

**Seminar: Comparative Political Institutions**  
**Political Science 521.002**

Instructor: Juan Pablo Micozzi

Spring 2013

Office: Social Sciences Building, Room 2046

R 9:30-12:00

Office Hours: R 1-2 and 3:30-5 or by appointment

SSB 2069

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**Goals of the Course**

This course covers the effects of varying kinds of institutional designs over political, legislative and electoral behavior. Far from the old legalistic views, the approach highlights the incentives and restrictions offered by different frameworks, and their expected and unpredicted implications. The consequences of relevant concepts such as regime type, electoral systems, term limits, minority representation, redistricting processes and legislative rules will be assessed in a broad comparative. Upon completion of this course, students should be able to broadly recognize the existing variation in institutional designs worldwide, and to have general notions of their expected effects. An explicit goal of the seminar is to foster students' engagement with empirical research. As a consequence, the main output of the course will be a paper that needs to include data analysis.

**Requirements**

Class attendance is mandatory and active participation is required. The final grade will reflect the performance in the following instances:

*Class participation: 20%*

Students are required to actively engage in discussions, which imply, of course, a careful reading of the weekly materials. Additionally, students might be asked to prepare some of the weekly readings.

*Democracy Analysis and Presentation: 15%*

One or two countries per student will be assigned. Each case must be plotted using the five indicators specified below. A 3000 words (plus figures) report including a general explanation of the variables' behavior will be complemented with a 10' presentation, including a Power Point.

*Votes/Seats Allocation Exercise: 15%*

Students will get several electoral scenarios and will have to allocate seats using different institutional combinations. The assignment might be in-class or take home.

*Final Paper Presentation: 10%*

Each student will share a presentation of the theory and the preliminary findings of the paper during the last two weeks of class. Depending on the number of registered students, presentations might take between 10 and 20 minutes.

*Final Paper: 40%*

An original research piece will be required. In order to polish ideas, it is strongly recommended that students think a topic quite early in the semester and consult the instructor's opinion. A paper prospectus (1-2 pages) must be handed in no later than March 7<sup>th</sup>.

Additionally, all requirements need to be fulfilled. Failure to comply with any of the requirements will result in a failing grade for the class.

**Americans with Disabilities Act:**

*"Qualified students with disabilities needing appropriate academic adjustments should contact me as soon as possible to ensure your needs are met in a timely manner. Handouts are available in alternative accessible formats upon request."* If you need more information on ADA, please contact the Office of Equal Opportunity at 277-5251.

**Required Books**

Cheibub, Jose Antonio. 2006. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Cox, Gary W. 1996. *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge University Press.

Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell. 2005. *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford University Press.

Kousser, Thad. 2005. *Term Limits and the Dismantling of State Legislative Professionalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy*. Yale University Press.

Persson, Torsten and Guido Tabellini. 2003. *The Economic Effects of Constitutions*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Schwindt Bayer, Leslie. 2010. *Political Power and Women's Representation in Latin America*. Oxford University Press.

Shugart, Matthew & Martin Wattenberg (eds.) 2001. *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* New York: Oxford University Press.

(<http://site.ebrary.com/libproxy.unm.edu/lib/unma/docDetail.action?docID=10283339>)

### **Highly recommended:**

Rhodes, R., Sarah Binder and Bert Rockman. 2006. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*, Oxford University Press.

### **Schedule:**

#### **Week 1 (1/17): Introduction**

March, James, and Johann Olsen. 2006. "Elaborating the New Institutionalism." In R. Rhodes, Sarah Binder and Bert Rockman, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*, Oxford University Press, pp. 3-22.

Rhodes, R. 2006. "Old Institutionalism." In R. Rhodes, Sarah Binder and Bert Rockman, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*, Oxford University Press, pp. 90-108.

Shepsle, Kenneth. 2006. "Rational Choice Institutionalism." In R. Rhodes, Sarah Binder and Bert Rockman, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*, Oxford University Press, pp. 23-38.

Sanders, Elizabeth. 2006. "Historical Institutionalism." In R. Rhodes, Sarah Binder and Bert Rockman, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*, Oxford University Press, pp. 39-55.

