislative Election Rules ¹	Legislative Committee Rules ²		
	Opposition Influence Facilitated in Committees	Mixed: Weak Committee with Shared Chairs or Vice Versa	Government Domination of Committees
Pure proportional representation	Austria	Finland*	Greece 1989–92
	Belgium	Italy	—
	Denmark	—	—
	Germany*	—	—
	Netherlands	—	—
	Norway	—	—
	Sweden	—	—
Multimember districts with increased distortion potential	Norway pre-1989	Japan	Ireland
	Spain	—	Greece
Single-member districts	—	United States*	Australia*
	—	Canada	France*
	—	—	New Zealand
	—	—	United Kingdom

*The upper houses in Australia, Germany, and the United States and the presidencies in France and the United States occasionally provide added possibilities for dispersed power in policymaking. Legislation involving increased taxes required a two-thirds majority in Finland until 1992. Committee systems were mixed in Denmark before 1973 and Sweden before 1970.

¹Classification from table 2.1

²Classification from table 2.2.

- a. Generally higher in other dems than in U.S.;
 - b. Generally declining post-war. (**Implications?**)
 - c. Why do people vote?
 - (1) *Irrational-to-vote* story
 - (2) Net-benefit of voting heuristic model:
 - (a) (probability vote pivotal)x[Utility(pref'd govt)-Utility(alternative govt)]+(noninstrumental) Benefits - Costs
2. Election Timing: **Endogenous v. Exogenous**
- a. Generally incumbent govt can call elects when wants, subject to:
 - (1) Must be an election within X years (usually 4 or 5)
 - (2) Often must call an election if fails a vote-of-confidence
 - b. **Implications?**
3. Referenda
- a. => **“voter fatigue?”**
 - b. => democracy by referendum? [**ASIDE: Condorcet paradox and “chaos theorems”**]
 - c. **Issues over which referenda tend to called:**
 - d. Issues that cut across party lines
 - e. Constitutional Issues: e.g., EU treaties require referenda in many/most member countries
 - f. Constitutional amends require referenda in Den., Ire., & Switz.; optional in France & Italy
 - g. Major & fundamental changes in nations “place in the world”
 - (1) NATO or EC membership
 - (2) Neutrality/Allegiance
 - h. Moral/Ethical questions--esp. divorce & abortion in Catholic countries
- B. Types of Electoral Systems
1. **Definition of electoral systems:** “mechanisms that turn votes cast...on election day into seats...occupied by deputies in parl...Elect. sys...converts voters choices into legislature.” GLM (p. 274)
 2. **Where do electoral systems come from?**
 - a. “Determined by political elite of day, some...motivations may be partisan” (p. 274)
 - b. “Their designs reflect constitution-makers’ values, expects regarding consequences various arrangements, their often laboriously negotiated compromises” P.II (p. 66)
 - c. Cultural/Historical Legacy: **See Powell Table 4.3 (p. 67)**
 3. **[If such potent pol-engineering tool, why suppose so rarely manipulated?]**
 - a. Why would those in power change system that put them there?
 - b. Risk aversion & parties’ uncertainty about future electoral position
 - c. Difficult to change (constitutional changes usually require super-majorities)
 - d. Relatively obvious opportunism when employed, may trigger negative voter-reaction
 - e. Seems, therefore, often to require imposition from abroad (e.g. Ger., Jap., Ita., Aust.)
 4. **Key distinctions between types of electoral systems**

- a. **Key Distinction: Proportional Representation (PR) v Plurality/Majority (P/M)**
 - (1) Former stresses representation & concept of proportionality
 - (2) Latter stresses decisiveness & “accountability model”
 - b. **Other key features [define each, how does it work, what are its expected effects]**
 - (1) District magnitude
 - (2) Degree of candidate vs. party voting (preference voting)
 - (3) Number of tiers
 - (4) Electoral formula (within the PR-P/M divisions)
 - (5) (Legal) Thresholds
 - (6) Constituency (District) pattern (*(mal)apportionment*)
 - c. **Describe basic functioning of broad categories electoral rules; be able give example of country using each prominent system**
 - (1) **(Single-Member Simple-)Plurality:**
 - (2) **Majority:**
 - (3) **Proportional Representation:**
5. **Plurality/Majority Systems**
- a. **Single-Member Plurality (SMP) a.k.a. *first past the post, winner take all* (UK, US, CA, NZ-pre-1993)**
 - (1) **Argued Merits**
 - (a) Simplicity--for voters, parties, & all involved;
 - (b) Produces majorities, & therefore decisiveness & accountability;
 - (c) Since one representative (MP) per district, argued to foster MP-constituent bond.
 - (2) **Criticisms**
 - (a) Unrepresentative; Winner may be disliked by a majority
 - (b) Encourages “**strategic voting**”;
 - (c) Anti-small party, & ∴, possibly, anti-minority (political & social minorities).
 - (3) [Aside: plurality also possible in multiple member, winner take-all districts; tends even more disproportional & even more likely to produce elected majorities; e.g., US Presidential Electoral College, India used to have multiple-member districts]
 - b. **Majority Systems:**
 - (1) **STV: *Alternative or Single-Transferable (majority) vote (Australian Ballot)***
 - (a) In Australia (some in France); was used in Illinois; was used more widely in US at one time
 - (b) Voters rank candidates; candidate w/ majority wins; if no maj., drop lowest contender & transfer his/her votes to those voters’ second choices; continue until someone has a majority. This assures a majority
 - (2) **Multiple-Round Majority Balloting: e.g., French (Vth) system(s) presidential elections, many U.S. local elections (called “run-off”)**
 - (a) French Vth Parliament: Simple vote; if no majority, eliminate candidate(s) < 12.5% vote; vote again--plurality candidate then wins (so tech’ly *plurality-plurality* system, but usu⇒majority)
 - (b) French Vth President: Simple vote; if no majority, drop all but top 2; second election will produce a majority winner (a *plurality-majority*, or “run-off” system)
 - (c) [Describe French party systems IVth & Vth; What do you suppose effect Vth’s electoral process & introduction strong

President has been on party systems & party behavior?]

(3) Argued Merits & Demerits of Majority Systems

- (a) Largely the same as SMP, but assures majority and:
- (b) Slightly more choice usually preserved because more parties usually persevere (why?);
- (c) Less simple (and “run-off” versions requires two trips to polls)

c. Proportional Representation (PR) Systems

(1) The key feature of PR is the Multi-member district

- (a) Cannot divide one seat proportionally, so PR requires multiple seats per district
- (b) In fact, **proportionality of result [define]** tends to \uparrow w/ #seats/district (*district magnitude*)

(2) Key types of PR: “List” systems; STV system (e.g., Ire & Malta)

(3) List Systems

- (a) Each party lists a # candidates (usually = to # seats available in district)
- (b) List systems vary by
 - i) Formula
 - ii) Number of tiers
 - iii) Degree of preference voting
 - iv) Legal Thresholds
 - v) District magnitudes

(c) Formulas: 2 Base Types (Blais & Massicotte Tab 2.1-2)

- i) Largest Remainders (Quotas) Methods (Hare, Droop)
- ii) Highest Averages (Divisor) Methods (d’Hondt, Sainte-Lague & Modified-S.L., and Imperiali=old IT system)

(4) Tiers:

- (a) Esp. in small-mid DM (e.g., 6=SP avg), much disproportionality can remain; systems use upper tiers largely to smooth disproportionality that remains at lower tiers with smaller DM.
- (b) Surplus votes & wasted votes from lower tiers sent to larger-DM upper tiers, or second tier separate ballot or separate counting method

(5) Legal Thresholds [define] (e.g., Germany’s 5% rule)

(6) Preferential vs. Non-Preferential List: Who decides which of parties’ listed candidates gets seat(s) party won?

d. Single-Transferable-Vote (PR version)

(1) Very Rare (relatively new): Ireland, Malta, & N. Ireland (since 1972)

(2) Aims proportionality, but not assume preferences organized by party

(3) Mechanics:

- (a) Voters rank candidates listed (\therefore relatively small DM’s required)
- (b) Droop Quota calculated
 - i) Anyone over quota elected & remaining votes allotted to 2nd pref’s (e.g. 100 1st pref’s, quota = 75 \Rightarrow elected, 25 votes transferred to 2nd pref’s in proportion to 2nd pref’s of these 100 voters [well...])
 - ii) Continue until no one > quota, then eliminate cand. w/ fewest votes, transfer his/her votes, &...

iii) Continue until number of seats in that district are allocated.

(4) **Merits (argued)**

- (a) More information on voter preferences revealed
- (b) Not constrained by party lines
- (c) Votes can't harm favored candidate => no incentive strategic vote
- (d) Allows voter input at polls on which tendencies within party to expand/contract (via ranking)

(5) **Demerits (argued)**

- (a) May weaken **party discipline** [**Aside: effects of party cohesion?**]
- (b) May spur vague candidate positioning—almost as much incentive not be disliked as be liked
- (c) Disproportionality b/c small dist. mag. (too complicated have large lists candidates to rank)
- (d) GLM's read of Evidence (n.b., advocates):
 - i) The Ireland case seems to support a. & b., but Malta does not
 - ii) IR & MA not much different than others in practice on c.

C. GLM: Assessing the Impacts of Electoral Systems

1. **The Simple Standard Story**

- a. Plurality/Majority (Low DMag) => Disproportionality & High Effective Thresholds, but largest 2 parties take all/near-all seats & so => stable majority govts.
- b. PR (High DMag) => Proportional, but parties proliferate => coalition govts, fractionalized & polarized legislature, & unstable govts.
- c. Obviously, not quite so simple, but broad outline gen'ly supported by evidence.

2. Many **other questions**, however; for example:

- a. Which affords better **“constituency”** [n.b., not unambig. term] representation?
- b. Which offers better **access for political & social minorities?**
- c. **Redistricting/gerrymandering** opportunities & incentives?

3. **GLM's Assessment of 6 possible effects electoral systems:**

- a. **Proportionality: absolutely no doubt PR => more; in fact, tight relation w/ District Magnitude (see graphs & regressions to follow)**
- b. **Number of parties (in legislature; parliament usually)**

(1) Effective (size-weighted) vs. raw number of parties

$$\text{Taagepera\&Laakso (n*=\text{Effective \# parties, } P_i=\text{prty } i\text{'s share seats/votes): } n^*=[\sum_i(1/P_i)^2]^{-1}$$

(2) # parties in legislature or # contesting elects? Either way: **PR => ↑ # parties.**

- (a) **(direct, mechanical effects)** Non-P.R. => big mathematical bonus (penalty) to large (small) parties => fewer parties, especially fewer effective parties, esp. in legislature (as opposed in elects)
- (b) **(indirect, psychological, strategic effects)** Non-PR => strategic voting & strategic party / candidate entry
- (c) **QUESTION:** So, which relation stronger, DMag to # Parliamentary Parties or Electoral Parties?

(3) **Some counter-examples=> PR not always cause proliferation parties, more necessary than sufficient condition**

- (a) **GLM: “PR systems will give parliamentary expression to a multiparty system if other factors, such as the number of political or social cleavages, cause voters to create one in the first place, but PR does not by itself bring a multiparty system into being”**
- (b) Still: Most fractionalized parliaments—Bel, Den, Fin, Ita, Net, & Swi—all P.R. systems; most plur-maj systems (almost all)

effectively 2-party systems.

- c. **Coalition or Single-Party Government?** Again no doubt **simple story broadly correct**: Single-party-maj govts in 10% PR, 60% P/M. Again, many exceptions. **Tradeoff**: Clarity responsibility vs. accuracy electoral message
 - d. **Constituency (i.e., district/locality) Representation**
 - (1) Could argue: 1 rep per district facilitates constituent service
 - (2) Could counter: multiple rep's/district helps ensure at least 1 of own pol. persuasion approach
 - (3) **What little evidence exists shows no discernible relationship**
 - e. **Backgrounds of Parliamentarians**: [E.g., what features of various elect sys do you suppose might affect probability of female &/or minority cand's being elected? Evidence: PR raises female representation in parliament. **Why?**]
 - f. **Gerrymandering possibilities & incentives**: Obvious that gerrymandering much more effective in P/M... [EXPLAIN?]
 - g. **GLM state differences in econ perform little relation to differences in elect sys. This somewhat misleading.**
 - (1) **Economic policy varies lot by electoral system, esp. insofar as produce diff types govts;**
 - (2) **Some evidence that some economic performance varies by electoral system too.**
- D. Lijphart, *Electoral Systems* (ch. 8) [edited to highlight points not in GLM ch. 11]
1. *Electoral System* most central & direct difference *Maj & Cons* philosophies.
 - a. Majoritarian=SMD, plurality or *majority* ; Consensus=MMD, proportional rep.
 - b. Δ cross type rare, & each country tends be attached to own
 2. **7 Key Aspects (3 Especially) of Electoral Systems Produce 2 Key Outcomes:**
 - a. **Aspects**: *Electoral Formula; District Magnitude; Legal Threshold; Assembly Size; Presidentialism; Malapportionment*; Apparentment
 - b. **Outcomes**: Proportionality; Number Parties (&, from there, tendencies in types govt)
 - c. Electoral Formulae: Figure 8.1
 3. **Assembly Size**
 - a. Size, gen'ly bit less than *cube-root-rule* [def]; esp <100, consequential for disprop
 - b. [↑ Assy Size may ↑ possibility disproportionality in districts cancels [EXPLAIN]]
 4. **Presidentialism**
 - a. Powerful popular-elected president, esp. if simultaneously or nearly so election w/ legislature, ⇒ own force toward 2-partism [Why?]
 - b. Esp. if president by plurality rather than majority-runoff [Why?]
 5. **Malapportionment [DEF]**
 - a. Hard to avoid in pularity/majority w/ pre-existing geographic divisions as districts, easy in P.R. to accommodate both pre-exist dists & apportion (vary DMag w/ pop).
 - b. Typically results in rural over-representation [Examples]
 - (1) US: Senate, Electoral College, even house through '60s reapportionment.
 - (2) [Other examples? Expected effects?]
 - c. Rural over-representation not nec'ly => partisan disprop., but tendency rightward
 6. **Apparentment [DEF]**
 - a. Possibility to link lists in list-PR (Switzerland, Israel, & Netherlands since 1977)
 - b. Should thereby offer some countervailing support for small parties.

