

## **POLS 675-1: Comparative Political Institutions and Processes**

Fall Semester 2017

Weds 12.30–3.10pm: DuSable 464

Associate Professor Michael Clark

Office: Zulauf 401

Office Hours: Mon/Weds 10.00-11.30 and by appointment

E-Mail: [mclark12@niu.edu](mailto:mclark12@niu.edu) (mclark and the number twelve)

### **Course Overview:**

The purpose of this graduate-level seminar is to introduce students to some of the major literature and subfields covered by scholars of political institutions and processes, to help them prepare for CP comp exams, and/or to satisfy graduate course requirements. In a course such as this it is impossible to do justice to the vast array of quality scholarship that has been, and is being, generated. However, the subject matter and readings covered in this seminar should provide students with enough of a foundation that they feel confident pursuing further reading and research independently. A focus on institutions produces two related areas of discussion: one which concentrates on institutions as a way of shaping, explaining, and predicting political outcomes (the “new institutionalism”), and one which examines major political institutions (executives, legislatures, electoral laws, party systems/types etc) in order to uncover similarities and differences between them, and to explain outcomes of various kinds (election results, attitudes towards democracy, policy implementation etc). The seminar will open with an overview of the major institutional approaches to the study of politics – rational choice institutionalism and historical institutionalism - and then move on to cover a number of substantive topics where an institutional approach has either helped generate understanding and new insights, or where the institutions themselves are of particular interest to political scientists for various reasons. Lastly, it is worth noting that this seminar focuses on *processes* also, and to this end, public opinion and voter behaviour will also be covered.

### **Course Readings:**

The first two texts are required whilst the Lijphart book is recommended, especially for those of you with little knowledge of this material. All should be available in the University Bookstore or the Village Commons Bookstore. Alternatively, they can be bought from an online vendor such as Amazon if you prefer, where considerable discounts for new/used books can be found.

1. Russell J. Dalton, *Citizen Politics: 6<sup>th</sup> edition* (CQ Press, 2014)
2. Pippa Norris, *Electoral Engineering* (Cambridge University Press, 2004)
3. Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy* (Yale University Press, 2012)

Academic journal articles are to be tracked down by students. Should the need arise, copies of book chapters and other readings will be made available by posting them directly to the class’s Blackboard website.

### **Course Requirements:**

Class participation – 50%  
Research paper – 50%

Since this is a graduate level seminar, attendance is always expected, as is participation. If you cannot make class for any reason, please e-mail the professor beforehand. Students are also expected to have completed all reading assignments before class, and be prepared to discuss the week's readings accordingly. Students should not be attempting to catch up on reading during class, and are advised to make brief outlines of the main points of each piece of reading in order to assist discussion and analysis. Should students encounter issues, arguments, language and so on that they do not understand, they should make a note of these points, and raise them during class so that they can benefit from the insight of their peers. Being prepared to discuss the week's reading is especially important since a large part of each student's grade will be based on his or her contribution to the class discussion (50% of total grade). To aid discussion, a series of questions will be sent around weekly to assist students in thinking about the week's readings. ALL students should be prepared to respond to these questions in class, as well as raise any other talking points in relation to the week's readings they feel are relevant.

The other major class requirement will be a research paper on a related topic to the class material. Students should discuss their topic with the professor at some point during the semester to ensure their topic is suitable. While students are encouraged to think about this paper early on, do not overlook a research question based upon the last few weeks of reading if this material is of particular interest. The paper should be around 15 pages in length – about 5,000 words – and draw on relevant class readings. No outside research is necessary, though students are welcome to do so if they wish. The paper can be thought of, in large part, as a “relevant” literature review, but must present a balanced argument, and come to some form of conclusion rather than merely summarising various authors' arguments about a particular debate/issue. Papers that present connections between the readings from different weeks, and can identify aspects where the readings can be viewed as “speaking” to one another, or where commonalities or differences in emphases can be identified, will be looked up favourably. Those papers that simply summarise the authors' work, with no clear analysis/critique/argumentation will not. Naturally, papers should start with a clearly presented thesis, and present evidence for and against the thesis. These points will be taken into consideration when grades are awarded, along with style and organization. Late papers will be penalised. Papers should be simply formatted: double-spaced, 12-point font with standard Word margins, include appropriate citations/footnotes, and a bibliography. There is no preference regarding citation, format (MLA vs Chicago, footnotes vs endnotes) but it must be consistent. Papers will be due at the final class meeting though students are free to turn in their paper anytime before this.