Carroll, Royce and Matthew Shugart. 2007. "Neo-Madisonian Theory and Latin American Institutions". In Gerardo Munck (ed.), *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*, Oxford University Press: 51-101.

## **Week 2 (1/24): Institutions - Majoritarian vs. Consensual Democracy**

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy*. Yale University Press.

Pappalardo, Adriano. 2007. "Electoral Systems, Party Systems: Lijphart and Beyond." *Party Politics* 13(6): 721–740.

## **Week 3 (1/31): Democracy and Empirical Research**

Dahl, Robert. 2003. "Polyarchal Democracy." In Robert Dahl, Ian Shapiro and Jose Cheibub, *The Democracy Sourcebook*. MIT Press: 48-54. (Available in NetLibrary)

Munck, Gerardo L., and Jay Verkuilen. 2002. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices." *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (1): 5–34.

Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 1996. "What Makes Democracies Endure?" *Journal of Democracy* 7 (1): 39–55.

Polity IV Dataset/Codebook: <http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/inscr.htm>

Freedom House:

[http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/fiw09/CompHistData/FIW\\_AllScores\\_Countries.xls](http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/fiw09/CompHistData/FIW_AllScores_Countries.xls)

Vanhanen: <http://www.prio.no/CSCW/Datasets/Governance/Vanhanens-index-of-democracy/Polyarchy-Dataset-Downloads/>

Przeworski et al: <https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/cheibub/www/datasets.html>

**Democracy Analysis Presentation (with written materials):** One or two countries assigned on 1/24.

*Student Country Power Point:* 10 minutes

*Submission of Written Report:* <3000 words plus figures (due in class after the presentation)

## **Week 4 (2/7) and 5 (2/14): Electoral Laws I: The Basics**

Blais, Andre and Louis Massicotte. 2002. "Electoral Systems." In Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris, *Comparing Democracies 2*. Sage Publications, pp. 40-69.

Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell. 2005. *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford University Press.

Shugart, Matthew and Martin Wattenberg (eds.) 2001. *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* New York: Oxford University Press. Introduction

*A mid-week lab session may be scheduled to learn some programming skills on votes/seats allocation*

### **Week 6 (2/21): Electoral Laws II: Strategic Coordination under Varying Rules**

Cox, Gary W. 1996. *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge University Press.

Ferrara, Frederico and Erik S. Herron. 2005. "Going It Alone? Strategic Entry under Mixed Electoral Rules." *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 16-31.

### ***Electoral systems' assignment due***

### **Week 7 (2/28): Effects of Electoral Rules**

Cain, Bruce, John Ferejohn and Morris P. Fiorina. 1979. *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence*. Harvard University Press: 1-21.

Magar, Eric, Marc Rosenblum and David Samuels. 1998. "On the Absence of Centripetal Incentives in Double-Member Districts: The Case of Chile." *Comparative Political Studies* 31(6): 714-739.

Ames, Barry. 1995. "Electoral strategy under open-list proportional representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 39(2): 406-433.

Crisp, Brian F., Maria C. Escobar-Lemmon, Bradford S. Jones, Mark P. Jones, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. 2004. "Vote-Seeking Incentives and Legislative Representation in Six Presidential Democracies," *Journal of Politics* 66(3): 823-46.

Cox, Gary W., and Michael F. Thies. 1998. "The Cost of Intraparty Competition: the Single Nontransferable Vote and Money Politics in Japan." *Comparative Political Studies* 31(3): 267

Chang, Eric C. C. 2005. "Electoral Incentives for Political Corruption under Open-List Proportional Representation." *Journal of Politics* 67(3): 716-30.

Golden, Miriam and Lucio Picci. 2008. "Pork Barrel Politics in Postwar Italy, 1953-1992." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 268-289.

Cingranelli, David, and Mikhail Filippov. 2010. "Electoral Rules and Incentives to protect Human Rights." *Journal of Politics* 72(1): 243-257.

### **Week 8 (3/7): Electoral Rules and Representation: Redistricting**

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *Journal of Politics* 61(3): 628-57.