- c. Some rules similar cross-party linking pref's possible by nature: AV, STV, Runoff
 - 7. Gauging Disproportionality: Gallagher Index: $[\frac{1}{2}\sum(v_i-s_i)^2]^{-5}$ (i.e., $\frac{1}{2}$ the sum squared deviations)
 - 8. Emp Eval: Tight negative relationship of DMag to Disproportionality.
 - 9. Electoral Systems & Party Systems: Duverger's Law; Mech & Psych Effects
 - a. Rae: Three things all electoral systems do (to differing degrees):
 - (1) Yield disproportional results;
 - (2) Reduce effective # parliamentary parties relative to electoral parties;
 - (3) Can manufacture seat-majority for non-electoral-majority.
 - b. All 3 effects \uparrow strength w/ **EFFECTIVE THRESHOLD: T_{eff}** , & all essentially produced *via* disproportionality.
 - (1) Disproportionality is systematic, not random: pro-larger prtys [*w/ basically 1 sort exception...?*].
 - (2) **[DEF] Manufactured & Earned Majorities, Natural Minorities**
 - 10. **The Crucial Causal Chain:** Low DM (\approx Hi T_{eff}) \Rightarrow Hi Disproportionality, favoring larger parties \Rightarrow fewer parties in elections (strategic effect only) \Rightarrow fewer parties in parliament (strategic + mechanical (mathematical) effect) \Rightarrow earned & especially manufactured majorities \Rightarrow fewer parties (often one party) in (majority) government \Rightarrow durability, accountability, identifiability, etc.
- E. Elaboration, Clarification, & Further Topics:
1. **Effective Thresholds:** roughly set by DMag (or exactly equal legal threshold if higher)
 - a. Most effects elect.sys. operate through proportionality; crucial contribution thereto summarizable by *Effective Threshold*, which in turn largely determined by DMag
 - b. Three Problems in determining T_{eff} :
 - (1) \exists **lower threshold** [DEFINE] & **upper threshold** [DEFINE];
 - (2) Both these effective thresholds also depend on specific formula, & # parties competing;
 - (3) # parties, DMag, etc., all matter, & therefore T_{eff} can vary district-to-district w/in system.
 - c. Roughly equal to the larger of:
 - (1) *Legal Threshold* or
 - (2) Approximately: $T_{eff} \approx .75/(DM+1)$
 - (3) Except in SMP, where Lijphart assumes it 35% by assumption
 2. [Interesting Fact & so a Question:
 - a. US has had 100% congressional majorities, only 8.7% manufactured;
 - b. UK has had 92% majorities, all manufactured.
 - c. What produces this huge difference?
 3. Why relationship T_{eff} (DMag) to # parties not stronger still, esp. re: # electoral parties? [relation exists; pretty strong; asking only why not stronger still]
 - a. Bi-directional causality [# elect parties \Rightarrow \uparrow Disprop, even as Disprop \Rightarrow \downarrow Ne].
 - b. Effect on # elect parties purely "psychological": in dem, parties never *forced* to leave electoral arena; can keep losing as long as want.
 - c. Multiple other factors involved here (e.g., geographic concentration of support).
 - d. Can be statistical artifact: systems performing oddly (too many or too few parties relative to designers' aims) may tend to be changed... Then way Lijphart uses data: E.g., US plurality = 1 case of elect sys; Greece's "reinforced" PR = many cases.

4. Refining Q: Why eNpp so much more responsive to elect sys than eNep?
 - a. Takes Time for Expectational Effects to Manifest;
 - (1) Politicians presumably know expected effects electoral systems, voters need learn them.
 - (2) Historicity: (effective) 2-party system won't become 3-party system over-night, etc.
 - (3) Uncertainty over elect support for various potential new parties, or over who will lose by new rules, & whose support now vulnerable
 - (a) => risk-aversion => less changing of rules
 - (b) => "winner's curse" => excessive net party entry as rules change
 - (4) Spurious/Endogeneity: when do electoral rules change? Maybe same conditions which trigger electoral law change are likely to be producing party system changes?
 - (5) Periods of time Lijphart compares usually quite long => questionable whether cases reliably controlled over whole periods—too much else also changing. On other hand, this "else" ought to average (to zero) across some reasonably large number of such comparisons.
 - b. Lijphart II partly addresses last: compare last election under old w/ 2nd or 3rd under new rather than all elections under old w/ new. Drawback: single election less reliable indicator of functioning of electoral system than avg over several.
 5. **Core Conclusions:** Some support expected effects on most dimensions:
 - a. T_{eff} =key factor (n.b. subsumes PR/PM & DMag, which very strong predictors)
 - b. Disproportionality is dependent variable most fully explained by elect.sys.
- F. Blais & Massicotte "Electoral Systems," in LNN, eds., Comparing Democracies. Mostly covered by GLM, & Lijphart, Blais & Massicotte also:
1. Also mentions candidate-selection mechanisms, which also have important implications (and neglected in GLM who cover under *Parties*)
 2. Also Elaborate on Some of the Positive Political Consequences:
 - a. *Psychological* (a.k.a. Strategic, Behavioral) & *Mechanical* Effects:
 - (1) Psychological (Strategic, Behavioral) Effects:
 - (a) P/M/PR & the number of parties
 - (b) Electoral System & ideology / cohesion
 - (c) Electoral System & strategic voting – Obvious in plur elects: more gen'ly, Gunther (1989) find small-party supporters less likely vote them in smaller-mag districts [Explain logic?].
 - (2) Mechanical (Mathematical) Effects
 - (a) Vote-seat proportionality
 - (b) Duverger's Law and number parties (raw v. effective number)
 - (c) Lijphart finds: Plurality => about 2.0 effective parties , Majority => ca. 2.8, PR => ca. 3.6
 - (d) Legal thresholds have their obvious effects too
 - (e) Presence/absence of single-party parliamentary majority: Lijphart II: Plur => maj 93% of cases, Majority => 50%, PR => 20-30% depending on threshold
 - b. **Ordeshook & Shvetsova and Cox & Amemiya find: relation b/w # parties & ethnic het. increases & tightens w/ district magnitude; later Clark & Golder improve the analysis**
 - (1) This important argument: societal cleavage structure (fract & cross-cut/reinforce, esp.) determines number of social groups that may form basis for political parties; permissive electoral systems (large DM, low T_{eff}) allow more of the groups to form political parties (run in elections) and especially to win seats, low DM, high T_{eff} => restricts # groups down toward 2.

(2) This suggests **interactive regression** of form:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Effective Number Parties} = & b_0 + b_1 \text{NumSocGrps} \\ & + b_2 \text{DistMag} \\ & + b_3 \text{DistMag} \times \text{NumSocGrps} + \dots + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

So that the effect of DMag on the number of parties depends on societal fragmentation. In particular, DMag should allow more parties to form in societies that are highly fragmented, where the number of social groups as potential parties is high, than in highly homogeneous societies, where the number of social groups is low. So, the effect of DMag on the effective number of parties is:

$$\frac{\Delta \text{Effective Number Parties}}{\Delta \text{DistMag}} = b_2 + b_3 \text{NumSocGrps}$$

So the effect depends on the number of social groups, as you can see. And the hypothesis is that the effect of DM on EffNumPrty should be greater the higher is the NumSocGrps, so the hypothesis is that b_3 should be positive. How the number of social groups changes the effect of district magnitude on the effective number of parties is:

$$\frac{\Delta \left(\frac{\Delta \text{Effective Number Parties}}{\Delta \text{DistMag}} \right)}{\Delta \text{NumSocGrps}} = b_3$$

Notice, finally, that interactive propositions like this are always symmetric: if societal fragmentation modifies the effect of DM on the effective number of parties, then DM modifies the effect of societal fragmentation on the number parties, and in the same way:

$$\frac{\Delta \text{Effective Number Parties}}{\Delta \text{NumSocGrps}} = b_1 + b_3 \text{DistMag} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{\Delta \left(\frac{\Delta \text{Effective Number Parties}}{\Delta \text{NumSocGrps}} \right)}{\Delta \text{DistMag}} = b_3$$

You need to be able to understand and interpret regression analysis to this level (this & preceding outline section on how to interpret the statistical output of such estimations).

IX. Parties and Party Systems

A. Patterns in Party Politics (GLM ch. 7)

1. Party System:

- a. DEF: character of political competition in polity, described in terms of relative strengths & policy positions of its parties (GLM, p. 151).
- b. Each system somewhat unique, but many similarities across party systems
- 2. 7 W. European Prty Sys, Descript: common basis left/right divide defines competition. Have some idea what one or two big countries' party systems look like. We talked briefly about
 - a. UK (classic two-party); Sweden (single-party (left) dominant, right-ctr coalition); Germany (triangular politics; tending toward two-bloc since unification); Netherlands (triangular-plus, classic multiparty system); Italy (pre-1994, multiparty, single-party (center) dominated; post-1994: tending toward two-bloc); France (since 1958 Gaullist constiitutional reform: two-bloc); Spain (since democratization: early volatility & flux, ill-defined loose alliances; then broad Ctr-Rt & Ctr-Lft coals; drifting toward Swedish-like PSOE-dominance on left vs. coalition of right-and-center).
- 3. Uniformity & Diversity
 - a. Maj commonality: tendency Lft-Rt competition, rel'y rare exceptions dominated by center
 - b. Some Core Differences:
 - (1) Location of liberals:
 - (a) Egalitarian (center-left): *e.g.*, UK Liberal Democrats
 - (b) Libertarian (center-right): *e.g.*, German FDP or Italian PLI
 - (2) Whether major left or, more rarely, right party can govern alone
 - (3) Strongly structured v. loose/fragmented govt'l alliances
 - (4) Degree of party discipline
- B. Party Families (GLM ch. 8)
 - 1. Definition/Grouping Characteristics
 - a. Origins
 - b. Links they form among selves, w/in & across countries
 - c. Similarity of (broad) policy stances
 - 2. Families of the Left
 - a. Social Democrats (↓ or unchanged support)
 - b. Comms (↓↓ support in most, except IT but decreasingly comm in fact & now not even in name)
 - c. New Left (↑ in most places, social democrats usually major effort to absorb...)
 - d. Greens (↑ or unchanged support in most places)
 - 3. Families of the Center & Right
 - a. Christian Democrats (↓ or unchanged in most places, until recently some rebound)
 - b. Secular Conservatives (↑ or unchanged in most places, until recently some rebound)
 - c. Liberals (most ↑, but some CDs/SecCons moving to absorb)
 - d. Agrarian/Rural (↓ or unchanged support)
 - e. Far Right (↑ support in several places)
 - 4. Other
 - a. regionalist, nationalist (unchanged or ↑ support)
 - b. miscellaneous, protest (↑ support in most places)

5. Patterns of Partisan Competition among Families
 - a. Christian-Democrat-led Right
 - (1) left strong, united (Austria, Germany)
 - (2) left strong, divided (Italy -'94)
 - (3) left weak, united or divided (Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Switzerland)
 - b. Secular-Conservative-led Right
 - (1) left strong, united (UK)
 - (2) left strong, divided (Finland, Iceland, France)
 - c. Fragmented Right, Left strong, united (Denmark, Norway, Sweden)
- C. GLM, "Inside Political Parties," (Mair) ch. 10
 1. [we largely skipped this, this year, but we did discuss:
 - a. how candidate-selection and campaign-funding procedures should relate to party discipline]
 - b. Regarding Parties & Money, in particular, we noted:
 - (1) unlike US, in most dems, almost all cand's money from party [→ discipline]
 - (2) Sources of party income
 - (a) Internal Sources
 - i) Membership fees (about 1/4 of total);
 - ii) MP's salary (up to 10% is "requested" to be "re-donated");
 - iii) Fund-raising events;
 - iv) Party shops, banks, & newspapers (but many closed & most rest lose \$ now).
 - (b) External Sources
 - i) Interest-group backing (in many cases no, or only ineffective, laws limit or require disclosure sources)
 - ii) Individual backing (ditto re: requiring party disclosure funding sources)
 - iii) Public assistance (money & in-kind (media time); money usu. proportional to (past) electoral strength)
 - (3) Arguments for or against state-funding
 - (a) For (evidence scarce, but what's relevant & available generally supports):
 - i) Reduces reliance on interest-group funding;
 - ii) Evens playing field: not all supporters equally able to finance parties;
 - iii) Parties essential to democracy => perform public service & so should be publically funded.
 - (b) Against (evidence scarce, but also supports)
 - i) Public funding supports *status quo* as funds existing parties only [& usually proportionally to previous size]
 - ii) Public funds ↓ party incentive to raise own money & so to recruit new activist members
 - iii) Campaigns becoming ↑ly costly, so public funding will too
 - (4) And, regarding funding, we discussed the difference between the "matching-funds" approach, and the fund in proportion to previous electoral support approach, and the implications of that difference
 - D. "Party Systems & Electoral Outcomes" Powell II, ch. 5
 1. *Strong (weak)* party systems contribute to good (poor) democratic perform

