

Comparative Elections (CPO 4072) – Spring 2017

Professor Moraski
(Last updated 20 December 2016)

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Contact Information

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Course Description & Objectives

Elections can be critical junctures in political history. They are opportunities for voters to express their level of satisfaction with government, and even authoritarian regimes may use elections as safety valves to release pent-up social discontent. In all contexts, elections can function as a rallying point for the opposition and test the government's mettle. Ultimately, electoral outcomes determine which societal interests gain voice in the corridors of political power and whether the current direction of politics continues. Yet how elections operate differs significantly, even among democracies, and such differences grant those in power a variety of rules to manipulate. Thus, existing rules that govern elections may not only make the difference between winning and losing, but parties in power also may be tempted to alter the rules to solidify their electoral control.

This course introduces students to the different ways popular votes are converted into political representation and explores how political parties across the globe navigate their electoral waters. By the end of the course, students will better understand: 1) how electoral rules shape the behavior of voters, politicians, and parties; 2) scholarly recommendations about which electoral options may best advance the cause of democracy; 3) why and how elites manipulate electoral rules; and 4) how different contexts lead to different electoral outcomes.

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Student Responsibilities

Required Reading

Much of the reading for the course will come from electronic reading that I will make available on a course project site accessible via Canvas. To log in, go to <https://lss.at.ufl.edu/>. In addition, we will read most of the following book, which students should purchase as indicated on the textbook adoption site for this course:

- Schedler, Andreas, ed. 2006. *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

<u>GRADING SCALE</u>	<u>(GRADE POINT EQUIVALENT)</u>
A = 90 OR ABOVE	4.00
A- = 87-89	3.67
B+ = 84-86	3.33
B = 80-83	3.00
B- = 77-79	2.67
C+ = 74-76	2.33
C = 70-73	2.00
C- = 67-69	1.67
D+ = 64-66	1.33
D = 60-63	1.00
D- = 57-59	0.67
E = 56 OR BELOW	0.00

Grade Distribution

Final grades for the course will be based on the following:

1. Attendance and participation (10%)
2. Paper assignment #1 (20%)
3. Paper assignment #2 (20%)
4. The **five** highest grades on six in-class quizzes. At 10% each, five quiz grades will count for 50% of the course total.

- ➔ *Please note that the dates for quizzes are not set in stone. **I reserve the right to change the dates** of the quizzes as I deem necessary.*
- ➔ As it stands, I plan to give the quizzes at the start of class on the days listed below. While I will allot plenty of time at the beginning of each indicated class session for students to complete the quiz, students must submit each quiz before the time indicated on that quiz.
- ➔ *Students who arrive late will have only the time between their arrival and the time listed on the quiz in question to complete the quiz.*
- ➔ See below for my [policy on make-up quizzes](#).

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Course Policies

Attendance & Participation

Students are encouraged to review the University's attendance policies at <http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/regulationattendance.html>.

Since class discussions and lectures often add new concepts, ideas, and interpretations to the material covered in the reading that students will be responsible for knowing, it is in your best interest to attend every class and to arrive on time.

Higher attendance rates and more frequent and higher quality participation will yield better attendance and participation grades:

- 10% reflects perfect attendance as well as frequent participation demonstrating knowledge of the assigned readings.
- 7-9% indicates that a student attends 70-90% of class sessions with occasional (rather than frequent) participation about the topic being discussed (not necessarily based on the assigned readings, e.g., personal experience or reflection). *Perfect attendance cannot compensate for a lack of participation.*
- 1-6% means that a student attends 60% or less of class sessions. *Regular participation while in attendance cannot compensate for the lack of attendance.*
- 0% will be assigned in cases of habitual tardiness or disruptive behavior.

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Cell Phones and Laptops

Students must turn cell phones to silent before coming to class. Each time a student's cell phone rings or each time that a student texts during class, 1% may be deducted from that student's participation grade (1% per instance following one warning). After the warning, I will not disrupt the class to correct student behavior. Instead, I will simply make a note of the infraction and penalize accordingly.

Computers also should be silenced before class begins. Their use should be for class purposes only (e.g., taking notes, reviewing the reading, etc.). Violations of these policies may constitute disruptive behavior and may result in a reduced attendance and participation grade (see above).

