
PLSC 485V
Multilevel Elections and Parties

Term: Fall 2015
Location: SL 311, Thursdays: 6:00 - 9:00 PM

Amuitz Garmendia Madariaga

LNG 273

Office Hours: (R, 2:00 - 4:00 PM), & by appt.

e: agarmen1@binghamton.edu

u: [Blackboard](#) (Assignments, Readings)

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Political parties and elections are essential features of modern democratic systems of government. It is difficult to imagine how a large-scale democracy would function without relying on elections, and equally difficult to imagine how elections could be coordinated without political parties. In this course, we will explore how, in multilevel political systems, the relations between tiers of subnational, national and even supra-national (e.g. the European Union) government, and the decisions that these collectively and separately reach and implement affect the electoral strategies of political parties and their organizational structure. In this upper-level course, students will learn about the origin of regional and national parties, the effects of decentralized institutions on the behavior and organization of parties and thus, the interparty competition, and the geography of election results and party support. This course satisfies the Comparative Politics and upper-level requirement for the Political Science major.

READINGS

Readings for the course will consist of books and a set of articles (listed by topic below). Articles and selected chapters will be posted in the appropriate topic folder in the **Content** section on Blackboard. The readings listed below use the following abbreviations (listed in **bold** as a superscript after the citation):

- (L): Available on Binghamton Online Libraries
 - (B): Available online on [Blackboard](#) .
 - (R): Reading is required for class.
 - (S): Reading is suggested for class.
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COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Read the Syllabus! The syllabus is for the benefit of the class; it informs you about required readings, grading expectations, course policies, how to contact me, required assignments, and any other general information pertaining to this class.

Grading: Students will be assessed according to the following Binghamton University grade scale:

A (93–100)	A– (90–92)	B+ (87–89)	B (83–86)	B– (80–82)
C+ (77–79)	C (73–76)	C– (70–72)	D (66–69)	F (< 65)

Final grades are rounded to whole numbers, where $\geq \#.5$ is rounded up and $\leq \#.49$ is rounded down. Grades for the class will be based on the following points system:

<i>Class Participation</i> (best 10 out of 13)	◇	$1 \times 10 = 10$
<i>Discussion Leadership</i> (3)	◇	$5 \times 3 = 15$
<i>Response Paper</i> (3)	◇	$10 \times 3 = 30$
+ <i>Final Paper</i>	◇	45
Total	◇	100%

Participation (10%): Participation is a crucial component of this course. Students are expected to attend sessions and do the assigned weekly readings. As the instructor, I will be giving a few introductory remarks to facilitate discussion in the beginning, but otherwise, as an upper-level course, I expect it to be student-driven. The goal is to develop a seminar-style class. Participation then is crucial, and you will be evaluated in terms of both its quantity and quality. For the final grade, I will take into account the best 10 out of 13 participation records; that is, missing more than three seminars will result in 0 points.

Response Papers (30%): In the beginning of the semester, every student will choose three dates (weeks) in which he or she will be responsible for both writing a response paper and leading the discussion. A response paper is a short written exercise that combines summarizing capacities with critical thinking to assess two or more readings in one of the weeks. Students need to turn in the papers at the start of the class before we discuss the readings. These papers should be 4 pages long (12 point Times New Roman, double spaced, 1" (2.5 cm) margins) and should encompass the following:

- Present the main argument of the readings that you are reviewing in a clear and concise manner (summarize them). What is the research question or topic of each of the works? What are the main arguments and evidence in support of these arguments? **Note: this part should be short.**
- Evaluate the theoretical and/or empirical soundness of the arguments and/or evidence presented, offering well-justified criticisms. What are the strengths and weaknesses? Does the author consider alternative explanations? If not, what could those be?
- Explain how the readings fit together and the linkages between them. Do they wrestle with similar puzzles? Is there a unifying theme? How do they connect with what we have explored in previous weeks? Which reading do you find more convincing and why?

Discussion Leadership (15%): Following what explained above, students will be required to guide the class discussion in three occasions, by introducing the topic of the week, posing relevant questions and guiding the participation of other classmates when necessary. Given the size of the class, in every session, there will be at least 3 discussion leaders, which means that they should talk to each other in order to plan and coordinate its organization.