**Special Needs:**

Please speak to the professor if you have any. Students with disabilities are entitled to various forms of assistance and should take advantage of any resources NIU can offer.

**\*\*\*Class Schedule and Assigned Readings (subject to change!)\* \*\***

**August 30<sup>th</sup> – Introduction/Class Overview (no reading assigned)**

**September 6<sup>th</sup> – The Institutional Approach in Political Science**

Reading:

- Ch. 1 in *Electoral Engineering* (focus on discussion of rational-choice institutionalism).
- Ch.s 1-3 in R. A. W. Rhodes, Sarah A. Binder, and Bert A. Rockman, eds. 2006. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Giovanni Capoccia. 2016. “When do Institutions Bite? Historical Institutionalism and the Politics of Institutional Change,” *Comparative Political Studies*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0010414015626449>
- B. Guy Peters, Jon Pierre, and Desmond S. King. 2005. “The Politics of Path Dependency: Political Conflict in Historical Institutionalism,” *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 67, No. 4, pgs 1275-1300.
- Elinor Ostrom, Joanna Burger, Christopher B. Field, Richard B. Norgaard, and David Policansky. 1999. “Revisiting the Tragedy of the Common: Local Lessons, Global Challenges,” *Science*, Vol. 284, pgs. 278-282.

Recommended:

- Kathleen Thelen. 1999. “Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 2, pgs. 369-404.
- Stanley L. Engerman and Kenneth L. Sokoloff. 2008. “Debating the Role of Institutions in Political and Economic Development: Theory, History, and Findings,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 11, pgs. 119-135.
- Ellen M. Immergut and Karen M. Anderson. 2008. “Historical Institutionalism and West European Politics,” *West European Politics*, Vol. 31, Nos. 1-2, pgs. 345-369.
- Elinor Ostrom. 1998. “A Behavioural Approach to the Rational Choice Theory of Collective Action,” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 92, No. 1, pgs. 1-22.

**September 13<sup>th</sup> – Political Representation**

Reading:

- Ch. 11 in *Citizen Politics*
- Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes. 1963. “Constituency Influence in Congress,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 57, pgs. 45-56.
- John D. Huber and G. Bingham Powell. 1994. “Congruence Between Citizens and Policymakers in Two Visions of Liberal Democracy,” *World Politics*, Vol. 46, No. 3, pgs. 291-326.
- Shaun Bowler. 2016. “Trustees, Delegates, and Responsiveness in Comparative Perspective,” *Comparative Political Studies*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/001041401566447>
- Chs.1 and 3 in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson, eds. 2007. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge University Press.

Recommended:

Chs. 1-3 in *Patterns of Democracy*

- James A. Stimson, Michael B. MacKuen, and Robert S. Erikson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 89, No. 3, pgs. 543-565.
- G. Bingham Powell. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Juan P. Luna and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, "Political Representation in Latin America: A Study of Elite-Mass Congruence in Nine Countries." *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 4, May 2005, 388-416

**September 20<sup>th</sup> - Party and Candidate Strategy**

Reading:

- Anthony Downs. 1957. "An Economic Theory of Democracy in Political Action," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 65, No. 2, pgs. 135-150.
- Ian Budge. 1994. "A New Spatial Theory of Party Competition," *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 24, pgs. 443-467
- James Adams. 2012. "Causes and Electoral Consequences of Party Policy Shifts in Multiparty Elections: Theoretical Results and Empirical Evidence," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 15, pgs. 401-419.
- Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2009. "Timely Decisions: The Effects of Past National Elections on Party Policy Change," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 71, No. 1, pgs. 238-248.
- Walt Stone and Elizabeth Simas. 2010. "Candidate Valence and Ideological Positions in U.S. House Elections," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pgs. 371-388.

