

**PSCI 4204/5204  
ELECTIONS**

**Seminar: Monday 11:35-2:25  
Please confirm location on Carleton Central**

**INSTRUCTOR: Professor J. H. Pammett  
OFFICE: D683LA  
TELEPHONE: 520-2600, ext 2793.  
Office Hours: Monday 10:00-11:00; 2;30-3:30 or by appointment**

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**GRADES AND REQUIREMENTS:**

**50% of the final grade** will consist of a **term paper**, which will be discussed with the instructor. Term papers will be comparative, normally involving some aspect of elections in two (4204) or three (5204) countries. Normal paper length for undergraduate students (4204) is 20 pages, and for graduate students (5204) is 25 pages. Paper topics must be approved by **November 9. Papers are due Monday December 7, preferably in class but at the latest by 4 p.m. Late papers will be accepted until Friday, December 11 before 4 p.m. with a penalty of one grade-point (e.g. A paper becomes A-). Papers will not be accepted after that date.**

**15% of the final grade** will be given for a **presentation** on how elections in a particular country illustrate the topic under discussion. Presentation dates for countries and topics will be chosen at the first class on September 4. At the time of their presentation, students must either include on a handout, or give separately to the instructor, a bibliography of sources consulted.

The remaining **35% of the grade** will be given for **class participation** (3 marks for each of the 11 classes beginning on September 14, with the remaining 2 marks pro-rated), with 1 being given for attendance, 1 for participation, and 1 for bringing reading material into the discussion. If illness prevents attendance in class, participation marks will be pro-rated if the instructor is informed by email before the class begins. More than 2 absences for illness will require a medical note. The instructor makes every effort to allow each student opportunities to participate in each class; if time constraints affect these opportunities, students who have attended the class may email the instructor with the comments they would have made if called upon, as long as the email is sent the same day as the class.

**TEXT:** Lawrence LeDuc, Richard D. Niemi, and Pippa Norris, eds, Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World (Sage: 2014). Readings from this book are required when listed below.

The previous editions of this book have chapters on many of the same subjects by different authors. For example: ® Lawrence LeDuc, Richard D. Niemi, and Pippa Norris, eds, Comparing Democracies 3: Elections and Voting in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Sage: 2010) and even ® Lawrence LeDuc, Richard D. Niemi, and Pippa Norris, eds, Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting (Sage: 2002). Readings from this book are suggested when listed below.

Bibliographies listed are for additional reading for class participation, and for purposes of essays. It is suggested that students read 50 (undergraduate)-100 (graduate) pages of additional reading per week. (Suggestion: combine class preparation reading with essay research when possible.)

® denotes book is on library reserve. Some books may be on reserve for other courses. Readings may be available electronically.

## SEMINAR TOPICS

### **September 4 (Friday) Introduction (JHP)**

### **September 14 The Electoral Rules. Electoral Systems.**

Comparing Democracies 4 Chapters 2, 6, 9.  
(Comparing Democracies 3 Chapter 2)

Cees van der Eijk and Mark N. Franklin, Elections and Voters (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1,2,3  
Andre Blais, "The Debate over Electoral Systems," International Political Science Review, 12:3, July, 1991, pp 239-260.

Pippa Norris, "Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian, and Mixed Systems," International Political Science Review, 18:3 July, 1997, pp 297-312.

® Pippa Norris, Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behaviour.

Gianfranco Baldini and Adriano Pappalardo, Elections, Electoral systems and Volatile Voters  
Maurice Duverger, Political Parties

Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart, eds., Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences, (Chapters 1, 2 and 3 examine "Duverger's Laws.")

Charles Boix, "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies," APSR, 93:3 (September, 1999), pp 609-624.

® Henry Milner, ed, Making Every Vote Count

Henry Milner, ed., Steps Toward Making Every Vote Count: Electoral System Reform in Canada and its Provinces.

Law Commission of Canada, Voting Counts: Electoral Reform for Canada

Enid Lakeman, Power to Elect: the Case for Proportional Representation

Garry Cox, Making Votes Count

® David Farrell, Electoral Systems

David Farrell and Roger Scully, Representing Europe's Citizens (EP electoral systems)

Alan Renwick, The Politics of Electoral Reform (discusses France, Italy, Japan and New Zealand)

Juliet Roper, et al, The Politics of Representation; Election Campaigning and Proportional Representation. (Germany, New Zealand, Italy)

Josep Colomer, Handbook of Electoral System Choice.