- a. Disagreement on how to recognize such *strength*
 - (1) “One line of thought emphasizes value of de-fractionalized, 2-party, ‘centrist’ party system that will aggregate citizens’ resources behind governmental majorities responsive to citizen pressures.
 - (2) Another...emphasizes expressive, mobilizing system of parties that will pull all major factions in society into its representative, democratic decision-making institutions, co-opting dissent & accommodating demands that might otherwise turn to violence” (p. 74).
 - 2. In Powell II’s terms, 3 broad types of systems advocated [adds strength of ties party to social groups to list important aspects party system]:
 - a. **“Aggregative” party systems:**
 - (1) Characteristics
 - (a) 2 or few prtys, @ capable get leg maj
 - (b) Centrist tends, alternatives not too stark
 - (c) Parties’ support cuts across social groups
 - (2) [Examples; Effects; Pros & Cons]
 - b. **“Representative” party systems**
 - (1) Characteristics
 - (a) More parties rep’ing broader range grps
 - (b) Clearer rep by the prtys those spec grps
 - (c) Accommodating leadership, willing to compromise & coalesce.
 - (d) Majorities avoided
 - (e) Participatory
 - (2) [Examples; Effects; Pros & Cons]
 - c. **“Responsible” party systems**
 - (1) Characteristics
 - (a) 2 parties, alternation in (majority) govts
 - (b) Parties ties to (lrg) soc grps > agg sys
 - (c) Ctrlzd, disciplined parties representing clearly distinct, ideolog. sharp alts
 - (2) [Examples; Effects; Pros & Cons]
- E. **Lijphart, Chapter 5, Party Systems**
- 1. Two-Party v. Multiparty Systems key distinction
 - 2. 2-Party supposedly 2 direct & 1 indirect advantage
 - a. Direct:
 - (1) Voters clear choice b/w two alternative governments & sets policies;
 - (2) Moderating influence as parties agglomerate & compete for median;
 - (3) BUT, these somewhat contradict! (N.b., a≈UK; b≈US).
 - b. Indirect: Necessary for stable, single-party majority govts & effect policy-making
 - 3. Prior Classification Schemes: How to Count Which Parties?
 - a. Sartori: size & political relevance parties
 - (1) ⇒ seat winners only

- (2) ⇒ those w/ “coalition potential” or “blackmail potential” (i.e., players in govt-form game)
- b. Blondel: size & configuration of set of sizes ⇒ 4 possibilities
 - (1) Two-party (Examples)
 - (2) 2.5 party (Examples)
 - (3) Multiparty w/ dominant (Examples)
 - (4) Multiparty w/o dominant (Examples)
- 4. Summary Measure: *Effective Number Parties* $N=1/\sum s_i^2$
- 5. [Lijphart adds this that not stressed in other material:] Issue Dimensions of Party Systems
 - a. How to Measure
 - (1) Gauge contents of party programs, supporters preferences, and policies in govt, but each w/ care b/c problematic. **Discuss.**
 - (2) Differences b/w parties, not w/in, b/c looking @ issue dimensions of party systems
 - (a) Between relevant parties (as above) only.
 - (b) Durable (as above).
 - b. Seven Identifiable Dimensions Across 36 Democracies
 - (1) Socioeconomic: most important, present in all (*characterize Lft/Rt*).
 - (a) *Evidence*: Size govt, inequality, unemp, infl, & educ, health, soc welf spend
 - (b) May have declined some since 70s, but still universal & strong
 - (2) Religion: present in >1/2, often high salience, but ↓↓ most places
 - (3) Cultural-Ethnic: present & high in most *plural societies*, in some *semi-plural*
 - (4) Urban-Rural: in few, mostly faded from prty sys (partys rename as move)
 - (5) (Democratic) Regime Support:
 - (a) places where sizable communist existed, but mostly faded
 - (b) not usually strongly present in developed democracies (part of definition, in fact)
 - (6) Foreign Policy: present in a few obvious places among the developed democracies
 - (7) Materialist/Post-materialist: participatory democracy & environment; only in more developed countries & only recently
 - c. Tendency 2-party ⇒ 1-dimension. Strong correlation between number of parties and number of issue dimensions [why?]
- F. “Party Systems & Structures of Competition,” Mair, ch3 LNN
 - 1. Summary: “...whole notion party system centers on assumption that stable structure partisan competition exists [in elects & for control of govt]. Structures of competition as *closed* (& predictable) or *open* (& unpredictable) [based on]:
 - a. Patterns alternation in government,
 - b. Degree of innovation or persistence in government-formation processes, &
 - c. Range of parties gaining access to government” (p. 84).
 - 2. Brief Intellectual History Party-System Classification Schemes
 - a. Duverger (1954): # parties, esp. 2-party v. multi-party systems
 - b. [Several others briefly summarized, but cut to next one with some staying power:]
 - c. Sartori (1976) [classic, foundational]: fractionalization & polarization, + *anti-system* prty
 - (1) Types:

- (a) 2-party, ideologically polarized (S considered none such)
 - (b) 2-party, moderate ideological distance (US, UK)
 - (c) Moderate Pluralism: multiparty, moderate ideological distance (Den)
 - (d) Polarized Pluralism: multiparty, ideologically polarized (Italy)
 - (e) Dominant-Party systems: Japan (India, Mexico) (until recently?)
3. Mair's Three Distinguishing Characteristics of *Different Types of Party Competition for Government*
- a. **Degree of Alternation in Government**
 - (1) Wholesale alternation
 - (a) single-party v. single-party
 - (b) single-party v. coalition
 - (c) coalition v. coalition
 - (2) Partial Alternation
 - (3) Non-alternation
 - (4) [Consider Powell II's 3 aspects of dem perf, & also account., mandate, & rep delegation (Powell I); how might variation in degree of alternation in govt affect those? ...affect policy and/or policy patterns?]
 - b. **Stability & Consistency of Government Alternatives**
 - (1) DEF: degree to which alternative government formulas (i.e., combo of parties in govt) known or predictable beforehand (i.e., stable & consistent).
 - (2) [Consider Powell's...; how might variation...?]
 - c. **Range of Parties as Potential Governmental Actors**
 - (1) Def: degree to which access to office widely/narrowly dispersed
 - (2) N.b., what matters: whether each party viewed by others as potential govt participant, not whether actually *legitimate* potential participant in abstract
 - (3) [Consider Powell's...; how might variation...?]
4. Combine to one dimension: **party system openness or closedness**
- a. Definitions:
 - (1) **Closed: highly predictable, little or no change over time in range governing alternatives or pattern of alternation, & with new &/or "outsider" parties finding entry difficult**
 - (2) **Open: highly unpredictable, w/ varying alternation patterns, freq. &/or large shifts in composition alternatives, & rel'y easy access to new parties & few or no real "outsiders"**
 - b. **Closedness or Openness depends on...**
 - (1) **Parties' ideologies & govt-formation strategies (e.g., DCI);**
 - (2) **Parties' electoral strategies (e.g., Fianna Fail);**
 - (3) **[n.b., suggests electoral & govt-formation strategies not so separable].**
 - (4) Closure ∴ depends heavily on norms competition among parties & so requires time to establish => new dems *open* by def, takes time to *close* them: a process of "structural consolidation" (e.g.: Gre, Por, Spa)
5. Party Systems & Electoral Outcomes

- a. From this view, **party-system change can occur w/o change in structure of electoral support for parties & v.v.** Mair's 4 examples:
 - (1) Denmark's "Earthquake" Election in 1973 (data below): massive electoral volatility, no change party competition for govt – was partial alternation etc., remained so
 - (2) Italy's 1994 Elect-System Change & Party Electoral-Support Volatility: massive volatility, and change party competition for govt
 - (3) Canadian Electoral Watershed in 1993: massive electoral volatility, no change, was wholesale alternation etc. & remained so
 - (4) Ireland: government-alternation pattern change in 1989 & 1993 w/o electoral volatility (this is the nice example of pattern of parties' competition for govt being an aspect of the parties' electoral strategies)
- b. Mair concludes that elect system can be frozen by 3 factors:
 - (1) Social structure (the Lipset & Rokkan model)
 - (2) Institutions: electoral system & organization efforts of established parties (Duverger's Law, etc.)
 - (3) [new:] Structure/Strategies of party competition & government formation
 - (a) Closure of party systems helps "freeze" electoral alignments,
 - (b) which implies change of party system, by Mair definition, can destabilize electoral alignments.
 - (c) Examples:
 - i) Italy: PCI becomes PDS, MSI becomes AN => new electoral alignments;
 - ii) Ireland: FF chooses coal w/ PD '89 & then Lab in '93 => new elect aligns.
- c. *Summary:*
 - (1) 'structure of competition, compete for govt esp., may impose major constraint on voter choice & hence act to stabilize electoral alignments.
 - (2) Thus, voters not simply expressing pref's for individual prty [or cand]; rather, albeit not always to same ° in diff prty sys, & this itself is important cross-national (& cross-institutional) variation to explain, but also expressing pref's for potential govts.
 - (3) & so, much like how shift in range prtys on offer can undermine estab'd pref's, so too can shift in range governing options, & hence in struct compet, undermine estab'd pref's & promote instab" (pp. 103-4).
- d. Finally, Mair perceives some generally shared trends suggesting ↑ openness of party systems
 - (1) Many places ↑ range of acceptable governing parties in past 2 decades (e.g. Austria, Italy)
 - (2) Many also ↑ set of coalitional permutations govern in recent times (e.g., AU, Ger, Ire)
 - (3) ↑ prty-sys openness ↔ ↑ elect instab ⇒ ↑ uncertainty at multiple levels

X. Voting, Participation, & Representation

A. *Part I: Voting: Partisanship & Partisan Representation*

1. Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, ch. 7-8 + ch. 13 in LNN

a. Broad Themes:

- (1) Parties' Positions (ch. 7):
 - (a) Voter perceptions thereof core of vote choice
 - (b) Party efforts to shape, maintain, &/or reshape these images
- (2) Partisan & Structural Voting (ch. 8, ch. 13 in LNN) (review for us)
 - (a) 2 prominent Δ's in link SES to partisan voting
 - i) Traditional cleavages (esp. class & religion) transformed & weakened as predictors individuals' votes

- ii) Changing bases ideological conflict: ↑ “post-materialism”
- (b) These producing general ↑ “issue-based” voting
 - i) Less based sociologically pre-determined & structured competition
 - ii) A new calculus of electoral decisions
 - a) Individualistic, with each:
 - b) Varying issue positions & weights thereupon
- (3) The post-war era through late 1960s to 1970s
 - (a) Party competition & voting patterns structured around social divisions within a polity
 - i) Recall Lipset & Rokkan’s “Diachronic” Model & Social-Cleavage/Party-System “Freezing” Hypoth.
 - ii) **Expected to persist because... [see above]**
 - iii) Why were these divisions so potent? [also review]
 - a) Represented & (re-)produced deep ideol. divisions
 - 1) Class: conflict re: nature pol & econ, re: org. soc.
 - 2) Religion: conflict basic value-systems (rt & wrong)
 - b) Soc grps enabled parties to inst’lize support basis
 - 1) Labor unions & firms provided org’l & people supp.
 - 2) Ditto for churches
 - (4) Since: General ↓ in sociologically determined vote (structural voting) [still review]
 - (a) Class-Voting Decline: **Define; Explanations:**
 - i) Class ÷ better def’d by ° job auton & author
 - ii) ↑ middle class “salariat” & affluent blue-collar
 - iii) Edu. divide: skill v. unskill lab, hum-cap rich v. pr
 - iv) Sectoral: pub-priv; traded-non; serv-ind-agr
 - v) Life-style differences: industrial v. yuppie
 - (b) Religious Voting “Decline”: **Def 2 types; Expl’s:**
 - i) Secularization: ↓ mem & attend; Ethical ind’uality
 - ii) Church/state, sec/rel conflict largely resolved
 - (c) Other Key Social Divisions
 - i) Region: Occasional, dramatic, but general ↓
 - ii) Urban/Rural & Center/Periphery:
 - a) Differences ↓ b/c transport & comm revolutions
 - b) But still-present agr-ind-service divide & lifestyle
 - iii) Race/Ethnicity
 - a) Prominent exception to general ↓,
 - b) But many societies still homog. or nearly so.
 - (d) **Gen’l explan’s (hypoth’s) for ↓ Struct. Vote** [still review]

- i) **Underlying conflicts increasingly resolved:** N.b., ° to which underlying conflicts “resolved” might explain relative decline of some types of structural voting & relative persistence or rise of others
- ii) **D’s preferred explan: structural & institutional Δ’s** ⇒ ↓ relevance relatively fixed social characteristics to contemp elect pol
 - a) Social cleavages still very relevant to those deeply enmeshed in them, but that’s fewer & fewer.
 - b) ↑ proportion of population characterized by:
 - 1) “*Fragmentation of life spaces*”
 - 2) ↓ participation, membership, involvement in “*stable & bounded social struct’s*”
 - 3) Lifestyles becoming increasingly individualized & diverse
 - c) **Social fluidity & individual mobility** across structured divides? N.b., can explain relative ↓ class & less ↓ in religion & no ↓ in race/ethnicity.
 - d) **Parties contributed to & reinforced all this:**
 - 1) In seeking to accomm structural & institutional changes w/in existing prty sys, they eroded core established images/reps
 - 2) But not yet want commit too strongly to too stark stands on new divides

(5) New Bases Political Cleavages: “**Post-Materialism**” [review. See above]

(6) **Impact of all this change:**

(a) ↓ **long-term partisan predispositions** ⇒

- i) ↑ episodic factors like current issues & image?
- ii) ↑ performance-based voting, like econ voting?
- iii) ↑ “*cand-cntrd*” pol [DEF; n.b. US more, Why?]
- iv) ↑ in “issue-voting”?