Make-up Quizzes

Make-up quizzes will be arranged only for *university-accepted excuses*. In the event of an absence, students should provide proper documentation.

If a student misses a quiz and cannot contact me beforehand, the student should contact me within 48 hours of the absence to receive full consideration. In almost any situation, you should be able to pass along a message via email or voicemail even if it is from a roommate or family member.

Make-up quizzes will be given during finals week at the time designated by the Registrar's Office for the course's final exam. To preserve the integrity of the quizzes, the format of any make-up will differ from the original.

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Cheating & Plagiarism

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the

University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.”

The Honor Code (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor.

In the event that a student is found cheating, s/he will automatically fail the course and will be reported to Student Judicial Affairs.

In the event that a student is found cheating or plagiarizing, s/he will automatically fail the course and will be reported to Student Judicial Affairs.

Acts of plagiarism include:

- Turning in a paper or assignment written by someone else (i.e., papers by another student, a research service, or downloaded off the Internet).
- Copying, *verbatim*, a paragraph or significant portion of text (approximately eight words or more) from the work of another author without using quotation marks and properly acknowledging the source through a commonly accepted citation style, which includes **providing a page number(s)**.
- Paraphrasing (i.e., restating in your own words) text written by another author without citing that author and **providing the page number(s)**.
- Using a unique idea or concept, which you discovered in a specific reading, without citing the author.

Persons with Disabilities

Students requesting classroom accommodation must first register with the Dean of Students Office. The Dean of Students Office will provide documentation to the student who must then provide this documentation to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Anyone with a disability should feel free to see me during office hours to make the necessary arrangements.

Course Evaluations

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course based on 10 criteria. These evaluations are conducted online at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu/results>.

Additional Information: Counseling

Phone numbers and contact sites for university counseling services and mental health Services can be found at <http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc/Default.aspx> or you may call 392-1575. To contact the University Police Department call 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

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Course Outline (Subject to Changes)

Week 1 (Jan 4-6)

Thursday – Introduction

Week 2 (Jan 9-13) – Overview of Democratic Elections and Rules & Turnout

Tuesday

- Wayne, Stephen J. 2013. “Democratic Elections: What’s the Problem?” In *Is This Any Way to Run a Democratic Election?*, Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press, 1–24.
- Franklin. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies Since 1945*, Chapters 1 & 8

Thursday

- Folkes, Alex. 2004. “The Case for Votes at 16.” *Representation* 41(1): 52–56.
- Cowley, Philip, and David Denver. 2004. “Votes at 16? The Case against.” *Representation* 41(1): 57–62.

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Week 3 (Jan 16-20) – Party Types and the Evolution of Party Systems

Tuesday, January 17: Discussion of Paper Assignment #1

- Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, pp. 17-56
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair. 1995. “Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party.” *Party Politics* 1(1): 5-28

Thursday, January 19: Quiz #1

- Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, pp. 147-175 & 182-183

Week 4 (Jan 23-27) – Electoral Rules and Party Systems

Tuesday

- Norris, *Electoral Engineering*, Chapters 2 & 3
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1993. “Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination.” *Comparative Political Studies* 26(2): 198–228.

Thursday

- Mainwaring, Scott and Edurne Zoco. 2007. “Political Sequences and the Stabilization of Interparty Competition: Electoral Volatility in Old and New Democracies.” *Party Politics* 13(2): 155-178

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Week 5 (Jan 30-Feb 3) – Prescribing Electoral Systems

Tuesday

- Moser, *Unexpected Outcomes*, Chapter 3
- Barkan, Joel D. 1995. "Elections in Agrarian Societies." *Journal of Democracy* 6(4): 106–16. Available at http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v006/6.4barkan.html?pagewanted=all

Thursday

- Reynolds, Andrew. 1995. "The Case for Proportionality." *Journal of Democracy* 6(4): 117–24. Available at http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v006/6.4reynolds.html

Week 6 (Feb 6-10) – Reforming Electoral Systems

Tuesday, February 7: Quiz #2

- Andrews, Josephine T. and Robert W. Jackman. 2005. "Strategic Fools: Electoral Rule Choice under Extreme Uncertainty." *Electoral Studies* 24(1): 65–84.
- Donovan and Bowler. 2004. *Reforming the Republic: Democratic Institutions for the New America*, Chapter 4

Thursday

- Donovan and Bowler. 2004. *Reforming the Republic: Democratic Institutions for the New America*, Chapter 5

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Week 7 (Feb 13-17) – Rules and Representation

Tuesday

- Stratmann, Thomas and Martin Baur. 2002. "Plurality Rule, Proportional Representation, and the German Bundestag: How Incentives to Pork-Barrel Differ across Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 506–14.
- Caul, Miki. 1999. "Women's Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties." *Party Politics* 5(1): 79–98.