International IDEA, Electoral System Design Handbook

Federico Ferraro, Mixed Electoral Systems

Michael Alvarez and Thad Hall, Point, Click and Vote: The Future of Internet Voting

Michael Alvarez, Electronic Elections

Michael Alvarez, Election Fraud

## **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR ELECTORAL RULES AND SYSTEMS**

1. What are the main purposes of electoral systems, and which systems best suit which purposes?
2. What are the effects of electoral systems on party systems?
3. How do electoral systems achieve representation, particularly of women and minorities?
4. What are the effects of electoral systems on voter turnout?
5. What is the case for and against compulsory voting?
6. What is the case for and against the remaining restrictions on electoral participation maintained in most countries—those based on citizenship and age?
7. What are the prospects of electoral reform?
8. What rules are most important to achieve “electoral integrity”?
9. What are the most prominent types of manipulation of the voting rules?

**September 21 Country Presentations: Suggestions: Germany; France; New Zealand; Australia; Israel; Ireland**

## **September 28 Elections and Political Parties.**

Comparing Democracies 4 Chapter 3

(Comparing Democracies 3 Chapters 3, 4)

® Alan Ware, Political Parties and Party Systems, Part 1 (party ideology and organization) or Part 2 (party systems).

Giovanni Sartori, Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis

® Herbert Kitschelt, The Transformation of European Social Democracy

® Herbert Kitschelt, The Radical Right in Western Europe

® Russell Dalton, Citizen Politics

Richard Katz and Peter Mair, “Changing Models of Party Organization: The Emergence of the

Cartel Party,” *Party Politics*, Vol 1 (1) 5-28.

Richard Katz and Peter Mair, “The Cartel Party Thesis: A Restatement,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol 7 (4) December 2009, 753-766.

Richard Katz and Peter Mair, eds., How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies

Patrick Seyd and Paul Whiteley, Labour's Grass Roots: The Politics of Party Membership

Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris, Gender and Party Politics

Michael Gallagher and Michael Marsh, Candidate Selection in Comparative Perspective

Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America

Special Issue of *Party Politics* on “Party Members and Activists”, vol 10, No. 4 (July, 2004).

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

1. What are the main features of political parties and party systems which we can use to investigate their conduct of elections?
2. Some terms used to describe parties are clientelistic, programmatic, brokerage, cartel, mass and cadre. Which of these are most useful?
3. Why do some countries have more parties than others?
4. Why is public opinion so negative about political parties?
5. How do election results affect political parties, and how do they react/adjust?
6. What is the best method of regulation for party finance (if any): contribution limits; expenditure limits; disclosure and transparency?
7. If state subsidies are given, what should they be based on, and used for?
8. Why do people join political parties?
9. If parties introduce more democracy into candidate and leader selection, what effects does this have on the party itself?

**October 5. Country Presentations: Suggestions: Mexico; Japan; Britain; France; Italy;**

**October 19. Election Campaigns**

Comparing Democracies 4, Chapter 5

(Comparing Democracies 3 Chapters 5, 6)

David Farrell & Rudiger Schmitt-Beck, eds., Do Political Campaigns Matter? Campaign Effects in Elections and Referendums (material on Switzerland, Hungary, Canada, Finland, Britain, US)

® David Swanson and Paolo Mancini, Politics, Media and Modern Democracy

® Shawn Bowler and David Farrell, Electoral Strategies and Political Marketing

® David Butler and Austin Ranney, eds., Electioneering: a Comparative Study of Continuity and Change

Jon Pammett and Christopher Dornan, eds., The Canadian Federal Election of 2011 (or previous volumes in series)

® Dennis Kavanagh, Election Campaigning: The New Marketing of Politics (Britain)

Sarah Oates, Lynda Lee Kaid & Mike Berry, Terrorism, Elections, and Democracy: Political Campaigns in the US, UK, and Russia.

David Menefee-Libey, The Triumph of Campaign-Centered Politics (US)

Thomas Holbrook, Do Campaigns Matter?

Matthew Carlson, Money Politics in Japan: New Rules, Old Practices

Dennis Johnson, The Routledge Handbook of Political Management

Judith S. Trent, Political Campaign Communication: Principles and Practices

Darren G. Lilleker & Nigel A. Jackson, Political Campaigning, Elections and the Internet: Comparing the US, UK, France and Germany.

## **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR ELECTION CAMPAIGNS**

1. Do campaigns matter?
2. How have campaigns changed over time? Can we talk of premodern, modern and postmodern campaigns? How have the techniques of campaigning changed? How have changes in technology affected campaigns?
3. What are the purposes of campaigns for political parties?
4. How do political parties choose campaign strategies?
5. Do leader debates have an effect on campaigns?
6. How have public opinion polls shaped party strategy, and affected media coverage and voter behaviour?
7. Why do some campaigns fail?
8. How do we study election campaigns? How useful is information contained in:
  - “insiders’ accounts”
  - surveys of voters
  - media content analyses?