2. **Partisanship & Electoral Behavior [ch. 9]** [new at this point]

a. “**Funnel of Causality**” predicting vote choice

- (1) *Heuristic* model to organize vote-choice theory [Fig 9.1]
- (2) From structural factors most temporally & psych’ly removed from voting through explicitly political factors & beliefs more proximate
- (3) **Model=predictive success:** model usage predicts voter choices months-years before election better than individuals themselves can!

b. **Party Identification (Party I.D.)**

(1) **DEF:**

- (a) Long-term, affective, psychological identification w/ preferred pol prty
- (b) Cumulative tally [*Bayesian updating & updated priors*]

(2) To be **analytically relevant**, must be distinct from immediate voting preferences election by election

(3) **Difficult comparative concept:**

- (a) *partisanship* means diff things in diff contexts & distinction b/w party affinity & vote choice is of variable clarity depending on elect sys, etc.
- (b) Yet, voters do hold some enduring partisan allegiances that influence other perceptions & opinions

(4) **Effects:**

- (a) Psychological basis of stable party alignments
- (b) Influences more-proximate attitudes & behaviors

c. **Acquiring partisan identification (“Party ID”)**

(1) Acquired largely by **early age** – in primary school => **parents & family environ play central role**

(a) *Via* explicit reinforcement or subconscious internalize

(b) Corr. parent & child party ID very high (Tab 9.1)

(2) **Accumulated exper. party supp.** itself reinforce party ID

(a) Prty ID ↑ w/ age, & esp. w/ contin. elect supp prty

(b) => **unstable prty sys tend to weaken party ID**

d. Summary: Partisanship formed early; Reinforced through life; evolves in response to exper., not quickly or easily; Prty ID more stable than opins on almost any set of issues except perhaps certain “moral” issues. [*Bayesian update view.*]

e. **Partisanship more stable than vote pref’s in Europe as in US, but less so, Why?**

(1) **Type of voting:** candidate or party

(2) **Freq. of voting:** more freq helps disting b/w prty loyalty & vote

f. **Impact of partisanship**

(1) => **cues** for inds evaluate events, policies, propositions, candidates

(a) More broadly relevant than class or religion for this

(b) Reliance on partisanship in this way could be thought of as “satisficing”: a mental short-cut

(c) Some interesting findings:

i) Washington Post ‘fictitious act’

ii) Partisanship also colors econ. expects [*rational?*]

(d) Strongest effect “candidate image” & “govt performance”, & the like

(2) **Party ID also mobilizes:** ↑s propensity to vote & to perform other political activities [*Why?*]

(3) Converse’s notion Party ID shares producing “**normal vote-share**” for parties: vote-share when all other factors balance

(4) Prty ID **more easily countered in more prominent elects** (e.g., presidential elections vs. off-year) [*Why?*]

(5) Partisanship offers clear & low-cost info. voting **cue: n.b., can only serve so if party label provides info. on likely policies—fail to maintain partisan rep eventually weaken prty ID among supporters**

g. **Partisan Dealignment**

(1) Partisan alignment, like (social) structural voting, ↓

(a) esp. US & Ger (where was among largest), but in all dems

(b) Some contend many *non-partisans* = **closet-partisans**; consistently voting for one party; even so, # of partisans definitely declining

(2) Consequences:

(a) Decreased turnout might be linked to this

(b) “Split-ticket” voting increasing (Fig 9.4)

(c) More delay voting decisions (closer to elect day)

(d) Number of “floating” voters increasing

(3) **Explanations:**

(a) Crises & events: Vietnam, Watergate, scandals (but, if decline universal, such explanations weakened)

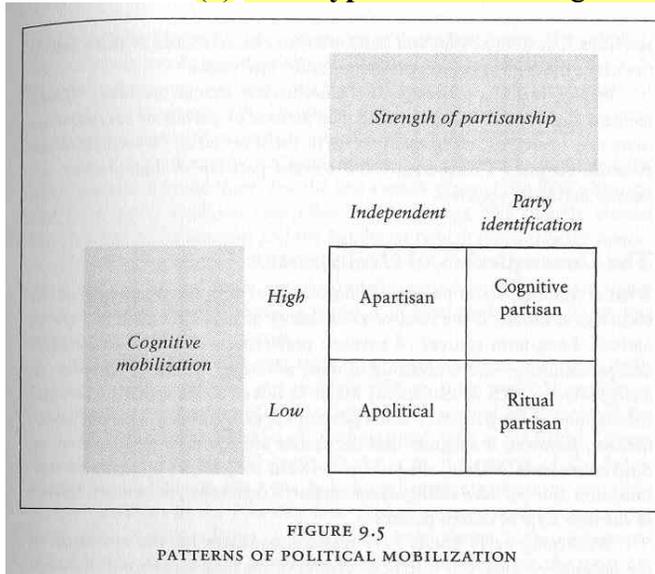
(b) Many traditionally party functions now by other orgs & grps, incl. even candidate selection somewhat

- (c) Mass media changes, personalizes campaigns
- (d) Leading parties' inability to address modern issues: *Keynesian Welfare State* crises, new issues, etc.
- (e) Changing characteristics of the contemporary voter (D's pref'd explan)

h. "Cognitive Mobilization" & Apartisans: 2 types ind's & 2 prtns

(1) Define "cognitive mobilization"

(2) Four types cit's according to ° cognitive mobilization & partisan identification [Figure 9.5]



Apolitical (trend 0:

- '52=16%,
- '80=19%,
- '92=16%)

Ritual Partisans (↓↓↓

- '52=42%,
- '80=28%,
- '92=20%)

Cognitive Partisans (↑:

- '52=32%,
- '80=35%,
- '92=41%)

Apartisans (↑↑:

- '52=10%,
- '80=18%,
- '92=24%)

(3) Implications of rising Apartisans

- (a) ↓ consistent voting patterns
- (b) ↑ issue-voting
- (c) ↑ demand for responsiveness to public opinion
- (d) Press for expansion of citizen-input opportunities
- (e) [Plus the above & below under "consequences" ...]

(4) Soc-Econ trends that ⇒ this voting-behavior trend: parties' actions can bolster or resist trend

- (a) Young, educated, post-materialists
- (b) Information revolution [...]

i. Consequences of these trends [maybe just be able to give 1-2 implications & the logic as to why follows from ↓ prty ID & struct vote]

- (1) Decreased turnout might be linked to this
- (2) "Split-ticket" voting increasing
- (3) More delayed voting decisions
- (4) Number of "floating" voters increasing
- (5) Electoral volatility

- (6) Electoral unpredictability
 - (7) Increased divided government / fractionalization
 - (8) Rise in independent candidates & “flash parties”
 - (9) Factors further in funnel ↑ import rel to early [...]
 - (10) Less consistent voting patterns
 - (11) More issue-voting
 - (12) ↑ demand for responsiveness to public opinion
 - (13) ↑ demand for expansion cit-input opportunities
 - (14) All these may produce increasing responsiveness of elected officials to public opinion [or not...]
3. Issue & Image Voting (Dalton, ch. 10)
- a. **Structural & partisan voting** ↓ ⇒ ↑ *rel'ly issue & image vote*
 - b. Issue voting long seen **key to sophisticated, rational voting**. Logical req's for issue voting:
 - (1) Citizens are interested in issue
 - (2) Citizens hold an opinion on issue
 - (3) Citizens know cand's or parties' stands on issue
 - (4) On most issues, most cit's do not meet req's ⇒ early conclusion: voters incapable issue voting
 - c. **Overlapping issue publics [DEFINE]**
 - (1) Most voters meet all 3 req's on 1 issue min.
 - d. **Image as issue:** pertains to voter evaluation of how candidates will behave in certain circumstances
 - (1) Interesting: more-educated more likely eval. on personal char's
 - (2) More moderate but growing impact outside US
 - e. D refers all this trend to personal, issue-cntrd pol as ***citizen politics***:
 - (1) ↓ lng-term determ vote: struct & partisan attach
 - (2) ↑ shrt-term determ vote: issues & image
 - (3) Among voting pop that ↑'ly *cognitively mobilized*
 - (4) Δ nature of ec-voting illustrates:

“We can illustrate changing styles of citizen voting behavior by the changing impact of economics on the vote. Traditionally, economic conflicts have been structured by social divisions: working class versus middle class, industrial versus agrarian interests. In this situation, one's social position was often a meaningful guide to voting decisions. As social divisions narrowed and group bases of political interests blurred, social class decreased as a source of voting cues. This does not mean that economic issues are unimportant. Quite the opposite. As recession weakened the economies of the industrial nations in the 1980s, economic issues again rose to the top of the political agenda for many citizens. Contemporary evidence of economic voting is widespread, but now issue positions are individually based rather than group derived. The political cues of a union leader or business association must compete with the voter's own opinions on economic policy and party programs. That a partial return to the old issues of economic growth and security has not revived traditional class divisions provides compelling evidence that a new style of citizen politics now affects voting patterns.” [pp. 235-6]

- (5) Normative Evaluation:
 - (a) **Possible “pros” of citizen politics** [discuss]
 - i) Increasing policy implications of electoral results

- ii) May make candidates & parties more responsive
- (b) Possible “cons” of citizen politics [discuss]
 - i) Over-burdening, inconsist., non-agg’d demands
 - ii) Cits w/o skills *sophist.* ind’ualistic vote = atomized grps w/o prty, soc cues⇒easy prey demagogue?
- (c) Possible roles of TV in campaigns illustrates

4. **Political Representation (ch. 11): how well do elected reps correspond to their constit’s?**

a. **Collective correspondence:** match/dispairty b/w elite & public distributions of attitudes

b. **Dyadic correspondence:** match/dispairty b/w constituent & rep.

(1) E. Burke’s 2 Models **Constituency Representation**

(a) “Trustee” model

(b) “Delegate” model (Fig 11.1)

(2) **Party-government model:** dispersion b/w party & its supporters

(a) Necessary characteristics for “*responsible party govt*” (See Powell)

- i) competition between 2+ parties
- ii) parties distinct, recognizable policy-differences
- iii) voters recognize these diff’s & care about them
- iv) parties act to important degree as units

(b) “Constituency”-representative agreement low-to-0 outside US. **Why?**

c. **Gen’l patterns elite-citizen correspondence**

(1) Elites tend to be more extreme than supporters [EXPLAIN]

(2) Strong constit.-rep./party-voter agreement on economic & social policy, less on foreign policy

(3) Clarity of party issue positions tends to ↑ voter-party correspondence

(4) Fractionalized party systems tend to ↑ voter-party correspondence

d. **Impact of *Citizen Politics* on political representation:**

(1) Issue-oriented, *sophist.* electorate may spur partys & cand’s responsivity to voter interests

(2) Or, partisan dealignment & candidate-centered politics may weaken rep built on party govt

e. **2 distinct patterns democratic rep emerge**

(1) *(Presidential) Representative-Constituency model:*

(a) Pro: Greater responsiveness to different interests of particular districts

(b) Pro: Potentially more open to interests & rep of minority groups

(c) Con: ↑ difficulty monitor & controlling govt (as opposed reps) actions

(d) Con: Encourages campaigns stress personalities & district service (pork) over policy & orientations

(2) *(Parliamentary) Party-Supporter model:*

(a) Pro: party votes as unified bloc so political responsibility for govt more clearly established

(b) Con: may produce rigidity & resistance to change for this reason; parties may be very responsive to established clientele, but new social grps & minorities may have difficulty gaining such rep

B. **Voting: Who, How Many, & How?**

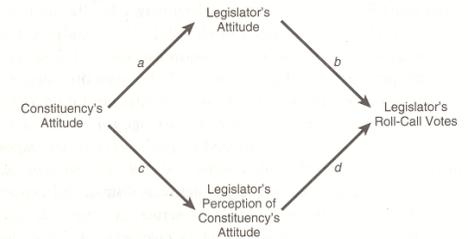


Figure 11.1 Constituency Influence in Congress

1. Electoral Participation (Franklin, ch. 8 of LN&N)
 - a. Three approaches to explaining voter participation
 - (1) *Individual-Resources Approach*: what individuals bring to political process—knowledge, wealth, time—determines voters
 - (2) *Political-Mobilization Approach*: heightened awareness duty or ‘civicness’ inculcated, activated, or mobilized *via* media, parties, grps
 - (3) *Instrumental-Motivation Approach*: people respond to perceived costs & benefits voting; aim=political efficacy in terms influence policy (at least in concert w/ like-minded)
 - b. F’s broad arg: 3rd unduly neglected as explanation, esp., cross-national variation in VP, spec’ly stresses small set legal & political-system variables in explain:
 - (1) “salience” of elections [DEFINE]
 - (2) compulsory voting
 - (3) proportionality of electoral system
 - (4) postal voting
 - (5) weekend/workday polling
 - c. F stresses, 1st, that cross-ctry variation VP much greater than b/w ind’s w/ diff. characteristics. *Ind-level* diff’s explain much less of cross-ctry variation than *country-level* or *system-level* variables (tho US greatest diffs b/w vote rates types of ind’s). Suggests:
 - (1) much of explanation for variation VP must come from differences in political system not from differences in demographics or average individual characteristics (e.g., education level)
 - (2) follows, moreover, that if aim to ↑ (or ↓) VP, changes in pol institutions, environments, & rules are way, esp. since most individual-level characteristics less manipulable
 - d. Comparing approaches w/ these considerations in mind:
 - (1) *Individual-Resources* approach:
 - (a) Argument: people w/ time, \$, & intellectual where-w/-all to participate
 - (b) Evidence:
 - i) W/in ctry, broadly true, though perhaps not so strong as you’d think.
 - ii) Cross-ctry: not much variation on avg levels, so don’t explain much.
 - (2) *Political-Mobilization* approach:
 - (a) Arg: grps, orgs, & media can be very effective in exhort, inculcate participatory ethic, etc.
 - (b) evidence:
 - i) no doubt group efforts effective (esp. drive to polls, register, etc.), media effect more debatable;
 - ii) even less cross-ctry var mobilization efforts than in ind char’s [though this impressionistic].
 - (3) *Instrumental-Motivation* approach:
 - (a) arg: people vote based perceived C&B (largely perceived policy-influence efficacy) voting
 - i) Both other approaches indirectly address inst’l motivations (i.e., Instru. Motiv. subsumes)
 - a) education, experience, time, & money might well increase perception of efficacy & lower costs of voting
 - b) mobilization largely an effort to increase those perceived benefits & reduce those perceived costs
 - ii) I-M approach subsumes these two & also allows election *contest* itself to be factor driving turnout
 - (b) Ordeshook heuristic model of voter turnout:

$$\Pr(\text{Vote}) = f\left(\text{pr}\{\text{pivotal}\} \times [X_p - X_a] + B - C\right)$$