Final Paper (45%): In Multilevel Elections and Parties we will depart from a general understanding of what territorially distributed power is to delve into much more specific questions such as the geography of political behavior and election results, multilevel political parties and party competition in these complex contexts. Accordingly, as students are incrementally exposed to this avenue of research, they will be required to work on an original piece of research on the subject.

- You can identify a new puzzle/question not addressed by the literature and bring empirical evidence to help answer the question or solve the puzzle.

- You can explore/extend one of the class topics through a new case study (or group of case studies), or other dimension of interest.
- You can conduct a replication paper in which you get a hold of the data used by an author in one of the articles, replicate his/her findings and extend/criticize his/her work.

In any of the three cases, I strongly encourage you to come to office hours to discuss your paper before the research proposal is due, and afterwards as well. Since the course satisfies the General Education C requirement, papers will be pieces of expository writing that will be subject to my revision during the semester. We will break the task of writing this paper into three steps:

1. Final Paper Proposal (10%): 1 page. Students should provide a research question and a thorough explanation of the motivation of their papers. Therefore, these proposals should clearly state the research question of the paper and why it is important. Additionally, proposals should briefly refer to the theoretical framework that students want to apply when answering their research questions. These proposals are going to be evaluated according to their interest and feasibility; every proposal needs to be approved by the Instructor.
 2. Final Paper Draft (15%): 5-6 pages. Students need to restate their approved scientific research question, and briefly develop or borrow a theoretical argument, which they believe has a fair degree of explanatory power. Moreover, they will have to propose some hypotheses derived from the theory, as well as explain how they will test them (either qualitative or quantitative methods are accepted and expected). I will once again review and critique this draft. These comments should necessarily be incorporated by students into their substantial revision process of the draft and thus, in the process of writing the final product of this final paper.
 3. Final Paper (20%): The final paper is **due December 14th by 6:00 PM as a hard copy at my office and through Turnitin**. It should be 10-12 pages, 12-point Times New Roman, double spaced, 1" (2.5 cm) margins. The paper should obviously include a list of references. This list does not count towards the page-limit. Any tables or figures that you include are part of the page-limit.
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ASSIGNMENTS AND LATE ASSIGNMENTS

Formal assignment deadlines are as follows:

<u>Assignments</u>	<u>Deadline</u>
<i>Response Papers</i>	Due on the beginning of the class(See leadership assignment days on Blackboard)
<i>Final Paper Proposal</i>	October 8 th
<i>Final Paper Draft</i>	November 12 th
<i>Final Paper</i>	First day of Exam Week (December 14 th) (Hard Copy: Office and Turnitin)

Students will be expected to fully understand the implications of turning in their assignments late. No excuses will be accepted for late assignments. If an emergency arises, creating a situation where an assignment cannot be completed by the deadline, students are required to submit the work they have at the time of the emergency. Send me an email with the assignment as an attachment (agarmen1@binghamton.edu). I will judge the quality of the work, given the emergency. Keep in mind that I will need some sort of proof that an emergency occurred. Absent of an emergency, **all** late assignments will be penalized according to the following procedure:

Any assignment submitted past the deadline ◇ Will receive **F**

Failure to complete any of the assignments for the course implies more than just a zero for that assignment. Students are required to complete all **graded** and **ungraded** assignments. **Failure to submit all assignments will result in an F for the entire course, regardless of your overall grade in the class.**

COURSE OUTLINE

Topic	Date	Name
0	Sept. 03	No Class (APSA Conference)
1	Sept. 10	Introductory class. What about the multilevel approach?
2	Sept. 17	Origins of Decentralization and Integration (I)
3	Sept. 24	Origins of Decentralization and Integration (II)
4	Oct. 01	Multilevel Political Parties
5	Oct. 08	The Challenge for State-Wide Parties
6	Oct. 15	The Non State-Wide Parties
7	Oct. 22	The Geography of Political Preferences
8	Oct. 29	Multilevel Elections: A General Framework
9	Nov. 05	FINAL PAPER DRAFT WORKING SESSION
10	Nov. 12	Multilevel Voting (I)
11	Nov. 19	Multilevel Voting (II)
12	Dec. 03	Responsibility Attribution in Multilevel Settings
13	Dec. 10	FINAL PAPER WORKING SESSION

READING SCHEDULE

Topic 1: Introductory class. Why Study Multilevel Elections and Parties? Sept. 10