**November 2. Country Presentations: Suggestions: United States; Britain; Brazil; Australia; Japan**

## **November 9. Electoral Participation and Voting**

Comparing Democracies 4 Chapters 4, 7, 8.

(Comparing Democracies 3 Chapters 7, 8, 9)

Jon H. Pammett & Lawrence LeDuc, Explaining the Turnout Decline in Canadian Federal Elections: Evidence from a New Study of Non-voters (Copies in library; or at [www.elections.ca](http://www.elections.ca) )

® Martin Wattenberg, Where Have All the Voters Gone?

® Pippa Norris, Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism

Andre Blais, To Vote or Not to Vote? The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory

IDEA, Engaging the Electorate: Initiatives to promote Voter Turnout from Around the World

® Martin Harrop and William L. Miller, Elections and Voters ch 6-8.

S.M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments: an Introduction," in Party Systems and Voter Alignments  
 Ian Budge and Dennis Farlie, Explaining and Predicting Elections: Issue Effects and Party Strategies in Twenty-Three Democracies  
 Stanley Kelley, Jr., Interpreting Elections  
 Harold Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon Pammett, Absent Mandate: Canadian Electoral Politics in an Era of Restructuring  
 Mark Franklin, et al, Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries  
 Wouter van der Brug, Cees van der Eijk and Mark Franklin, The Economy and the Vote: Economic Conditions and Elections in Fifteen Countries  
 Ron Johnston and Charles Pattie, Putting Voters in Their Place (ch 7 on turnout)  
 Anthony King, eds., Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections  
 Jacques Thomassen, The European Voter (online)  
 Warren Miller and Merrill Shanks, The New American Voter  
 Michael Lewis-Beck, ed, The American Voter Revisited  
 Harold D. Clarke, et al, Political choice in Britain  
 Harold D. Clarke, Allan Kornberg and Tom Scotto, Making Political Choices: Canada and the United States.  
 Russell Dalton and Christopher Anderson, Citizens, Context and Choice.

## **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION AND VOTING**

1. Why is voting turnout higher in some countries than others?
2. How serious is the current voting turnout decline, and how can it be explained?
3. What are the important social and psychological factors which structure elections?
5. What "new cleavages" are emerging?
6. Is partisanship eroding, and if so what are the consequences of partisan dealignment?
7. To research "issue voting", what are the relevant dimensions on which to compare issues?
8. What is the impact of the economy on elections?
9. How can voters engage in "strategic voting"?
10. What do elections decide?

**November 16. Country Presentations: Suggestions: Scandinavia; Israel; European Parliament; Britain; Germany; Austria**

**November 23. Authoritarian Elections: What leads to Democracy, and what doesn't?**

Comparing Democracies 4 Chapters 1, 10, 11  
(Comparing Democracies 3 Chapters 1, 10, 11)

® G. Bingham Powell, Elections as Instruments of Democracy  
 ® Richard Katz, Democracy and Elections

David Gillies, ed, Elections in Dangerous Places: Democracy and the Paradoxes of Peacebuilding

Steffan Lindberg, ed., Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition

Arend Lijphart, Democracies

® H-D Klingemann *et al.*, Parties, Policies and Democracy

Benjamin Barber, Strong Democracy

® Marina Ottaway, Democracy in Africa: The Long Road Ahead

Abdoulaye Saine, Elections and Democracy in West Africa: 1990-2009

® Roderic Camp, Democracy in Latin America

Krishna Kumar, Postconflict Elections, Democratization, and International Assistance.

Andreas Schedler, Electoral Authoritarianism: the Dynamics of Unfair Competition

Guy Goodwin-Gill, Free and Fair Elections

Eric C. Bjornlund, Beyond Free and Fair: Monitoring Elections and Building Democracy

Christopher J. Anderson, et al, Loser's Consent: Elections and Democratic Legitimacy

Jessica Piombo & Lia Nijzink, Electoral Politics in South Africa: Assessing the First Democratic Decade.

David Farrell and Roger Scully, Representing Europe's Citizens: Electoral Institutions and the Failure of Parliamentary Representation.

Margit Tavits, Presidents with Prime Ministers: Do Direct Elections Matter?

*Party Politics* 13:2 (2007) Special issue on political parties and political development

## **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRACY**

1. How do authoritarian regimes try to structure and/or manipulate elections to their advantage?
2. When authoritarian governments have used noncompetitive elections to legitimize their hold on power, does this pave the way for later democracy?
3. How important is it that elections be used to unseat an incumbent government?
4. What are the main consequences of elections in the areas of accountability, and influencing policy direction?
5. How much do elections matter? How could they matter more?
6. What aspects of a democratic political culture can elections influence?

**November 30. Country Presentations: Suggestions: Russia; South Africa; India; Peru; Iran; Egypt; Philippines;**

[What role have elections played in the establishment of democratic institutions? What role have elections played in establishing, or re-establishing, authoritarian regimes?]