- i) Where $\text{pr}\{\text{pivotal}\}$ = probability my vote shifts outcome, X_p and X_a = policy under preferred & alternative, and B & C are inherent net costs & benefits, possibly subjective, of vote.
- ii) Even though first term likely negligible in all dems, propositions derived from its considerations often find empirical support.
- (c) Specific hypotheses F derives from this approach
 - i) ↑ policy relevance of election & voter's role in it ⇒ ↑ voter turnout [calls this: *salience*]
 - a) Is (effective) policymaking power clearly, unmitigatedly at stake?
 - 1) [So what impact federalism, division of power, etc.??]
 - 2) [What of different elected office scattered over different elects?]
 - b) Is election expected to be close? (particularly in my district?)
 - c) Is outcome likely to affect public policy [about which I care]?
 - d) Are perceived differences between perceived alternatives large?
 - ii) Electoral systems that ↓ proportion of wasted votes ↑ turnout
 - iii) Anything that ↑ vote difficulty (costly in time, \$, opportunity costs), ↓ VP
 - a) compulsory voting
 - b) registration laws
 - c) weekend/workday polling
 - d) advance and/or postal voting
 - e) number of days polls are open
 - iv) *voter fatigue*: ↑ # distinct elects ⇒ ↓ VP [correlates w/ no on 1a]
- (d) Evidence Supports

2. Helmut Norpoth, "The Economy," in LNN [Didn't really cover in Fall 2011]

- a. "Economic concerns almost everywhere bonds electorates & govts as tightly as Siamese Twins joined at hip" (p. 300)
 - (1) Incumbents presiding over good ec times more likely to win than presiding over bad
 - (2) [Therefore] Governments try to bend economy to their will...
 - (3) Economic adversity can kill infant dem & v.v. good times strengthen its foundation
- b. The Vote Function–Reward-and-Punishment Calculus
 - (1) Common or Conflicting Interests?
 - (2) Symmetric or Asymmetric Reward & Punishment?
 - (3) Personal or Sociotropic Concerns?
 - (4) Retro- or Prospective Evaluation?
- c. Vote function, whatever its form, varies across ctry-time. Why?
 - (1) Clarity of responsibility (Powell & Whitten)
 - (2) Alternatives for Discontent–2-prty sys clearest [US or UK?]
 - (3) [any other ideas?]

XI. Extra-electoral Participation & Interest Groups: Bashevkin, "Interest Groups & Social Movements," in LNN [NOT COVERED FALL 2011]

- A. Organized groups:
 - 1. At core of democratic debate:
 - a. *Critics*: attacked as selfish & destructive of democratic process
 - b. *Supporters*: celebrated as crucial, constructive actors in process [How?]
 - 2. Synonyms:
 - a. Pressure groups, interest group, lobby, & organized interest
 - b. Social movement organization, social movement
 - 3. Definition: *Truman (1951)*: ‘IG’ refers to any group that, on basis of 1 or more shared attitudes, makes certain claims upon other groups in society for the establishment, maintenance, or enhancement of forms of behavior that are implied by the shared attitudes... (pp. 135-6)
 - 4. Social Movements (SM’s): Define
- B. Interest Group Functions:
 - 1. Social roles of IG’s
 - a. *Truman*: these [shared attitudes] afford participants frames of reference for interpretation & evaluation of events & behavior
 - b. Like parties, often function as social networks as well as political organizations
 - 2. Electoral roles of IG’s:
 - a. Evaluate competing candidates
 - b. Help fund candidates
 - c. Mobilize voters
 - 3. Policymaking roles of IG’s
 - a. Influence or pressure govt decision-makers, but not seek office (distinguishes them from parties)
 - b. Provide information to policymakers
 - (1) Where voters/citizens stand on issues
 - (2) Information (possibly biased) about issue itself
 - 4. *Wilson*: IG’s provide institut’l linkages b/w govt (state) & major sectors society
- C. Substantive Q’s regarding interest groups & movements
 - 1. Why some (potential) groups (with shared interests) more difficult to organize than others?
 - a. Members’ Hetero/homo-geneity: SE homogeneity & unity, coherence views
 - b. Size of the groups (Olson’s Logic of Collective Action)
 - c. Coercion/suasion & Selective benefits (Olson)
 - 2. What explains diff *means* & *venues* diff grps w/ shared interests use?
 - a. Means & Venues:
 - (1) Some form parties [Green parties]; Others IG’s & lobbies [Sierra Club]; Others adopt “politics by other means” [Greenpeace].
 - (2) Some apply pressures, allocate efforts more to campaigns, some to policy-making, some more to legislature, exec, or courts.
 - b. Hypotheses:
 - (1) Bashevkin: groups form strategies based on their institutional & ideological settings
 - (2) History? “diffusion of innovation”
 - (3) Intensity of views?

- (4) Power configuration of alternative & orthogonal views?
3. What explains general ↑ # & importance of I.G.'s?
 - a. Decline of parties [elaborate]
 - b. Edu & afflu ⇒ ↑ resources & abilities ⇒ lower relative cost to mobilize groups?
 - c. Advances in communications & transportation tech⇒ ↑ efficiency organizing
 4. What explains var space & time in IG activities? (diff uses *Voice*?)
 - a. Change over time in US
 - (1) Traditionally IG's in US pol lobbied elected pols ntl & state capitals, but ↑'ly:
 - (a) They work in coalitions to lobby bureaucrats
 - (b) They present their arguments in court
 - (c) They go directly to public *via* media interviews & ads
 - (d) Try influence elections as well as traditional acts influence policy at leg stage
 - (2) What might explain these changing activities?
 - (a) Increasing professionalization of interest groups
 - (b) Societal changes? [Such as?]
 - (c) Voting-behavior changes? [Such as? Other ideas?]
 - b. Why lobby bureaucrats rel'y more prevalent FR than US? [**Gen'lize ⇒ Pap**]
 - (1) Differing nature of electoral competition?
 - (2) Size of role of bureaucratic implementation on net effect of policy?
 - (3) [Other ideas?]
 5. SM's more willing use extra-pol, even illegal, than IG's. Why? [tautol.?] [**Pap?**]
 - a. Do mobilization needs of IG's & SM's differ?
 - b. Does nature of IG's & SM's goal differ?
 - c. Differing opportunities to achieve their ends politically, legally? [see Kitschelt's point above about SM's resulting from marginalization]
 6. What explains diff success grps interests in achieve their ends? [**Paper Topic**]
 - a. *Tarrow (1983)*: breadth & flexibility group's *tactical repertory*
 - b. History, e.g., novelty of SM's or IG's aims or tactics?
 - c. Institutional differences in political process? [Such as...]
- D. "Models" of Group Activity
1. *Power-Elite Model*: Mills (1956), Hunter (1953)
 - a. Small elite, even covert, controls grps & gov, limiting opps *avg* cits' pol partic
 - b. How does such a minority dominate majority in a dem?
 - (1) Size, homogeneity interests, unity of grps serve their coherence
 - (2) Relative social, political, & economic power of elites enables them to dominate uninformed, excluded masses
 2. *Pluralist Model*: Truman (1951), Dahl (1961)
 - a. Struggles among competing grps=essence dem pol; govt major role=establish & maintain orderly relations among them
 - b. "*Vectors of political inputs*" image: multiple (vector) forces push govt; resultant (vector) of those forces⇒policy

- c. Multiple points of access for diverse interests => group participation in public policymaking is virtually assured
- d. From this perspective, major research agenda, core positive question: What explains degree to which alternative collective demands met?
 - (1) Emphasis (relative) internal grp characteristics, esp. organizational resources
 - (a) Socioec. status, media access or control, education, & skill of grp & leaders
 - (b) Internal organizational cohesion
 - (c) Strategic social position (in political issue-space relative to other IG's)
 - (2) Later work discerns **4 key variables determining policy success of grp**
 - (a) *Group Resources*: financial & human resources relate pos'ly to policy influ.
 - (b) *Group Cohesion*: org'l control, unity, & discipline relate pos'ly to influence
 - (c) *Leadership Expertise*: policy & administrative knowledge always helps
 - (d) *Group Representativeness*:
 - i) favorable strategic position, &/or
 - ii) comprehensive group standing in policy domain [?], &/or
 - iii) breadth & depth support in broader polity.
 - (3) **Basic Argument/Assumption Pluralist Model**: open, fair competition naturally favors groups w/ highest net "score" on these factors
- 3. *Pluralist Critics*: Schattschneider; Bachrach & Baratz
 - a. Importance of non-decisions & agenda setting **[explain]**
 - b. Govt & bureauc = interested, ≠ neutral, actors in process
 - c. Insiders v. Outsiders: some groups excluded.
 - d. ⇒ reject image of govt as neutral arena in which grp interests fairly compete & policies neutrally emerge.
- 4. *State- & Institution-Centric* (Katzenstein; Krasner; Evans; Skocpol): **3 key vars: state preferences, capacity, & autonomy**
 - a. Policymakers can & do develop **preferences** that differ from constituent grps
 - b. Relative degree of **autonomy** of state from societal groups determines degree to which they may differ
 - c. **Capacity** ≡ ability of bureaucratic state to execute its actions & so depends ability to concentrate, coordinate, & exploit govt'l resources
 - d. [Criticisms of State-Centric Vision:
 - (1) *State* not more than a set of (key) institutions; not separate actor. I.e., not valid anthropomorphize *state*.
 - (2) In democracy, *L'Etat: c'est nous*.
- 5. *Corporatist Model*: (Schmitter, Lijphart)
 - a. "“system of interest rep in which constituent units org'd into limited # singular, compulsory, noncompetitive, hierarchically ordered & functionally differentiated categories, recognized or licensed (sometimes created) by state & granted deliberate representational monop. w/in respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls leader selection, demand articulation, & [supporting activities]' Schmitter (1979)” (149).
 - b. Core Characteristics:
 - (1) IG's operate as integral parts of, rather external influences on, govt activity
 - (2) State at apex of corporate system, org's a hierarchy w/in which interests operate regarding govt & other interests
 - c. Important Aspects:
 - (1) Incorporation insider grps (some exclusion implied) so that favored groups play a structured & significant role in policymaking

- (2) Competition among grps much more limited than in pluralist sys; state's role is more assertive & sustained
- d. [Example: *Tri-Partite Bargain*: Govt–peak labor ass'n–peak employer ass'n]
- e. Literature usually contrast “liberal” or “societal” corporatism from “state” corporatism [essentially, “from below” v. “from above”] [note: history in fascist states part why emphasize this contrast].
- 6. All actual country-times could be characterized to some degree by each of these models of politics, but... [& so what?]

 - a. US most nearly pluralist?
 - b. Britain bit more statist?
 - c. France lot more statist?
 - d. Jap hybrid statist & corp?
 - e. Germ more purely corp?
 - f. Swe& Austria most corp?

- E. Empirical “Findings” [review of large numbers small case studies, gen'ly]

 - 1. Bashevkin claims that business grps generally most influential in most systems
 - a. Note the difficulty of establishing any such claim
 - b. [If business grps most influential, why they among most critical govt policies?]
 - 2. Keys to success:
 - a. Most work confirms importance internal characteristics of grps to their success
 - b. Most also find “political opportunity structure”–interest &/or inst'l struct w/in which grps operate–key to strategies, success, etc.
 - c. So influence rests combination of internal assets & external situation [banal?]
 - 3. Means & Venues: Grps adapt to inst'l setting: seem go where matters in their sys (e.g., Congress then courts in US), subject to abilities to go there.

