

COMPARATIVE ELECTIONS AND PARTY SYSTEMS (CPO 6756)

FALL 2023

THURSDAYS, PERIODS 5-7 (11:45-2:45)

*When possible, we will meet in the department's conference room (216 Anderson Hall).*

Otherwise, we will meet in our assigned classroom, 0328 Benton Hall.

**(DRAFT SYLLABUS -- LAST UPDATED AUGUST 2, 2023)**

## Contents

CONTACT INFORMATION .....	1
COURSE OBJECTIVES .....	1
STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES .....	1
Grading Scale (Grade Point Equivalent).....	3
REQUIRED READING .....	4
POLICIES AND RELATED INFORMATION .....	4
COURSE OUTLINE .....	6

## CONTACT INFORMATION

Professor Bryon Moraski  
313 Anderson Hall  
Phone: 352-273-2361  
Email: [bmoraski@ufl.edu](mailto:bmoraski@ufl.edu)  
Website: <https://people.clas.ufl.edu/bmoraski/>

Office Hours  
Tuesdays: 10:30-12:30,  
1:00-2:00, or by appointment

[Return to Top](#)

## COURSE OBJECTIVES

The seminar exposes graduate students to major issues related to the comparative study of elections and political parties. Major topics in the course include the functions and operation of elections in authoritarian and democratic regimes, the features and effects of electoral systems, the roles that electoral institutions and elite behavior play in producing a proliferation or scarcity of parties, and the development and evolution of parties and party systems.

[Return to Top](#)

## STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES

Students will be assessed on the basis of attendance and participation in the seminars, written analyses of assigned reading, and an empirical research paper that could eventually be presented at a professional conference.

All written work should be submitted via [Turnitin.com](#). The class ID is **39832108**. The enrollment key is **CompElects**. You should register with Turnitin.com as soon as possible to avoid any last-minute difficulties.

Final course grades will reflect the following distribution:

### 1. 25%: Weekly attendance and participation

- The seminar should be viewed as an opportunity for the exchange of ideas among scholars. We will discuss and evaluate the weekly readings. Students must not only complete the readings but also spend some time thinking critically about their contentions.
  - Everyone is expected to contribute to class discussion on a weekly basis.
  - Discussions should be courteous and professional.
- Any absence requires an explanation.
  - More than one **unexcused** absence will result in a zero for this component of the course grade.
  - Any student with more than one **excused** absence will be required to submit an additional reaction paper (that is, one in addition to the four noted below) per additional absence. Details on submitting these papers will be discussed as needed.
- “Audience participation” during presentations by your colleagues (see below) will factor into this portion of your grade.

2. 5%: “Author” presentations

- Students will present the main arguments and findings of one article or empirical chapter from the assigned readings. The articles and chapters available for this assignment are preceded by two asterisks (\*\*) in the list of readings below.
  - Presentations should last 12-15 minutes, simulating a paper presentation at a scholarly conference. “Authors” will then field questions from the “audience” and defend the work. Everyone is expected to read the selections and participate in the discussion.
- Students should select as many as five pieces that interest them and rank their preferences from 1 (indicating most preferred) to five (indicating least preferred but acceptable).
  - This ranking should be emailed to me prior to the start of **Week 2’s seminar**. The assignment of articles will respect student requests while aiming for one presentation per week.

3. 20% (5% each): Four reaction papers on the assigned readings

- The syllabus lists nine reaction paper *options*. Students should write only **four**.
- Papers must be submitted before the start of class.
  - Turning in late reaction papers is not acceptable. I will not accept a late paper if the student retains the option of submitting a paper for a subsequent week of readings.
  - If a student must turn in a paper following the seminar (i.e., she is out of paper options to meet the four required), the student will be assigned to write on an additional work of my choosing and the average grade across the two papers will receive a 10% penalty.
- Reaction papers should be no more than 750 words in length. They should be double-spaced and have standard margins.
  - Failure to observe the word limitation will result in a lower grade. There will be many instances in your career where you will be confined to a limited amount of space and expected to follow specific formatting directions.
- Papers should not simply summarize the assigned readings. Papers should be either a constructive critique of a substantial component of the reading or an elaboration of ideas from the reading. For the former, papers should be both well-argued and mindful of how the authors might respond. For the latter, papers should demonstrate original thinking and offer potentially novel theoretical or methodological insights for the topic under consideration for the week. Summaries should be just enough to set up your argument or contribution. I am interested in promising ideas that you may be able to develop in the years to come.
  - Also, avoid submitting multiple papers on a “pet” country or theme.

4. 5%: A prospective abstract and annotated bibliography

- Students should submit a brief abstract of approximately 300 words summarizing what they hope to accomplish in their final paper as well as an annotated bibliography for at least **ten sources**. For each of the sources, you should include the bibliographic information formatted using the *APSA Style Manual* and a paragraph or two that summarizes the source and how it will likely speak to your final paper.
- The prospective abstract and annotated bibliography are due before the start of Week 6’s seminar—that is, by 11:45 am on **September 28**.