Thursday, February 16: Discussion of Paper Assignment #2

How do we study elections that fall short of free and fair?

Week 8 (Feb 20-24) – Can Elections Undermine Authoritarianism?

Tuesday, February 21: Quiz #3

- Schedler, "The Logic of Electoral Authoritarianism" (Chapter 1 in Schedler, ed.)
- Howard, Marc Morje, and Philip G. Roessler. 2006. "Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 365–81.

Thursday, February 23: Paper assignment #1 Due by Noon at Turnitin.com

- **No class**

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Week 9 (Feb 27-Mar 3) – How Do Less than Free and Fair Elections Undermine Democracy?

Tuesday

- Snyder, Richard and David Samuels. 2001. “Devaluing the Vote in Latin America.” *Journal of Democracy* 12(1): 146–59.
- Birch, Sarah. 2007. “Electoral Systems and Electoral Misconduct.” *Comparative Political Studies* 40(12): 1533–56.

Thursday, March 2

- Fish, “Creative Constitutions: How Do Parliamentary Powers Shaped the Electoral Arena?” (Chapter 11 in Schedler, ed.)

Week 10 (Mar 6-10) – Spring Break

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Week 11 (Mar 13-17) – How Do Authoritarian Incumbents Behave during Elections?

Tuesday, March 14: Quiz #4

- Case, “Manipulative Skills: How do Rulers Control the Electoral Arena?” (Chapter 6 in Schedler, ed.)
- Blaydes, *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak’s Egypt*, Chapter 6 (“Vote Buying, Turnout, and Spoiled Ballots”)

Thursday

- Blaydes, *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak’s Egypt*, Chapter 7 (“Elections and Elite Corruption”)

Week 12 (Mar 20-24) – What Influences the Prospects for Change within the Electoral Game?

Tuesday

- Langston, “Elite Ruptures: When Do Ruling Parties Split?” (Chapter 4 in Schedler, ed.)
- Van de Walle, “Tipping Games: When Do Opposition Rulers Coalesce?” (Chapter 5 in Schedler, ed.)

Thursday

- Lindberg, “Tragic Protest: Why Do Opposition Parties Boycott Elections?” (Chapter 9 in Schedler, ed.)

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Week 13 (Mar 27-Mar 31) – What are the Prospects for Change after the Electoral Game?

Tuesday

- Thompson and Kuntz, “After Defeat: When Do Rulers Steal Elections?” (Chapter 7 in Schedler, ed.)
- *The Orange Chronicles* (in class)

Thursday, March 30: Quiz #5

- Tucker, Joshua. 2007. "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 5(3): 535-551.

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Week 14 (Apr 3-7) – When Do Actors Beyond the Domestic Electoral Arena Matter?

Tuesday

- Clark, "Armed Arbiters: When Does the Military Step into the Electoral Arena?" (Chapter 8 in Schedler, ed.)
- Way, "Authoritarian Failure: How Does State Weakness Strengthen Electoral Competition?" (Chapter 10 in Schedler, ed.)

Thursday

- Levitsky and Way, "Linkage and Leverage: How Do International Factors Change Domestic Balances of Power?" (Chapter 12 in Schedler, ed.)

Week 15 (Apr 10-14) – Why Do Authoritarian Regimes Permit Election Monitoring?

Tuesday

- Hyde, *The Pseudo-Democrat's Dilemma*, Chapters 2 and 3

Thursday, April 13: Quiz #6

- Hyde, Chapter 4

Week 16 (Apr 17-19)

Tuesday, April 18 – Paper Assignment #2 Due by Noon at Turnitin.com

Finals Week:

- Make-up quizzes during scheduled final exam periods as necessary.

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