**December 7. Referendums. Country Presentations: Suggestions: Switzerland; United States; Ireland; Italy; Denmark; Chile.**

(Comparing Democracies 2 Chapter 3)

® Lawrence LeDuc, The Politics of Direct Democracy

© Ian Budge, The New Challenge of Direct Democracy

© David Butler and Austin Ranney, eds., Referendums Around the World: The Growing Use of Direct Democracy

Direct Democracy: The International IDEA Handbook.

Matthew Mendelsohn and Andrew Parkin, eds., Referendum Democracy: Citizens, Elites and Deliberation in Referendum Campaigns.

Shaun Bowler and Todd Donovan, Demanding Choices: Opinion, Voting and Direct Democracy

David Butler and Austin Ranney, eds., Referendums: a Comparative Study of Practice and Theory

Austin Ranney, ed., The Referendum Device

Michael Gallagher and Pier Uleri, The Referendum Experience In Europe.

Sara Hobolt, Europe in Question: Referendums on European Integration

Karin Gilland Lutz and Simon Hug, ed, Financing Referendum Campaigns

C.H. de Vreese and H. Semetko, Political Campaigning in Referendums.

Mads Qvortrup, A Comparative Study of Referendums: Government by the People

Joseph Zimmerman, The Initiative: Citizen Lawmaking. (U.S.)

Lawrence LeDuc and Jon Pammett, "Referendum Voting: Attitudes and Behaviour in the 1992 Constitutional Referendum," CJPS Vol 23: No: 1 (March 1995).

Richard Johnston, et al, The Challenge of Direct Democracy: The 1992 Canadian Referendum

Harlan Hahn and Sheldon Kamienicki, Referendum Voting: Social Status and Policy Preferences

Anthony King, Britain Says Yes: the 1975 Referendum on the Common Market

John T. Rourke, et al, Direct Democracy and International Politics: Deciding International Issues Through Referendums

Steven P. Nicholson, Voting the Agenda, Candidates, Elections and Ballot Propositions

Rich Braunstein, Initiative and Referendum Voting

Ethan J. Leib, Deliberative Democracy in America

David McCuan & Stephen Stambough, Initiative Centered Politics: the New Politics of Direct Democracy

Hanspeter Kriesi, Direct Democratic Choice: the Swiss Experience

Gregory A Fossedal, Direct Democracy in Switzerland

Kris Kobach, The Referendum: Direct democracy in Switzerland.

Wolf Linder, Swiss Democracy

*Party Politics*: special issue on direct democracy 12:5 (September, 2006)

## **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR REFERENDUMS**

1. What are examples of different types of referendums?
2. What are the pros and cons of referendums?
3. Are referendums a progressive or conservative device? Does the 'no' side have the advantage?
4. How are referendum campaigns regulated?
5. Are the main factors affecting voting in referendums different from elections?
6. Is the campaign particularly important in referendums?
7. Should we consider referendums "direct democracy?"



## SOME USEFUL INTERNET ADDRESSES FOR RESEARCH ON ELECTIONS

All of the sites mentioned below are gateways to numerous other election-related sites. **Any material obtained from the Internet used in essays must be accompanied by a complete citation, including author (if known), title, web address, any subsequent branching needed to get to actual document, page number, and date accessed.**

Richard Kimber of Keele University in England maintains a large site (now archived) which has material on elections by country, listed alphabetically. The current site concentrates on the UK and the US. There are also links to other sites with election information, and those with material on electoral systems.

[www.psr.keele.ac.uk/](http://www.psr.keele.ac.uk/)

Another good source is Manuel Alvarez-Rivers' Election Resources on the Internet.

[www.electionresources.org](http://www.electionresources.org)

A big site is Adam Carr's Election Archive. <http://psephos.adam-carr.net/>

The Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) in Stockholm is the most complete source for statistics on electoral turnout, political party funding and women's representation.

[www.idea.int](http://www.idea.int)

IDEA also manages the Ace Project, which collects election-related information from many countries in a very useful format for comparative research. For example, you can compare two countries side by side using this database.

[www.aceproject.org](http://www.aceproject.org)

The International Federation for Election Systems maintains an elections calendar, guide and links list to national election commissions at:

[www.ifes.org](http://www.ifes.org)

Elections Canada is at [www.elections.ca](http://www.elections.ca)

### Academic Accommodations

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The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two

weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

**For Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance ([www.carleton.ca/equity](http://www.carleton.ca/equity)).

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:** The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside

B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Grading:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

**Approval of final grades:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

**Carleton E-mail Accounts:** All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

**Carleton Political Science Society:** The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/> or come to our office in Loeb D688.

**Official Course Outline:** The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.