- Submissions received after 11:45 am on September 28 but before 11:45 am on September 29 will be penalized 5%. An additional 5% will be deducted for every additional 24 hours that they are late.

5. \*\*7.5%: A presentation of your research

- The last class meeting, November 30, will be dedicated to student presentations of their research. Students are welcome to present as much as they have completed up to this point, including the main findings. At a minimum, however, students should discuss their research question(s), hypotheses (as appropriate), and research design.
- Presentations should be 15 minutes in length and should conform to the expectations associated with presenting at a professional conference. I will be happy to discuss those expectations as the date approaches.

**\*\*If the university is forced to close—due to a hurricane, for example—and I need to cancel a class meeting, then I will be canceling the research presentations. In this case, the final paper will be worth an additional 7.5% of the final grade.**

6. \*\*37.5%: A final research paper that could be revised and presented at a professional conference.

- The final paper is due by noon on Monday, December 11, 2023. I will provide additional information about length and format later in the semester.
- Submissions received after 12:00 pm on December 11 but before 12:00 pm on December 12 will be penalized 5%. An additional **10%** will be deducted for every additional 24 hours that they are late.

**\*\*If the university is forced to close—due to a hurricane, for example—and I need to cancel a class meeting, then I will be canceling the research presentations and this portion of your final grade will increase from 37.5% to 45%.**

[Return to Top](#)

<u>Grading Scale</u>	<u>(Grade Point Equivalent)</u>
A = 90 or above	4.00
A- = 87-89.99	3.67
B+ = 84-86.99	3.33
B = 80-83.99	3.00
B- = 77-79.99	2.67
C+ = 74-76.99	2.33
C = 70-73.99	2.00
C- = 67-69.99	1.67
D+ = 64-66.99	1.33
D = 60-63.99	1.00
D- = 57-59.99	0.67
E = 56.99 or below	0.00

For information on UF grading policies for assigning grade points, see <https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/grades.aspx>. Note that a grade of C- is not a qualifying grade for major, minor, Gen Ed, or College Basic distribution credit.

[Return to Top](#)

## REQUIRED READING

We will read a variety of works including books, chapters, and articles. You are responsible for locating the assigned scholarly articles. Most, if not all of them, are available electronically via the University of Florida's Online Library Catalog. As necessary, I will make book chapters available in the Files section of Canvas. You should plan to purchase the following books:

1. Achen, Christopher H. and Larry M. Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. **Available electronically via the UF library.**
2. Ahmed, Amel. 2015. *Democracy and the Politics of Electoral System Choice: Engineering Electoral Dominance*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
3. Flores, Thomas Edward and Irfan Nooruddin. 2016. *Elections in Hard Times: Building Stronger Democracies in the 21st Century*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. **Available electronically via the UF library.**
4. Sartori, Giovanni. 2005 [1976]. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. ECPR Press. **On two-hour reserve in Library West.**

[Return to Top](#)

## POLICIES AND RELATED INFORMATION

### 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.

### Policies on Cell Phones and Laptops

Students should turn cell phones to silent or vibrate before coming to class. If a call or text is urgent, please quietly leave the classroom to answer it. Laptops should be used only for course-related activities (e.g., taking notes or reviewing the reading). Violations will also result in lower attendance and participation grades. *My silence does not mean that infractions have gone unnoticed.*

[Return to top](#)

### Policy on Cheating and 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 I discover that a student is cheating or has plagiarized, the student will automatically fail the course and will be reported to Student Judicial Affairs. Acts of Plagiarism include:

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

#### 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

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.

[Return to Top](#)

COURSE OUTLINE  
(Subject to changes)

Week 1 (Aug 24) – Course Introduction

Week 2 (Aug 31) – The Limits of Elections

- Achen and Bartels, *Democracy for Realists*, **Chapters 1 & 2**
- Flores and Nooruddin, *Elections in Hard Times*, **Chapters 1-7**

Week 3 (September 7) – Types of Political Parties

- Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*, **Part I (Chapters 1-4)**
- Von Beyme, Klaus. 1984. “Do Parties Matter? The Impact of Parties on the Key Decisions in the Political System.” *Government and Opposition* 19(1): 5-29.
- Gunther, Richard and Larry Diamond. 2003. “Species of Political Parties: A New Typology.” *Party Politics* 9(2): 167-199.
- \*\*Li, Jia and Joseph Wright. 2023. “How Personalist Parties Undermine State Capacity in Democracies.” *Comparative Political Studies*. OnlineFirst at <https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140231169014>.