XII. Coalition Formation & Dissolution: non- and unidimensional models

A. Two Central Questions Regarding *Politics of Coalition*:

- 1. Types Govt that Form [*define, as used here*]: number, majority status, & party composition, and cabinet-ministry allocation
- 2. Durability / instability of governments

B. Powell II already established 2 key facts re: *executive performance* [DEF, as used here]

- 1. Constitutional factors dominate explanation of executive performance (chs. 2-4):
 - a. Presidential systems => durable, but often minority, governments
 - b. Majoritarian Parliamentary systems => durable, usually majority, governments
 - c. Representative Parliamentary systems => unstable, occasionally minority, governments
- 2. Strong extremist parties, where present, = key aspect of Rep. Parl. sys. that => *negative* executive-performance outcomes (ch.5)

C. Govt Formation & Stability Arguments:

- 1. *Parties' Motivations* 2-fold (n.b., parties as unitary actors [*define; discuss*])
 - a. Desire to participate in & control (current) policymaking
 - (1) For both **instrumental (policy-seeking, partisan)** reasons–parties care what policies made–and
 - (2) **intrinsic (office-seeking, opportunistic)** reasons–parties & party members wish to remain in govt (power & perks & ego), which requires voter support, which presumably depends on policies
 - b. Parties also motivated by considering ramifications of current actions, including enter or stay out of govt, for future ability to participate (*i.e.*, esp. future electoral ramifications), but existing theories mostly ignore this, focusing on what forms given an elected parliament

2. What sorts of governments will form then?
 - a. Implies that govts will tend to form that contain...
 - (1) As few parties as possible to max cab seats/party for both spoils & influence reasons;
 - (2) As little ideological dissent as possible to make policies as close to ideal as possible;
 - (3) Sufficient parliamentary support to pass necessary initiatives.
 - (a) Note: Last two relate to *policy-seeking* motivation.
 - (b) But, if some govt members care these things, then others purely office-seeking care too.
 - b. Goals often conflict, but knowing them often suffice to predict what govt-types form & endure
 3. Evidence on Government Formation: Powell's 4 Rules
 - a. **#1: When a single-party majority can form it will**
 - b. **#2: Coalitions usually formed of *ideologically connected* [DEF] prtys**
 - c. **#3: Where "Minimum-Winning-and-Connected-Coalition" Govts possible, they usually form**
 - d. **#4: Non-majority govts & non-MWCC govts form most frequently where extremist party support high (>15%)**
- D. Lijphart, Ch.6: Concentration vs Sharing Executive Power
1. **Core of Majoritarian vs Consensus:**
 - a. 1-prty-maj vs multi-prty-coalition; or, more more detailed ranking on conc/diff exec power: 1-Prty-Maj—Multi-Prty MWC/1-Prty-Min—Multi-Prty Oversize/Minority
 2. **Coalition Theories:**
 - a. If 1-prty maj possible, usu forms.
 - b. **Minimal-Winning Coalitions** (Riker '62): **DEF**
 - (1) Base Assumption: parties max power [& perks], cab=pow [&p], ⇒ as many cab seats poss
 - (2) ⇒Only include prtys strictly nec to install & maintain govt [no *surplus parties*]
 - c. **Minimum-Size Coalitions:** extend MWC⇒smallest poss majority
 - d. **Minimum-Parties Coalitions** (Leierson '70): Fewest parties possible to MWC ⇒ ↓ bargaining & negotiation costs form & maintain coal
 - e. **Minimal Ideological-Range Coalitions** (deSwaan '73): ease form & maintain coal's of prtys w/ similar pref's. Several versions:
 - (1) Maj coal's w/ smallest L-R distance to obtain *its* majority (GLM use: **ordinal version**)
 - (2) Maj coal's w/ smallest L-R distance of *possible* majorities (L uses: **cardinal version**)
 - (3) Could also vary whether MWC logic also applied: i.e., if all parties nec. or surplus allowed.
 - f. **Minimum Connected Coalitions that Win** (Axelrod '70):
 - (1) Axelrod's original argument: Parties add partners to assemble majority, starting w/ closest ideological neighbors b/c easiest search & negotiate, continue until majority.
 - (2) Another Arg: Adding connecting prty to o/w separated coal lowers avg ideol distance b/w govt prtys & thereby facilitates compromise
 - (3) Additional logics to connected coal's from Powell & me above:
 - (a) Lessens ° to which separated parties seen (by mems & voters) as deviate from ideals in join coalition
 - (b) [parties b/w others in coal. can add leg. support w/o requiring much/any further policy-compromise]
 - (4) Could apply ordinal or cardinal version here also.
 - g. **Policy-Viable Coalitions** (Laver & Schofield '90):

(1) If solely policy-motivated, & policy requires legis majority, then govt'l membership & majority irrelevant, just party pivotal-ness in legislative bargaining →

(2) 'Core-Prty' Govt: core~assuming sincere voting, cannot assemble majority w/o; e.g., in 1D, =median, so → Median-Party Govt

(3) If add other reasons parties want be in govt, e.g., *office-seeking* or *agenda-power*, then → MWC's containing median parties.

h. Note what need to know to apply these theories:

(1) MWC, Min Seats, Min Parties = zero-dimensional, just leg seats dist across parties

(2) Rest need also parties' L-R on one-dimension (some only ordinally).

i. Apply these Theories in Table 6.1:

Table 6.1 Cabinet coalitions predicted by six coalition theories for a hypothetical distribution of parliamentary seats

Parties:	A (Left)	B	C	D	E (Right)
Seats:	8	21	26	12	33
Theories:					
Minimal winning coalition		ABC	ADE	BCD	BE CE
Minimum size			ADE		
Bargaining proposition					BE CE
Minimal range		ABC		BCD	CE
Minimal connected winning		ABC		BCD	CDE
Policy-viable coalition		ABC		BCD	CE

1. Count Seats; determine majority “magic number”: 100 here, so 51.

2. That suffices for MWC, MinSize, BargProp.: Find all possible subsets >50 seats.

3. Array Parties & assemble coalitions for rest.

E. Building & Maintaining (Parl.) Govt (GLM ch.12)

1. 2 Central Questions: Govt Comp & Cab-min Alloc; G Durability

2. The Party Composition of Governments

- a. [Always recall that...] elects still paramount in that determine actual & expected legis wt of prty actors in govt-form drama
- b. Politicians motivated by some combo (a) “fame & power” (*opportunistic/office-seeking*) & (b) desire influence pub pol (*policy/outcome-seeking*), & these diff implic’s in govt form
 - (1) Pure *office-seeking* ⇒ min-win logic: don’t share seats further than must ⇒ oversized govt a puzzle
 - (2) Pure *policy-seeking* ⇒ parties’ ideological/preference-compatibility ⇒ core- (median-) party govt
 - (3) Combination of these motivations may suggest:
 - (a) Minimum-winning-connected (Axelrod)
 - (b) Minimum-ideological-range-winning (de Swaan)
 - (c) [Etc., as just reviewed from Lijphart]

3. Minority (& oversize) governments not rare, so coalition theory should explain them too; all such theories rely on parties’ policy motives

a. Minority Governments, Hypotheses:

- (1) Strom: as ability of parties to influence pol from opp ↑, freq min govt ↑ [Fig (mine): data strongly supports—Opp Influ measure used here from Laver & Hunt, not Strom, btw]
- (2) Luebbert: ↑ role of interest grps & org’s outside parl. (esp. corporatist-type policymaking) ↓ necessity of being in govt to influ pol, so should ↑ minority govts: might explain Scand, but Germany, Austria, & Italy? Need multivariate analysis to consider this...
- (3) Laver & Shepsle: ↑ pol divisions among opp’s ⇒ ↓ ability to form alt govt, which should enable minority-govt formation—especially centrist govts can do this [we’ll see this arg closer later...]

b. Oversized Governments, Hypotheses:

- (1) *Govts of national unity*: several observed oversized govts occur immed postwar, only occas. after & then usu. short-lived & arise in some context of “crisis”
- (2) Policy agenda in some situations may require super-majority (Belg. notable) ⇒ not all seeming oversized govts actually “surplus”
- (3) L & S: extra parties may be included for signals they send [to whom?] about govt’s policy stance
- (4) Luebbert: dominant party(s) in coal may want surplus minor parties so no one smaller-party ally has *veto* [some Italian govts may exemplify]
- (5) [surplus govts maybe esp. likely when MWC bridges smaller intermed party b/c little further policy-compromise necessary to ↑ legis strength of govt. May add to Luebbert’s arg in particular]
- (6) [party discipline? Surpluses in Italy, e.g., may have addressed need of extra “insurance” support]

4. The Allocation of Cabinet Portfolios. Cabinet govt:

- a. Cab serves as cntrl decision-making committee: by time bills referred from cab. to parl. for full-parl votes, ≈ done deal. In fact, many decisions do not require direct legislative assent.
- b. Vote confidence theoretically gives parl control cab, & ultimately it does, but only if parl willing risk govt collapse over issue ⇒ much latitude to cab mems, esp. w/in dept competence (L&S)
- c. Two Questions:
 - (1) How many seats to each party?

- (2) Which portfolios to which parties?
5. How many seats allocated to each party?
 - a. Proportional to parties' shares of govts' legis. maj. (Gamson's Law): 90% of variation in party share of cab seats explained by party share of govts' legis. maj. (e.g., Govt has 40 seats in parl, party Y has 10 ⇒ party Y gets 1/4 of cab. seats).
 - b. Among strongest relationships in pol sci, even though not constitutional requirement anywhere
 - c. Notably, deviations not consistently favor proposer (*formateur*, PM or lrgst prty).
 6. Which seats to which parties?
 - a. Tendency for median party on each policy Dim w/ a cabinet ministry to get that portfolio
 - b. Tendency for parties most centrally interested in a policy Dim to get assoc'd portfolio
 - c. Why? Cab Mins=agenda-setters in their pol area & have considerable latitude in pol-mkng: ⇒
 - (1) Who gets what portfolio central to govt pol position & likely pol outputs [L&S]
 - (2) Cabinet *reshuffles* more important than often realized
 - (3) Ideological positions of cab mins perhaps only credible signals govt's policy stance in that policy area
 - (4) Power shifts w/in parties can fundamentally affect relations b/w them
- F. The Stability of Parliamentary Governments
1. Explaining Duration: Three sets of factors
 - a. Features of Government Itself
 - (1) Number of parties in the government (fractionalization)
 - (2) Ideological distance b/w parties in govt (polarization)
 - (3) Majority/Minority status of government
 - b. Features of the Political Environment
 - (1) Party System: Larger, more diverse party systems ↓ govt duration because smaller shocks can change what coalition is an equilibrium
 - (2) Other factors? [Powell: extremist party support]
 - c. Shocks, events, & external circumstances [journalistic accounts invariably focus] (see Warwick)
 - (1) Worsening economic conditions, esp. unemployment
 - (2) Unemp especially bad for ctr-right; infl esp'ly bad for socialist-led

More Practice on **Non- and Uni-Dimensional Coalition-Formation Concepts**

Minimal Winning Coalition (MWC): coalition whose member parties control parliamentary majority & which contains no party unnecessary to do so; *i.e.*, coalition obtaining majority w/o any *surplus* parties. Need not be minimum-connected winning coalition or minimum-ideological-range winning coalition.

Minimum-Connected Coalition (that wins) (MCC) (ordinal): coal whose members ideologically adjacent, w/o ideol'y inter-vening parties outside coal, & which contains no subset of parties sufficient for maj. Need not be MWC, but will be MIRC.

Minimum-Ideological-Range Coalition (that wins) (MIRC): a coalition whose mems obtain majority w/o containing any other majority within its left-to-right span. *I.e.*, coalition that spans no more ideological space, left-to-right, than necessary for maj. Need be neither MWC nor MCC.

Single-Dimensional Coalition-Formation Concepts:

Example: Hypothetical Germany w/ parties & seat-shares arrayed left-to-right thus:

PDS — Greens — SPD — A — B — FDP — CDU/CSU — R
1.4% — 7.0% — 44.5% — 2.0% — 1.0% — 6.4% — 36.62% — 1%

Minimum Winning Coalitions (MWC): (Riker)

Greens + SPD (also *MCC* & *MIRC*)

SPD + FDP (not *MCC* but *MIRC*)

SPD + CDU (neither *MCC* nor *MIRC*)

CDU/CSU + FDP + Greens (neither *MCC* nor *MIRC*)

Dummy Parties: PDS, A, B, R

Minimum Connected Coalitions that Win (MCC): (Axelrod)

Greens—SPD (also *MWC* & *MIRC*)

SPD—A—B—FDP (not *MWC* but *MIRC*)

Dummy Parties: PDS, R

Minimum Ideological Range Coalitions that Win (MIRC): (de Swaan)

Greens—SPD (also *MWC* & *MCC*)

SPD—FDP (also *MWC* but not *MCC*)

SPD—A—FDP (neither *MWC* nor *MCC*)

SPD—B—FDP (neither *MWC* nor *MCC*)

SPD—A—B—FDP (not *MWC* but *MCC*)