Recommended:

- James Adams and Lawrence Ezrow. 2009. "Who Do European Parties Represent? How Western European Parties Represent the Preferences of Opinion Leaders," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 71, No. 3, pgs. 206-223.
- Anouk Lloren and Reto Wuest. 2016. "Are Opinion Leaders Better Represented?" *West European Politics*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2015.1125200>
- James Adams, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2006. "Are Mainstream Parties Fundamentally Different from Niche Parties: The Causes and Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976-1998," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50, No. 3, pgs. 513-529.
- Anthony Downs. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Collins.
- Shin-Goo Kang and G. Bingham Powell. 2010. "Representation and Policy Responsiveness: The Median Voter, Election Rules, and Redistributive Welfare Spending," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 72, No. 4, pgs. 1014-1028.

## **September 27<sup>th</sup> – The Emergence, and Consolidation of Party Systems**

### Reading:

- Ch. 7 in *Citizen Politics*
- Ch. 5 in *Electoral Engineering*
- Chapters 1-3, and 12 (Lipset, Allardt, Mair, Butler respectively) in Lauri Karvonen and Stein Kuhnle, eds. 2003. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited*. Routledge: New York.
- Keith R. Weghorst, and Michael Bernhard. 2014. “From Formlessness to Structure? The Institutionalisation of Competitive Party Systems in Africa,” *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 12, pgs. 1707-1737.
- Allen Hicken and Erik Martinez Kuhonta. 2015. “Rethinking Party System Institutionalisation in Asia” in Allen Hicken and Erik Martinez Kuhonta, eds., *Party System Institutionalisation in Asia: Democracies, Autocracies, and the Shadows of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

### Recommended:

- Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds. 1967. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*. New York: Free Press.
- Michael Gallagher, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2006. “Cleavage Structures and Electoral Change,” in *Representative Government in Modern Europe* (McGraw Hill Press).

## **October 4<sup>th</sup> – Parties and Party Systems**

### Reading:

- Susan Stokes, “Political Parties and Democracy”, *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 2 (1999)
- Susan Stokes, “Are Parties What’s Wrong with Democracy in Latin America?” *Paper Prepared for the 20<sup>th</sup> International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Guadalajara, Mexico, April 17-19, 1997*.
- Russell Dalton. 2008. “The Quantity and the Quality of Party Systems,” *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 7, pgs. 899-920.
- Soren Holmberg. 2007. “Are Political Parties Necessary?,” *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 22, pgs. 287-299.
- Wouter P. Veenendaal. 2016. “How Democracy Functions Without Parties: The Republic of Palau,” *Party Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pgs. 27-36.

### Recommended:

- Ch. 5 in *Patterns of Democracy*

## **October 11<sup>th</sup> - Electoral Laws**

Reading:

- Chs. 2 and 3 in *Electoral Engineering*
- Kenneth Benoit, "Electoral Laws as Political Consequences: Explaining The Origins and Change of Electoral Institutions", *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 10 (2007)
- Scott Morgenstern and Javier Vazquez-D'Elia. 2007. "Electoral Laws, Parties, and Party Systems in Latin America," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 10, pgs. 143-168.
- William H. Riker. 1994. "Duverger's Law Revisited" in Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart, eds. *Electoral Laws and their Political Consequences* (New York: Agathon Press, Inc.).