Week 4 (Sept 14) – Types of Party Systems

***Reaction Paper Option 1***

- Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*, **Part II (Chapters 5-10)**
- \*\*Zielinski, Jakub, Kazimierz M. Slomczynski and Goldie Shabad. 2005. “Electoral Control in New Democracies: The Perverse Incentives of Fluid Party Systems.” *World Politics* 57(3): 365-395.
- \*\*Bogaards, Matthijs. 2008. “Dominant Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Africa.” *Party Politics* 14(1): 113-130.
- \*\*Golosov, Grigorii. 2013. “Authoritarian Party Systems: Patterns of Emergence, Sustainability and Survival.” *Comparative Sociology* 12(5): 617–644.

[Return to Top](#)

Week 5 (Sept 21) – Types of Electoral Systems and Their Effects

***Reaction Paper Option 2***

- Benoit, Kenneth. 2006. “Duverger’s Law and the Study of Electoral Systems.” *French Politics* 4: 69-83.
- \*\*Mozaffar, Shaheen, James R. Scarritt, and Glen Galaich. 2003. “Electoral Institutions, Ethnopolitical Cleavages, and Party Systems in Africa's Emerging Democracies.” *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 379-390.
- \*\*Bochsler, Daniel. 2009. “Are Mixed Electoral Systems the Best Choice for Central and Eastern Europe or the Reason for Defective Party Systems?” *Politics & Policy* 37(4): 735-767.
- \*\*Carey, John M. and Simon Hix. 2011. “The Electoral Sweet spot: Low-magnitude Proportional Electoral Systems.” *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 383-397.

- \*\*Górecki, Maciej A. and Michał Pierzgałski. 2023. “Electoral Systems, Partisan Politics, and Income Redistribution: A Critical Quasi-Experiment.” *Comparative Political Studies*. OnlineFirst at <https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140231169018>.

#### Week 6 (Sept 28) – Changing Electoral Systems

##### ***Abstract and Annotated Bibliography Due***

- Ahmed, *Democracy and the Politics of Electoral System Choice*
- Andrews, Josephine T. and Robert W. Jackman. 2004. “Strategic Fools: Electoral Rule Choice under Extreme Uncertainty.” *Electoral Studies* 24: 65-84.

#### Week 7 (Oct 5) – Party and Party System Institutionalization

##### ***Reaction Paper Option 3***

- Levitsky, Steven. 1998. “Institutionalization and Peronism: The Concept, the Case and the Case for Unpacking the Concept.” *Party Politics* 4(1): 77-92.
- Randall, Vicky and Lars Svåsand. 2002. “Party Institutionalization in New Democracies.” *Party Politics* 8(1): 5-29.
- \*\*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.
- \*\*Gehlbach, Scott and Philip Keefer. 2011. “Investment without Democracy: Ruling-party Institutionalization and Credible Commitment in Autocracies.” *Journal of Comparative Economics* 39(2): 123-139.
- \*\*Bértoa, Fernando Casal. 2014. “Party Systems and Cleavage Structures Revisited: A Sociological Explanation of Party System Institutionalization in East Central Europe. *Party Politics*, 20(1): 16-36.
- \*\*Bértoa, Fernando Casal and Zsolt Enyedi. 2016. “Party System Closure and Openness: Conceptualization, Operationalization and Validation. *Party Politics* 22(3): 265-277.

#### Week 8 (Oct 12) – Party and Party System Change

##### ***Reaction Paper Option 4***

- 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.
- \*\*Janda, Kenneth, Robert Harmel, Christine Edens, and Patricia Goff. 1995. “Changes in Party Identity: Evidence from Party Manifestos.” *Party Politics* 1(2): 171-196.
- \*\*Harmel, Robert and Alexander C. Tan. 2003. “Party Actors and Party Change: Does Factional Dominance Matter?” *European Journal of Political Research* 42(3): 409–424.
- \*\*Tavits, Margit. 2008. “On the Linkage between Electoral Volatility and Party System Instability.” *European Journal of Political Research* 47: 537-555.
- \*\*Lupu, Noam. 2014. “Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America.” *World Politics* 66(4): 561-602.
- \*\*Mainwaring, Scott, Carlos Gervasoni, and Annabella España-Najera. 2017. “Extra- and Within-System Electoral Volatility.” *Party Politics* 23(6): 623-635.

[Return to Top](#)



## Week 9 (Oct 19) – Elections and Accountability

### ***Reaction Paper Option 5***

- *Democracy for Realists* **Chapters 5, 6, 8 & 9**
- \*\*Pop-Eleches, Grigore. 2010. “Throwing out the Bums: Protest Voting and Unorthodox Parties after Communism.” *World Politics* 62(2): 221–260.
- \*\*Lobo, Marina Costa and Michael S. Lewis-Beck. 2012. “The Integration Hypothesis: How the European Union Shapes Economic Voting.” *Electoral Studies* 31: 522–528.
- \*\*Ventura, Tiago, Sandra Ley and Francisco Cantú. 2023. “Voting for Law and Order: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Mexico.” *Comparative Political Studies*. OnlineFirst at <https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140231169035>.