Dummy Parties: PDS, R

Examples from German Parls (*Bundestagen*) Elect 1994 & 1998

1994 Partisan Composition of the German Bundestag					1998 Partisan Composition of the German Bundestag				
Left to Right					Left to Right				
PARTY	L/R IDEOL.		SEATS	PERCENT	PARTY	L/R IDEOL.		SEATS	PERCENT
PDS	3.3025		30	4.5%	PDS	3.3025		36	5.4%
Greens	4.055		49	7.3%	Greens	4.055		47	7.0%
SPD	6.605		252	37.5%	SPD	6.605		298	44.5%
FDP	11.26		47	7.0%	FDP	11.26		43	6.4%
CDU/CSU	13.975		294	43.8%	CDU/CSU	13.975		245	36.6%
TOTAL			672	100.0%	TOTAL			669	100.0%
Minimum Winning Coalitions (Need 337):					Minimum Winning Coalitions (Need 335):				
	<i>CDU/CSU + FDP</i>		<i>341</i>	<i>50.74%</i>		<i>SPD + Greens</i>		<i>345</i>	<i>51.57%</i>
	<i>CDU/CSU + SPD</i>		<i>546</i>	<i>81.25%</i>		<i>SPD + FDP</i>		<i>341</i>	<i>50.97%</i>
	<i>CDU/CSU + Greens</i>		<i>343</i>	<i>51.04%</i>		<i>SPD + CDU/CSU</i>		<i>543</i>	<i>81.17%</i>
	<i>SPD + Greens + FDP</i>		<i>348</i>	<i>51.79%</i>		<i>CDU/CSU+FDP+Greens</i>		<i>335</i>	<i>50.07%</i>
	n.b. PDS is a "dummy party"					n.b. PDS is a "dummy party"			
Minimum-Connected Winning (Need 337):					Minimum-Connected Winning (Need 335):				
	<i>CDU/CSU + FDP</i>		<i>341</i>	<i>50.74%</i>		<i>SPD + Greens</i>		<i>345</i>	<i>51.57%</i>
	<i>SPD + Greens + FDP</i>		<i>348</i>	<i>51.79%</i>		<i>SPD + FDP</i>		<i>341</i>	<i>50.97%</i>
	Notes:								
	Both of the minimum-connected winning coalitions are also minimum winning coalitions in this case.								
	This does not have to be so. If, for example, PDS were between the greens and SPD, then:								
In 1994:	Greens + PDS + SPD + FDP would be minimum connected winning but not both MWC and MCW								
	This would leave only CDU/CSU + FDP as both MWC and MCW								
In 1998:	Greens + PDS + SPD would be minimum connected winning but not both MWC and MCW								
	This would leave only SPD + FDP as both MWC and MCW								
Minimum-Ideological-Range Winning (Need 337):					Minimum-Ideological-Range Winning (Need 335):				
Range					Range				
<i>2.715</i>	<i>CDU/CSU + FDP</i>		<i>341</i>	<i>50.74%</i>	<i>2.55</i>	<i>SPD + Greens</i>		<i>345</i>	<i>51.57%</i>
<i>7.205</i>	<i>SPD + Greens + FDP</i>		<i>348</i>	<i>51.79%</i>	<i>4.655</i>	<i>SPD + FDP</i>		<i>341</i>	<i>50.97%</i>
	The following are not Minimum Ideological Range Winning Coalitions because they span one or the other coalitions above, but it may nonetheless be informative to note that these two minimum winning coalitions span greater ideological range than the above two.								
<i>7.37</i>	<i>CDU/CSU + SPD</i>		<i>546</i>	<i>81.25%</i>	<i>7.37</i>	<i>SPD + CDU/CSU</i>		<i>543</i>	<i>81.17%</i>
<i>9.92</i>	<i>CDU/CSU + Greens</i>		<i>343</i>	<i>51.04%</i>	<i>9.92</i>	<i>CDU/CSU+FDP+Greens</i>		<i>335</i>	<i>50.07%</i>
	Notes:								
	It is possible to construct examples where the minimum ideological-range winning coalitions are not minimum winning coalitions.								
	It's, also possible to construct examples where minimum ideological-range winning coalitions are not minimum connected-winning.								
	The only necessary logical connection is that all minimum connected winning are also minimum ideological range winning. The opposite is not true. E.g., imagine 2 new parties, A&B, between SPD&Greens in 1998. Also imagine PDS and its 5.4% of the seats split among A&B.								
	Then the following coalitions are minimum-ideological-range winning:								
			<i>SPD + Greens</i>					<i>SPD + B + Greens</i>	
			<i>SPD + A + Greens</i>					<i>SPD + A + B + Greens</i>	
	Of these 4, only SPD + Greens is minimum winning, and only SPD + A + B + Greens is minimum connected winning, but it is still impossible to draw any minimum connected winning coalitions that is not also minimum ideological range winning.								

XIII. Multidimensional Coalition-Formation Model: The Laver & Shepsle Portfolio-Allocation Model of *Making & Breaking Governments*

A. Formal-Theoretical Perspective on Govt Form & Diss Problem (ch. 2)

1. Legacy: Some Important Prior Theoretical Results

a. One Dimension

(1) Black (1958) **Median Voter Theorem (MVT)**: (DEFINE)

(a) If voters *single-peaked* pref's defined on *single dimension* (e.g., left-right), then median-voter's *ideal point* is only point majority-preferred to all others.

(2) Hotelling(1928)-Downs(1957) **Party Competition Centripetal Tendency**:

(a) Applied to 2-prty elects, MVT \Rightarrow strong incents parties converge toward median voter's ideal

b. Multiple Dimension Extensions:

(1) McKelvey's & Schofield's "**Chaos Theorems**":

(a) w/ $>1D$, if choices not structured in restrictive ways: virtually certain that policy proposals will *cycle* around policy space, w/ no proposal majority-defeating all others

i) \Rightarrow either perpetual flux or arbitrariness (Arrow's **Impossibility Theorem**).

ii) Strongly suggests inst'l restrictions on proposal- & decision-making process essential to non-arbitrary democratic decision-making: Shepsle's **Structurally Induced Equilibrium (SIE)**

(b) Plott (1967), Kadane (1972) showed that if eqbm exists in unstructured multi-D space (may not), then must be *multi-D median*, a.k.a. **Dimension-by-Dimension Median (DDM)**

2. **SO: multidimensional coalition-formation model might seem hopeless, except that, following Shepsle's SIE idea, L&S argue parl. coalition-formation adds exactly sort of structure that might induce some equilibrium or equilibria under wider array circumstances**

B. Building Blocks of the Cabinet-Form.-and-Diss. Model (ch. 3)

1. Motivations: office- and/or policy-motivated

a. Politician & voter interaction in elections brings office-seeking & policy-seeking politicians to act alike

b. \therefore L&S no stand either way; just let MPs act "as if" pol.-motivated

2. Rational Foresight & Common Knowledge

a. Politicians act (perhaps unconsciously) as if conducting (perhaps very sophisticated) C-B calculations regarding their options

b. They can look ahead to do so: attempt to foresee consequences of actions & use that to inform current C-B analysis (chess analogy)

c. Competing-players' prefs *common knowledge* (& rules of game...)

3. Parties treated as unitary actors

a. Cabinet ministers discretion w/in their jurisdictions, but use it on behalf of, not against, their party.

b. Practical implication: govt policy in each portfolio area given by partisan identity of its minister.

4. Dimensionality: how many dimensions will we consider?

a. Theoretically infinite # may exist, but empirically great correlation in party stances across substantive dimensions.

b. \Rightarrow few core issues may suffice for fair party-pref descriptions

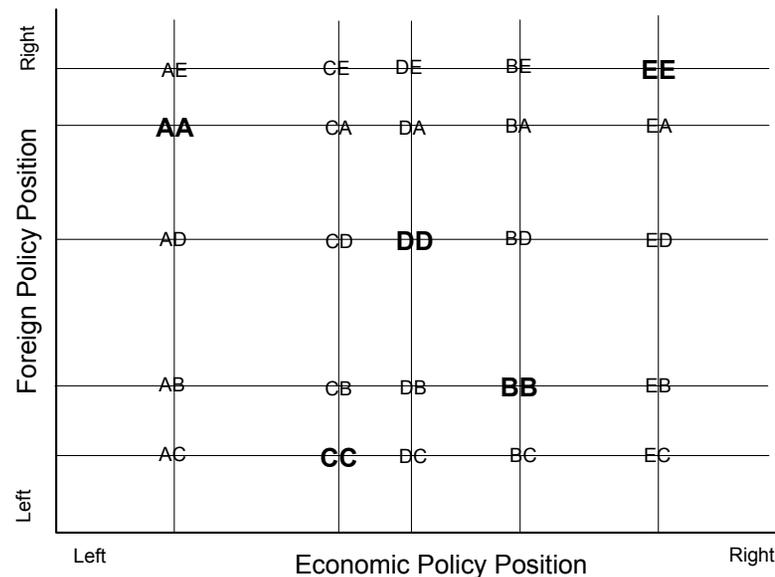
c. Take competencies of core ministries (Finance, Foreign Affairs, & maybe Internal Affairs) as defining dimensions of policy space.

5. Rationality (Cost-Benefit Analysis) in 2D: *Indifference Curves*

6. *Ministerial Discretion*: Govts implement preferred policy of party holding each cabinet ministry in that ministry's area. Three sources:

- a. Ministers may act in area on what whole cabinet not explicitly decided
 - b. Ministers may influence which matters come to cabinet for such decision
 - c. Ministers may influence content of proposals they or others put to cabinet
7. *Unitary parties + ministerial policy-autonomy + indivisible ministries => limited number of possible govts (and thus policies) to consider, as given by **lattice** of perpendicular intersections of parties' ideal points [see example].* Two key assumptions here:
- a. Party's discretion in one portfolio not affected by who has others [?]
 - b. Party's preferences on 1 D not affected by policies on other D's [?]
8. Parties incorporate *all expected* policy decisions into deciding to vote for particular cabinet => unforeseen matters (only) potential sources cabinet collapse

The Lattice of Possible 2-Ministry Coalitions in an Arbitrary 5-Party System



9. *The Status Quo:*
- a. Current govt remains in office until defeated by legis. majority, which can only happen when...
 - (1) ...unforeseen circumstances Δ distrib. of legis. pow. that supp. govt at start,
 - (2) ...some party or parties shift their ideological positions (unforeseen), or
 - (3) ...some party or parties split or combine to new ideal points.
 - b. When govt collapses, remains in office as caretaker until new govt receives majority support.
10. Any participant in a proposed govt can *veto* that govt by refusing to accept its proposed role => *all govts require unanimous consent of parties in it & majority support of all legis. parties*

XIV. Working through the Model (*Part II*) (chapter 4)

- A. **Equilibrium Cabinet:** cabinet for which no actor with power to cause govt collapse has incentive to do so
 1. => Majority external support (i.e., majority support in parliament)
 2. & unanimous internal support (i.e., all parties in a proposed govt must agree to that govt)
 3. Keys to determine if eqbm cab exists & characterize it if so: Dimension-by-Dimension Median Govt, and *Strong Party*
- B. Information necessary to analyze cabinet formation in model:
 1. About parties
 - a. Their identity (how many distinct parties)
 - b. Their legislative weight (seats for each party)
 - c. Their policy positions (ideological positions in determined policy-space)
 2. About Policy Space & Departmental Structure of Government
 - a. Set of (key) relevant policy dimensions
 - b. Set of (key) cabinet ministries & their competences (i.e., issue domains)
 - c. Relation b/w the two: simple 1-for-1 relationship assumed for most of book
- C. Important Concepts
 1. Indifference Curves for Euclidean Preferences [e.g., fig. above]
 2. **(Policy) Winset & Lattice (or Govt or Cabinet) Winset:**
 - a. *Winset* of some policy x : set of all alternative pol's majority-preferred to x
 - b. *Lattice Winset* of some cab. X : set of all alt. cab.'s majority-preferred to X
 - (1) Only diff: *lattice winset* concerned only w/ alt. cab.'s, which must lie on lattice
 3. **Dimension-by-Dimens. Median (DDM) Govt**
 - a. DEF: a cab. is the DDM *iff* its associated policy is median on each dim (50%+ on either side of itself, including itself).
 - b. To find: read lft to rt & top to bot (or v.v.) til find lattice line turns minority into maj. [ex's many Fig's throughout]
 - c. **DDM is an eqbm govt if no alternative govt lies in its winset, but no guarantee DDM will have empty win (so it may not be an eqbm)**
 - (1) DDM always a potential eqbm point, so useful place to start the analysis
 - (2) DDM more likely empty winset, & so be *an* eqbm, when # of parties & D low
 4. **Strong Parties**
 - a. DEF: Party S is strong if it participates in all cabs majority-preferred to its ideal point (so can veto any cab. maj-pref'd to its ideal & so perhaps secure ideal)
 - b. 2 types of "strong" party: "very strong" or "merely strong"; "strong"=either
 - (1) **very strong party**: no cab. maj-pref'd to its ideal exists; => party's ideal=DDM
 - (2) **merely strong party**: cab.'s maj-pref'd to its ideal exist, but it participates in all of them, & so can veto them.
 - c. [Many examples in the lecture-note slides]:
 5. Some useful results in applying the model:
 - a. **Highlander Theorem**: At most 1 strong party can exist; L&S claim common
 - b. In **triangular politics**, only \party opposite the longest side, i.e., the one at vertex of the shorter two sides, can be strong and it usually is
 - c. Very strong party produces an attractive & retentive eqbm cabinet at its ideal

- (1) N.b., the very-strong party gets all seats
 - (2) N.b., it's a special case of an empty-winsset DDM
 - (3) N.b., this so whether the very strong party is "large" (in terms of its seats) or not
 - d. If merely strong party exists, it will participate in every eqbm cab., & eqbm can be no less desirable from the merely strong party's view than an empty-winsset DDM
 - e. Strong parties are usually on at least one median, it also helps to be strong and to be more to center of the party-system space
 - 6. Whether & who's strong will depend on weights & positions of parties
 - a. Δ s entirely external to strong party itself can Δ identity or existence of strong party
 - b. "Striking discontinuities":
 - (1) small Δ in weights or positions can have large effect on who's strong & thus on cab. form.
 - (2) conversely, large Δ in these same could have no effect on who's strong
 - (3) depends on how close eqbm is to some alternative govt in lattice that could be an eqbm if things were just somewhat different [refer back to diagrams]
 - 7. Notice the strong centripetal tendencies:
 - a. Either the DDM is an equilibrium, or
 - b. strong party can move eqbm toward its ideal, but s.p.'s tend to be at or toward medians
- D. Portfolio-Allocation Model & Cabinet Stability (*PtIV*) (ch10)
- 1. Eqbm cabs more durable than any non-eqbm cabs that do form
 - 2. Same factors (info.) needed to determine eqbm cabinets are factors that would need to change to alter what is the eqbm cabinet:
 - a. [List of parties, their weights, & their policy positions]
 - b. [Dimensionality of policy space & its allocation to portfolios]
 - 3. Only unforeseen shocks can destabilize eqbm cab [why?]. Examples: [how do these link with factors/info listed above?]
 - a. Party splits or fusions
 - b. Defections or by-elections
 - c. Emergence of new issues or fading of old
 - d. Events may shift party preferences
 - e. Changes in parties' perceptions of others (esp. ability to win standoffs)
 - 4. Simulations suggest:
 - a. Empty winsset DDMs are most stable
 - b. If empty winsset DDM is an ideal point (i.e., \exists VSP), then extremely stable
 - c. Least stable appears to be where dominant party is not median