Recommended:

- Ch. 8 in *Patterns of Democracy*

## **October 18<sup>th</sup> – Electoral Laws and Their Consequences**

Reading:

- Chs. 7-9 in *Electoral Engineering*
- Ethan Scheiner. 2008. "Does Electoral System Reform Work? Electoral System Lessons from Reforms of the 1990s," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 11, pgs. 161-181.
- Jeffrey A. Karp and Shaun Bowler. 2001. "Coalition Politics and Satisfaction With Democracy: Explaining New Zealand's Reaction to Proportional Representation," *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 40, No. 1, pgs. 57-79.
- Peter Siavelis and Arturo Valenzuela. 1996. "Electoral Engineering and Democratic Stability: The Legacy of Authoritarian Rule in Chile" in Arend Lijphart and Carlos H. Waisman, eds., *Institutional Design in New Democracies: Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press).

Recommended:

- Jennifer Rosen. 2011. "The Effects of Political Institutions on Women's Political Representation: A Comparative Analysis of 168 Countries from 1992 to 2010," *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 66, No. 2, pgs. 306-321.

## **October 25<sup>th</sup> – Party Competition – Voting Based Theories**

Reading:

- George Rabinowitz and Stuart Elaine MacDonald, "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting", *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (1989)
- James Adams, Benjamin G. Bishin, and Jay K. Dow. 2004. "Representation in Congressional Campaigns: Evidence for Discounting/Directional Voting in U.S. Senate Elections," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 66, No. 2, pgs. 348-373.

Recommended:

- Anthony Downs. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper).

## **November 1<sup>st</sup> – Influences on Voter Choice**

Reading:

- Ch. 8-10 in *Citizen Politics*
- Christopher J. Anderson. 2007. "The End of Economic Voting? Contingency Dilemmas and the Limits of Democratic Accountability," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 10, pgs. 271-296.
- Chappell Lawson, Gabriel S. Lenz, Andy Baker, and Michael Myers. 2010. "Looking Like A Winner: Candidate Appearance and Electoral Success in New Democracies," *World Politics*, Vol. 62, No. 4, pgs. 561-593.
- Oliver Heath. 2015. "Policy Representation, Social Representation, and Class Voting in Britain." *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 45, No. 1, pgs. 173-193.

Recommended:

- Anthony Downs. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper).

**November 8<sup>th</sup> – Valence Politics**

Reading:

- Donald E. Stokes. 1963. "Spatial Models of Party Competition," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 57, No. 2, pgs. 368-377.
- Donald E. Stokes. 1992. "Valence Politics," in Dennis Kavanagh, ed., *Electoral Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Walt Stone and Elizabeth Simas. 2010. "Candidate Valence and Ideological Positions in U.S. House Elections," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pgs. 371-388.
- Michael Clark. 2013. "Understanding Parties' Policy Shifts in Western Europe: The Role of Valence, 1976-2003," *British Journal of Political Science*, accessed March 16, 203. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0007123412000622>.
- David Sanders, Harold D. Clarke, Marianne C. Stewart, and Paul Whiteley. 2011. "Downs, Stokes, and the Dynamics of Electoral Choice," *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 41, No. 2, pgs. 287-314.

**November 15<sup>th</sup> – Political Trust and Satisfaction with Democracy**

Reading:

- Jonas Linde and Joakim Ekman. 2003. "Satisfaction with Democracy: A Note On a Frequently Used Indicator in Comparative Politics." *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 42, pgs. 391-408.
- Christopher J. Anderson, and Christine A. Guillory. 1997. "Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy: A Cross-National Analysis of Consensus and Majoritarian Systems." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 91, No. 1, pgs. 66-81.
- Luigi Curini, Willy Jou, and Vincenzo Memoli. 2012. "Satisfaction with Democracy and the Winner/Loser Debate: The Role of Policy Preferences and Past Experience." *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 42, No. 2, pgs. 241-261.
- Debra Leiter and Michael Clark. 2015. "Valence and Satisfaction with Democracy: A Cross-National Analysis of Nine Western European Democracies," *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 54, No. 3, pgs. 543-562.
- Ben Seyd. 2015. "How Do Citizens Evaluate Public Officials? The Role of Performance and Expectations on Political Trust." *Political Studies*, Vol. 63, pgs. 73-90.