Cameron, Charles, David Epstein, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1996. "Do Majority-Minority Districts maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?" *American Political Science Review* 90(4): 794-812.

Bratton, Kathleen. 2006. "The Behavior and Success of Latino Legislators: Evidence from the States." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(5): 1136-57.

Barreto Matt A., Gary M. Segura and Nathan D. Woods. 2004. "The Mobilizing Effect of Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout." *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 65-75.

Hayes, Danny, and Seth C. McKee. 2012. "The Intersection of Redistricting, Race, and Participation." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(1): 115-130.

Huber, John D. 2012. "Measuring ethnic voting: Do Proportional Electoral Laws politicize Ethnicity?." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4): 986-1001 .

Banducci, S., T. Donovan, and J. Karp. 2004. "Minority Representation, Empowerment, and Participation." *Journal of Politics* 66(2): 534-56.

### **Paper Proposals Due!!**

### **Week 9 (3/14): Spring Break**

### **Week 10 (3/21): Electoral Rules and Representation: Gender**

Htun, Mala. 2004. "Is Gender Like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(2): 439-58

Jones, Mark P. 2009. "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Evidence from the Latin American Vanguard." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(1): 56-81.

Schwindt Bayer, Leslie. 2010. *Political Power and Women's Representation in Latin America*. Oxford University Press.

Htun, Mala, Marina Lacalle and Juan Pablo Micozzi. 2013. "Does Women's Presence change Legislative Behavior? Evidence from Argentina, 1983-2007." 2013. *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 5(1).

Bhavnani, Rikhil. 2009. "Do Electoral Quotas work after they are withdrawn? Evidence from a Natural Experiment in India." *American Political Science Review* 103(1): 23-35.

### **Week 11 (3/28): Systems of Government**

Linz, Juan. 1994. "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does it make a difference?" In Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, *The Failure of Presidential Democracy: The Case of Latin America*, Johns Hopkins University Press: 3-87.

Cheibub, Jose Antonio. 2006. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Laver, Michael and Norman Schofield. 1990. *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. Michigan University Press, Ch. 1 and 8.

Martin, Lanny W. and Randolph T. Stevenson, 2001. "Cabinet Formation in Parliamentary Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 45(1): 33-50

Elgie, Robert. 1999. "The Politics of Semi-Presidentialism." In Robert Elgie (ed.), *Semi-Presidentialism in Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1-21.

### **Week 12 (4/4): Economic Effects of Institutions**

Persson, Torsten and Guido Tabellini. 2003. *The Economic Effects of Constitutions*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Iversen, Torben and David Soskice. 2006. "Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More Than Others." *American Political Science Review* 100(2): 165-181.

Rogowski Ronald and Mark Andreas Kayser. 2002. "Majoritarian Electoral Systems and Consumer Power: Price-level Evidence from the OECD Countries." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 526-39.

Hellwig, Timothy and David Samuels. 2007. "Electoral Accountability and the Variety of Democratic Regimes." *British Journal of Political Science* 38(1): 65-90.

**Week 13 (4/11): No class (MPSA Annual Meeting)**

**Week 14 (4/18): Term Limits**

Kousser, Thad. 2005. *Term Limits and the Dismantling of State Legislative Professionalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Carey, John M., Richard G. Niemi, Lynda W. Powell, and Gary F. Moncreif. 2006. "The Effect of Term Limits on State Legislatures: A New Survey of the 50 States." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31 (1): 105-134.

Zupan, Mark. 1990. "The last period problem in politics: Do Congressional Representatives not subject to a Reelection Constraint alter their Voting Behavior?" *Public Choice* 65(2): 167-180.

Taylor, Michelle M. 1992. "Formal versus Informal Incentive Structures and Legislative Behavior: Evidence from Costa Rica." *The Journal of Politics* 54 (4):1055-1073.

Langston, Joy and Javier Aparicio. 2008. "Political Career Structures in Democratic Mexico, 1997-2003." Presented at the 66th Midwest Political Science Association National Conference, Chicago, April 3-6, 2008.

**Week 15 (4/25): Paper Presentation I**

**Week 16 (5/2): Paper Presentation II**