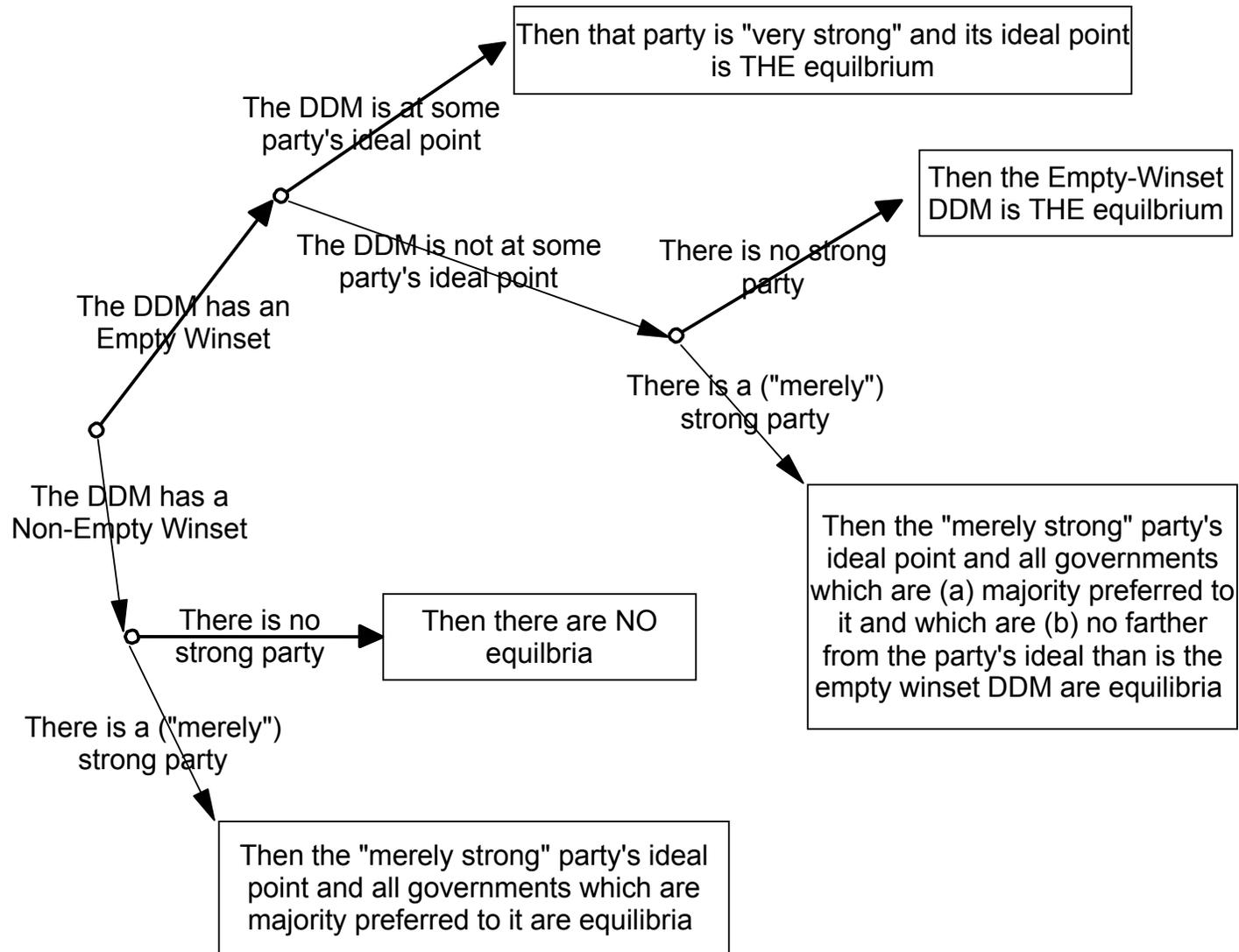
E. L&S: Applying the Model to Find Equilibrium Cabinets

(YOU WILL BE ASKED TO APPLY THE L&S COALITION-FORMATION MODEL ON THE FINAL EXAM. YOU WILL HAVE THIS DESCRIPTION OF THE DECISION PROCESS, INCLUDING THE DECISION-TREE, ON THE EXAM.)

Step 0: Draw and Label the Lattice of Possible Governments

Step 1: Find the DDM Government

Steps 2+: [Diagramed as decision tree below...]



SEVERAL EXAMPLES ARE IN THE LECTURE-NOTE SLIDES

XV. Powell, *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*, chs. 3-10.

A. Chs. 1-2 review: *Proportional v. Majoritarian*

1. Review the visions
2. Review the Intermediate Cond's for Effective Voting Each Type
 - a. **Accountability Model: *Clarity of Responsibility***
 - b. **Electoral-Mandates Model: *CoR* plus *Identifiability***, and unblocked mandate
 - c. **Representative Delegates Model: accurate representation and proportionate distribution of policymaking authority**
 - (1) ⇒ **Authorized Representation** in Pol-mkng Bargain
3. Review the important ***Institutions of Representation*** and ***Institutions of Policymaking*** that produce these important conditions
 - a. Concentration/dispersal pol [representation &] power ⇒ Classify by elect & pol-mkng rules & implications
 - b. Electoral Systems
 - c. Policymaking Rules: Majoritarian & Proportional Visions
 - (1) ***Exec-Legislative Relations***
 - (a) *Maj*: rules favor 1 party majority full control of policymaking, w/o check or division
 - (b) *Prop*: rules favor all parties influence pol-mkng prop'ly, govt to negotiate w/ others, esp. opposition
 - (2) ***Opposition Influence***:
 - (a) *Lack of tightly cohesive, disciplined parties*
 - (b) *Strength of Committee System (2 components)*
 - i) ***Committees influential, not mere rubber stamp***:
 - a) # committees;
 - b) fixed areas specialization (jurisdictional expertise)
 - c) correspondence committee & ministerial jurisdictions
 - d) Restrictions # comm assignments *per* legislator
 - ii) ***Comm's give pol-mkng scope to actors not fully tied to govt (esp. opp.)***:
 - a) Proportional distribution committee chairs (rather than maj gets all);
 - b) Or any other mechanism that prevents majority full-control of committees that reflect the majority in parliament
 - (3) **Other Institutional Features that Disperse Power**
 - (a) Independent Executives (Presidentialism):
 - i) Veto & decree powers esp., &
 - ii) esp. if different constituency-structure than parliament
 - (b) Bicameralism: 2nd Legislative Chamber w/ Independent Selection Base & at least some Veto Powers or the like.
 - (c) Federalism: local-level authority not fully dep on cntrl
 - (d) Judicial Review (w/ some autonomy from govt)
 - d. ***Identifiability: Key=nature elect & partisan comp for gov***
 - (1) Strong 2-party competition for majority govt ⇒ most identifiable (n.b., almost exclusively manufactured)
 - (2) Formal Pre-election Coalitions next
 - (3) Highly predictable or regularized coalition patterns next

- (4) No pre-determined or strongly expected post-elect govts.
- e. *Identifiability* (nec cond) **PLUS** strong majority (suff)
- 4. Vision of Dispersed Power: the Authorized-Representation Model (ch5)
- 5. Two Key Stages:
 - a. *Proportionality in Selection to Representative Arena*
 - b. *Proportionality in Input from Representatives to Pol-mkng*
 - c. ⇒ truer majorities & better minority protection
 - d. Second proportionality never fully realized, ranges from opp≈0 influence (only seek sway pub-op) to oversight & veto powers, effective super-majority requirements *etc.*
 - e. Powell's Approach: Gauge effective representation in policymaking and governance by weighing 3 sets of voters:
 - (1) Supporters of Govt Parties: 100% effectively represented
 - (2) Supporters of Govt-Supporting Parties: 75% effect'ly rep'd
 - (3) Supporters Opposition Parties: 10%-50% effect'ly rep'd, depending on institutional-structural conditions that ↑↓ opp influence
 - (4) Institutional-structural conditions ↑↓ opp influence
 - (5) Majority Status Govt (Govt Type, roughly as above)
 - (6) Committee Strength (as above)
- B. Powell, Chs 6-10: Empirical evaluation of how well systems designed to reflect one or other vision achieve that vision's ideal
 - 1. Answer: Mostly do well in own terms, with exceptions that
 - a. Majoritarian systems only achieve a plurality ideal, and occasionally (1 in 7 to 1 in 5 times) produce exactly wrong outcome of non-plurality party winning (near-)100% of government & effective policymaking
 - b. Proportional systems far too majoritarian from their ideal's perspective in awarding shares of government, although much better in terms of share of effective policymaking authority (because institutions of policymaking also importantly proportional)
 - 2. Visions: Responsiveness of Gov Selection & Pol-Mkng
 - a. *Ideal visions of Responsiveness* [DEF]: Figure 6.1
 - b. **Tradeoff: decisiveness & accountability (with mandate more problematic) & (b) accurate effective representation.**
 - (1) *If game largely of cit's v. pm's, perhaps advantage maj*
 - (2) *If game largely conflict intrst among cit's, advantage prop.*

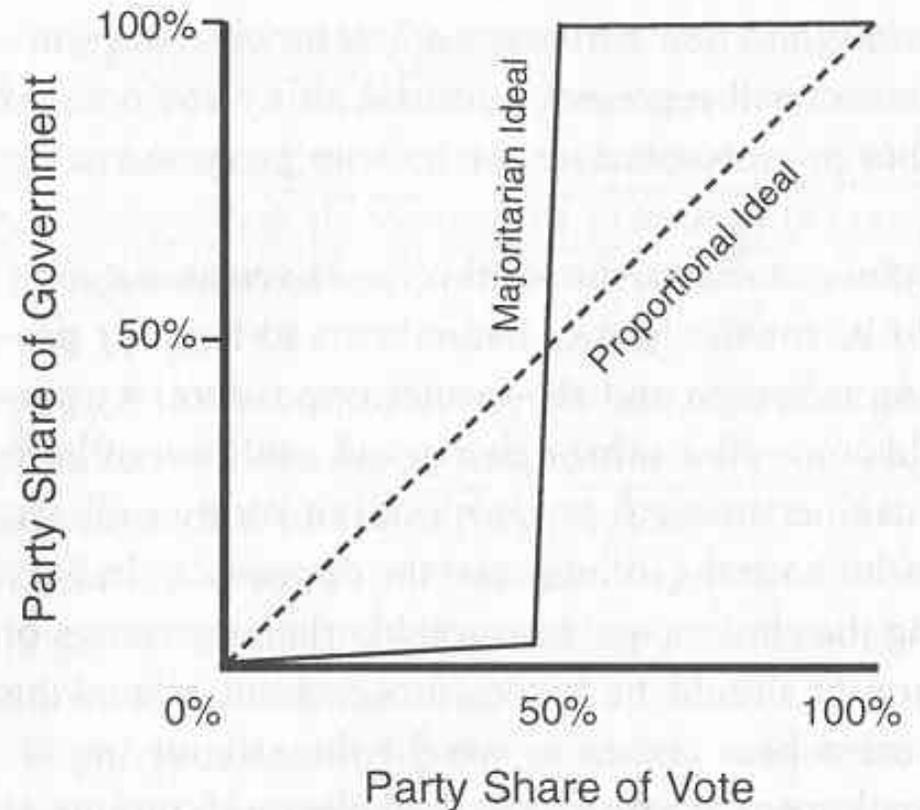


Figure 6.1. Two Ideals of Democratic Responsiveness

XVI. Outcomes [Not covered in Fall 2011]

A. From Gallagher, Laver, & Mair: Evidence that partisan winners matters:

1. Dramatic initiatives
2. Campaign promises (manifestos & party programs) to governmental promises (govt programs)
3. Evidence of promise-fulfillment rate: 70%+
4. Average manifestos & programs emphasis of winning party(ies) to broad measurable policy

B. From Lijphart: evidence that majoritarian vs. consensus matters:

1. No appreciable differences in broad macroeconomic performance
 - a. Note: other studies showing important differences in more-detailed considerations of types of policies and distributional outcomes
2. Large differences in “Kindler & Gentler Democracy” kinds of sociopolitical outcomes

C. Franzese:

1. More participatory democracies respond more generously with transfer to income inequality
 - a. We know what structural & institutional features favor participation, so...
2. More fractionalized & polarized governments respond more slowly to shocks of all sorts.
 - a. So, for instance, following macroeconomic shocks that drive govts into deficits (i.e., slumps => down revenues & up spending for given tax & spend policies), deficits stay large longer and debts grow more rapidly and more overall in the long run in ctrys with fractionalized & polarized governments which slow policy adjustment.