

## PSCI 4204/5204

### Elections

Time: Tuesday, 11:35 a.m. – 2:25 p.m.  
Location: Residence Commons (CO) Room 211

#### I General information

Instructor: Steve White  
Office: D696 LA(Loeb)  
Office Hours: Friday, 12:00 p.m. – 2:00 p.m., or by appointment (in person, or via Zoom)  
Email: [steve.white@carleton.ca](mailto:steve.white@carleton.ca)

All email communication is to be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace, not personal emails.

#### II Course description

This course examines elections in contemporary states from the vantage point of three key functions: representation, legitimation, and accountability and popular control. In surveying how elections are conducted, and the ways in which voters, parties, and candidates for election think and act, we will seek answers to three broad questions: Do elected officials act on behalf of, or speak for, their constituents? How much control do voters have over elected representatives? To what extent do elections legitimize the authority of governments?

#### III Course format

Weekly seminars will focus on topics and readings identified in the schedule. The weekly assigned readings should be completed in advance of the class, and you are expected to keep up with the weekly readings.

#### IV Learning outcomes

By taking this course, students will:

- Understand the central features of the main types of electoral systems (and the differences between them)
- Understand predominant models of elections, including their assumptions about the psychology and behaviour of voters, and the goals and strategies of parties and candidates
- Develop skills in critiquing and assessing empirical research
- Develop an in-depth knowledge of recent elections in one or more countries

## V Texts

The following texts are required:

LeDuc, L., R. Niemi, & P. Norris (Eds.). (2014). *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*. Sage. (Available through the Carleton Bookstore)

Marland, A., & Giasson, T. (Eds.). (2020). *Inside the campaign: Managing elections in Canada*. UBC Press. (This text is available as a free, open access text through University of British Columbia Press, and you will find it [here](#))

All other required course material is available online through the Ares library reserve system on Brightspace. Required readings for each week are listed in the course schedule.

## VI Evaluation at a glance

Component	Value	Due Date
Seminar participation	15%	Cumulative
Reaction papers	45%	Three papers, submitted on Brightspace before the selected seminar
Research paper	25%	April 10, submitted on Brightspace
In-class presentation	15%	March 22, March 29, or April 5

## VII Evaluation in detail

### *Term Work*

**Reaction Papers** (3 @ 15% each): Students will write three papers, each of which reacts to the readings for a particular seminar topic. Students are free to choose the three weeks of readings to which they will respond. Papers must be submitted on Brightspace. Students are advised to retain electronic copies of all their papers for this course. The general requirements are as follows (a detailed rubric will be provided on Brightspace):

Requirements for PSCI 4204 students:

Each paper should briefly identify the main argument, ideas, and evidence in each of the required readings for that week, and explain whether and how the readings are related to each other. You should also explain what you believe are the most significant contributions of each reading, and/or areas where you think one or more readings are weak. You may focus on concepts, theories and hypotheses, or the quantity or quality of evidence in the readings.

Format: MS Word

Word count: approximately 1250 words, not including bibliography

Citation Style: Chicago author–date format

Minimum number of sources: only the seminar readings for that week are necessary

Requirements for PSCI 5204 students:

Each paper should contextualize the concepts, theories and hypotheses, and/or the quantity or quality of evidence in **one reading** for the seminar, by comparing and contrasting one or more of these features with other studies on the same topic.

Format: MS Word

Word count: approximately 1500 words, not including bibliography

Citation Style: Chicago author–date format

Minimum number of sources: three sources, in addition to the seminar readings for that week

**Research Paper (25%):** The paper will examine and assess national elections in terms of representation, legitimation, and/or accountability and popular control. You must submit your paper topic in advance (preferably before the term break) and receive approval from the instructor before submitting your paper. Papers must be submitted on Brightspace. Students are advised to retain electronic copies of all their papers for this course. The general requirements are as follows (a detailed rubric will be provided on Brightspace):

Requirements for PSCI 4204 students:

The paper should examine national elections in one country.

Format: MS Word

Word count: 2500–3000 words, not including bibliography

Citation Style: Chicago author–date format

Minimum number of sources: 10

Requirements for PSCI 5204 students:

The paper should compare national elections in two countries.

Format: MS Word

Word count: 3500–4000 words, not including bibliography

Citation Style: Chicago author–date format

Minimum number of sources: 15

**Presentations (15%):** Students are expected to present the main findings of their research on national elections (see **Research Paper**). Students should be prepared to speak for approximately 10–12 minutes. Presentations will be followed by a short discussion, during which students in the class may ask questions. Presentation will be held in the final three weeks. Individual presentation dates will be assigned in the first week of the course. Detailed instructions will be provided on Brightspace.

**Seminar Participation (15%):** Students are expected to attend every class, and be prepared to participate in discussions of the assigned topics and readings. More specifically, in each class students should contribute to discussions about the readings, with respect to methodology, themes, concepts, theories and hypotheses, and quality of evidence.

## VIII Policies and procedures

**Late Penalties:** All assignments are due on the dates specified in the course outline. Late assignments will be subject to a penalty of 5% for each day beyond the due date.

**Extensions:** No extensions on assignments will be granted after their due dates. Exceptions will be made only in those cases of special circumstances, (e.g. illness, bereavement) and where the student has verifiable documentation.