**November 22<sup>nd</sup> – No Class in Observance of Thanksgiving Holiday. Enjoy!!!!**

**November 29<sup>th</sup>– Coalition Governments: Formation and Effects**

Reading:

- Ch. 6 in *Patterns of Democracy*
- David Fortunato, and Randolph T. Stevenson. 2012. “Perceptions of Partisan Ideologies: The Effect of Coalition Participation,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 57, No. 2, pgs. 459-477.
- Sara B. Hobolt and Jeffrey A. Karp. 2010. “Voters and Coalition Governments.” *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 29, pgs. 299-307.
- David Fortunato and Randolph T. Stevenson. 2013. “Performance Voting and Knowledge of Cabinet Composition.” *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 32, pgs. 517-523.
- Stephen D. Fisher and Sara B. Hobolt. 2010. “Coalition Government and Electoral Accountability.” *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 29, pgs. 358-369.

Recommended:

- Paul Warwick. 1996. “Coalition Government Membership in West European Parliamentary Democracies,” *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 26, pgs. 471-499.
- Lanny W. Martin and Randolph T. Stevenson. 2001. “Government Formation in Parliamentary Democracies,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 45, No. 1, pgs. 33-50.
- Michael Laver and Kenneth Shepsle. 1990. “Coalitions and Cabinet Government,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 84, pgs. 873-890.
- David A. Armstrong, II and Raymond M. Duch. 2010. “Why Can Voters Anticipate Post-Election Coalition Formation Likelihoods?” *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 29, pgs. 308-315.

**December 6<sup>th</sup> – Corruption and Fraud in Electoral Politics**

Reading:

- Pippa Norris. 2013. “Does the World Agree About Standards of Electoral Integrity? Evidence for the Diffusion of Global Norms.” *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 32, pgs. 576-588.
- Fabrice LeHoucq. 2003. “Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types, and Consequences.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 6, pgs. 233-256.
- Jason Ross Arnold. 2012. “Political Awareness, Corruption Perceptions, and Democratic Accountability in Latin America.” *Acta Politica*, Vol. 47, No. 1, pgs. 67-90.
- Daniela Donno, and Nasos Roussias. 2012. “Does Cheating Pay? Electoral Misconduct on Party Systems,” *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 5, pgs. 575-605.
- Alberto Simpson and Daniela Donno. 2012. “Can International Election Monitoring Harm Governance?” *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 74, No. 2, pgs. 501-513.

Recommended:

- Susan Hyde. 2011. “Catch us if You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion.” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 55, No. 2, pgs. 356-369.
- Charles Davis, Roderic Ai Camp, and Kenneth M. Coleman. 2004. “The Influence of Party Systems on Citizens’ Perceptions of Corruption and Electoral Response in Latin America,” *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 6, pgs. 677-703.



- Gabriella R. Montinola and Robert Jackman. 2002. "Sources of Corruption: A Cross-Country Study", *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 32.

### **December 13<sup>th</sup> – The State and Challenges to The State**

#### Reading:

- Roland Axtmann. 2004. "The State of the State: The Model of the Modern State and its Contemporary Formation." *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pgs. 259-279.

- Peter Evans. 1997. "The Eclipse of the State? Reflections on Stateness in an Era of Globalization." *World Politics*, Vol. 50, pgs. 62-87.

- Jessica T. Mathews. 1997. "Power Shift." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 1, pgs. 50-66.

#### Recommended:

- Theda Skocpol. 2008. "Bringing the State Back In: Retrospect and Prospect." *Scandinavian Political Studies*. Vol. 31, No. 2, pgs. 109-124.

- Bob Jessop. 2008. "The State and State Building" in R.A.W. Rhodes, Sarah A. Binder, and Bert A. Rockman, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press), pgs. 111-130.