## Week 10 (Oct 26) – Elections and Representation

### ***Reaction Paper Option 6***

- \*\*Hughes, Melanie M. 2011. “Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women’s Political Representation Worldwide.” *American Political Science Review* 105(3): 604-620.
- \*\*Bustikova, Lenka. 2014. “Revenge of the Radical Right.” *Comparative Political Studies* 47(12): 1738-1765.
- \*\*Clayton, Amanda. 2015. “Women’s Political Engagement under Quota-mandated Female Representation: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment.” *Comparative Political Studies* 48(3): 333-369.
- Ferland, Benjamin. 2016. “Revisiting the Ideological Congruence Controversy.” *European Journal of Political Research* 55: 358-373.
- \*\*Mayne, Quinton and Armen Hakhverdian. 2017. “Ideological Congruence and Citizen Satisfaction: Evidence from 25 Advanced Democracies.” *Comparative Political Studies* 50(6): 822-849.

## Week 11 (Nov 2) – Electoral Malfeasance

### ***Reaction Paper Option 7***

- Elklit, Jorgen, and Palle Svensson. 1997. “What Makes Elections Free and Fair?” *Journal of Democracy* 8: 32-46.
- Birch, Sarah. 2007. “Electoral Systems and Electoral Misconduct.” *Comparative Political Studies* 40(12): 1533-1556.
- \*\*Bhasin, Tavishi and Jennifer Gandhi. 2013. “Timing and Targeting of State Repression in Authoritarian Elections.” *Electoral Studies* 32(4): 620-631.
- \*\*Beaulieu, Emily and Tiffany D. Barnes. 2014. “Gender Stereotypes and Corruption: How Candidates Affect Perceptions of Election Fraud.” *Politics & Gender* 10(3): 365-391.
- Kerr, Nicholas and Anna Lührmann. 2017 “Public Trust in Manipulated Elections: The Role of Election Administration and Media Freedom.” *Electoral Studies* 50: 50–67
- \*\*Lundstedt, Martin and Amanda B. Edgell. 2022. “Electoral Management and Vote-buying.” *Electoral Studies* 79: 1-10 (Online First).

[Return to Top](#)

Week 12 (Nov 9) – Violence and Elections

***Reaction Paper Option 8***

- \*\*Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Susan D. Hyde and Ryan S. Jablonski. 2013. “When Do Governments Resort to Election Violence?” *British Journal of Political Science* 44: 149-179.
- \*\*Birch, Sarah and David Muchlinski. 2018. “Electoral Violence Prevention: What Works?” *Democratization* 25(3): 385-403.
- \*\*Daly, Sarah Zukerman. 2019. “Voting for Victors: Why Violent Actors Win Postwar Elections.” *World Politics* 71(4): 747-805.
- \*\*Fjelde, Hanne. 2020. “Political Party Strength and Electoral Violence.” *Journal of Peace Research* 57(1): 140–155.
- \*\*Krause, Jana. 2020. “Restrained or Constrained? Elections, Communal Conflicts, and Variation in Sexual Violence.” *Journal of Peace Research* 57(1): 185–198.
- \*\*Krause, Werner and Miku Matsunaga. 2023. “Does Right-Wing Violence Affect Public Support for Radical Right Parties? Evidence from Germany.” *Comparative Political Studies*. Available via OnlineFirst.

Week 13 (Nov 16) – International Influences

***Reaction Paper Option 9***

- \*\*Hyde, Susan D. 2011. “Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion.” *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 356-369.
- Norris, Pippa. 2013. “Does the World Agree about Standards of Electoral Integrity? Evidence for the Diffusion of Global Norms.” *Electoral Studies* 32(4): 576-588.
- \*\*Bader, Julia. 2015. “Propping up Dictators? Economic Cooperation from China and Its Impact on Authoritarian Persistence in Party and Non-Party Regimes.” *European Journal of Political Research* 54(4): 655–672
- \*\*von Soest, Christian and Michael Wahman. 2015. “Not All Dictators are Equal: Coups, Fraudulent Elections, and the Selective Targeting of Democratic Sanctions.” *Journal of Peace Research* 52(1): 17–31.
- Justwan, Florian, Bert Baumgaertner, and Madeleine Curtright. 2022. “Meddling in the 2016 Elections and Satisfaction with Democracy in the US.” *Political Studies*. Available via OnlineFirst.

Week 14 (Nov 23) No class – Thanksgiving

Week 15 (Nov 30) – **Research Presentations**

Week 16 (Dec 7) – No class (Reading Day)

**Research Papers Due by Noon on Monday, 11 December 2023 via Turnitin on Canvas.**

[Return to Top](#)