**E-mail:** Students must use a Carleton e-mail account in all correspondence.

## IX Course schedule and assigned readings

### January 11: Introduction

No assigned readings

### January 18: Rules and Administration

*Inside the Campaign*, Ch. 1  
*Comparing Democracies*, Ch. 2

### January 25: Media and Money

*Inside the Campaign*, Chs. 7, 10, 12

Van Biezen, Ingrid. "Campaign and party finance." *Comparing Democracies 3: Elections and Voting in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. London: Sage (2010): 65-94.

### February 1: Campaigns

*Comparing Democracies*, Ch. 5  
*Inside the Campaign*, Ch. 9, 11

## February 8: Different Models of Electoral Choice I

*Inside the Campaign*, Ch. 8

Hinich, M. J., & Munger, M. C. (2008). Spatial Theory. In *Readings in Public Choice and Constitutional Political Economy* (pp. 295–304). Springer, Boston, MA.

Clarke, Harold D., David Sanders, Marianne C. Stewart, and Paul F. Whiteley. “The Theory of Valence Politics.” Chapter. In *Performance Politics and the British Voter*, 30–52. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Petrocik, J. R., Benoit, W. L., & Hansen, G. J. (2003). Issue ownership and presidential campaigning, 1952–2000. *Political Science Quarterly*, 118(4), 599–626.

## February 15: Different Models of Electoral Choice II

*Comparing Democracies*, Ch. 7

Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. *Retrospective voting in American National Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 1 (pp. 3–19)

Achen, Christopher H., and Larry M. Bartels. *Democracy for realists: Why elections do not produce responsive government*. Princeton University Press, 2016. Chapter 9 (pp. 232–266).

## February 22: Reading Week (No Seminar)

## March 1: Groups

*Comparing Democracies*, Ch. 6

Tolley, E., Bosley, A., & Duncan, N. (2022). Still Not There: Diversity and Inclusion in the 2021 Canadian Election Campaign. In *The Canadian Federal Election of 2021* (eds. J. Pammett and C. Dornan). McGill–Queen’s, 192–219.

Cowie, C., & Midzain–Gobin, L. (2022). Progress or Status Quo? Indigenous Peoples, Participation, and Representation. In *The Canadian Federal Election of 2021* (eds. J. Pammett and C. Dornan). McGill–Queen’s, 220–245.

## **March 8: Context and Choice**

*Comparing Democracies*, Ch. 8

Powell Jr, G. B., & Whitten, G. D. (1993). A cross-national analysis of economic voting: taking account of the political context. *American Journal of Political Science*, 391-414.

Jennings, Will, and Christopher Wlezien. "The timeline of elections: A comparative perspective." *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 1 (2016): 219-233.

## **March 15: Legitimacy**

*Comparing Democracies*, Ch. 9, 11

Anderson, Christopher. *Losers' consent: Elections and democratic legitimacy*. Oxford University Press, 2005. Chapter 2 (pp. 17-32).

## **March 22: Presentations**

## **March 29: Presentations**

## **April 5: Presentations**

## Appendix

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### **Covid-19 Pandemic Measures**

It is important to remember that COVID is still present in Ottawa. The situation can change at any time and the risks of new variants and outbreaks are very real. There are [a number of actions you can take](#) to lower your risk and the risk you pose to those around you including being vaccinated, wearing a mask, staying home when you're sick, washing your hands and maintaining proper respiratory and cough etiquette.

**Feeling sick?** Remaining vigilant and not attending work or school when sick or with symptoms is critically important. If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms do not come to class or campus. If you feel ill or exhibit symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately. In all situations, you should follow Carleton's [symptom reporting protocols](#).

**Masks:** Masks are no longer mandatory in university buildings and facilities. However, we continue to recommend masking when indoors, particularly if physical distancing cannot be maintained. We are aware that personal preferences regarding optional mask use will vary greatly, and we ask that we all show consideration and care for each other during this transition.

**Vaccines:** While proof of vaccination is no longer required to access campus or participate in in-person Carleton activities, it may become necessary for the University to bring back proof of vaccination requirements on short notice if the situation and public health advice changes. Students are strongly encouraged to get a full course of vaccination, including booster doses as soon as they are eligible and submit their booster dose information in [cuScreen](#) as soon as possible. Please note that Carleton cannot guarantee that it will be able to offer virtual or hybrid learning options for those who are unable to attend the campus.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow requirements and guidelines regarding health and safety which may change from time to time. For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and health and safety requirements please see the [University's COVID-19 website](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact [covidinfo@carleton.ca](mailto:covidinfo@carleton.ca).

### **Student Mental Health**

As a university student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

**Emergency Resources (on and off campus):** <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

- **Carleton Resources:**

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

- **Off Campus Resources:**

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

### **Requests for Academic Accommodation**

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

**Pregnancy accommodation:** Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

**Religious accommodation:** Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

**Accommodations for students with disabilities:** If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, [click here](#).



***Accommodation for student activities:*** Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>.

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: [students.carleton.ca/course-outline](https://students.carleton.ca/course-outline).

### **Sexual Violence Policy**

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. Survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: [carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support](https://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support).

### **Plagiarism**

Carleton's [Academic Integrity Policy](#) defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This includes 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. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include, but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one’s own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

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.

More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>.

### **Intellectual property**

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. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

### **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

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 Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

## **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. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, 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 our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/>.

## **Official Course Outline**

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.