- Please read the syllabus and assignment guidelines
 - Course organization
 - **Lecture:** Why is it interesting/necessary to use the multilevel approach?
 - Elazar, Daniel. 1987. *Exploring Federalism*. The University of Alabama Press, pp. 33-80 (What is federalism?). (B)(S)
 - Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2003. Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-level Governance. *American Political Science Research* 97(2): 233-243. (B)(R)
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Topic 2: Origins of Decentralization and Integration (I) Sept. 17

- Riker, William. 1964. *Federalism. Origin, Operation and Significance*. Little Brown, 11-25; 85-110. (B)(R)
 - Stepan, Alfred. 1999. Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model. *Journal of Democracy*, 19-39. (B)(R)
 - Ziblatt, Daniel. 2004. Rethinking the Origins of Federalism: Puzzle, Theory, and Evidence from Nineteenth Century Europe. *World Politics* 57, 70-98. (B)(R)
 - Falleti, Tulia. 2005. A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective. *American Political Science Review* 99(3), 327-346. (B)(R)
 - Riedl, Rachel Beatty and J. Tyler Dickovick. 2014. Party systems and Decentralization in Africa. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 49(3): 321-342. (B)(R)
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Topic 3: Origins of Decentralization and Integration (II) Sept. 24

- Nye, Joseph. 1968. Comparative Regional Integration: Concept and Measurement. *International Organization* 22(4): 855-880. (B)(R)
- Mattli, Walter. 1999. *The logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. Cambridge University Press (Chapter 1 and 2) (B)(R)
- Malamud, Andrés and Luis de Sousa. 2007. Regional Parliaments in Europe and Latin America: Between Empowerment and Irrelevance. In *Closing or Widening the Gap?: Legitimacy and Democracy in Regional Integration Organizations*. Ashgate Publishing (Chapter 5) (B)(R)

Choose one of the following 3:

- Foong Khong, Yuen and Helen E. S. Nesadurai. 2007. Hanging together, institutional design, and cooperation in Southeast Asia: AFTA and the ARF. In *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press (Chapter 2) (B)(R)
 - Dominguez, Jorge. 2007. International cooperation in Latin America: the design of regional institutions by slow accretion. In *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press (Chapter 3) (B)(R)
 - Herbst, Jeffrey. 2007. Crafting regional cooperation in Africa. In *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press (Chapter 4) (B)(R)
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Topic 4: Multilevel Political Parties**Oct. 1**

- Appleton, Andrew and Daniel S. Ward. 1997. Party Responses to Environmental Change. *Party Politics* 3(3): 341-362. (B)(R)
- Filippov, Mikhail, Ordeshook, Peter, and Olga Shvetsova. 2004. *Designing Federalism: A Theory of Self Sustainable Federal Institutions*, Cambridge University Press (Chapter 6: Political Parties in a Federal State). (B)(R)
- Deschouwer, Kris. 2006. Political Parties as Multilevel Organizations. In *Handbook of Party Politics* Sage Publications (Chapter 24). (B)(R)
- Van Houten, Pieter. 2009. Multi-Level relations in Political Parties: A Delegation Approach. *Party Politics* 15(2): 137-156. (B)(R)

Topic 5: The Challenges for State-Wide Parties**Oct. 8**

- Mair, Peter. 1990. The limited impact of Europe on national party systems. *West European Politics* 23(4): 27-51. (B)(R)
- Chibber, Pradeep and Kenneth Kollman. 1998. Party Aggregation and the number of parties in India and the United States. *American Political Science Review* 92(2): 329-342. (B)(R)
- Desposato, Scott 2004. The Impact of Federalism on National Party Cohesion in Brazil. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29(2): 259-285. (B)(R)
- Thorlakson, Lori. 2009. Patterns of Party Integration, Influence and Autonomy in Seven Federations. *Party Politics* 15(2): 157-177. (B)(R)

NOTE: FINAL PAPER PROPOSAL DEADLINE**Topic 6: The Non-State Wide Parties****Oct. 15**

- Attina, Fulvio. 1990. The voting behaviour of the European Parliament members and the problem of the Europarties. *European Journal of Political Research* 18(5): 557-579. (B)(R)
- Heller, William. 2002. Regional Parties and National Politics in Europe: Spain's Estado De Las Autonomías, 1993 to 2000. *Comparative Political Studies* 35(6): 657-685. (B)(R)
- Brancati, Dawn. 2007. The Origins and Strengths of Regionalist Parties. *British Journal of Political Science* 38: 135-159. (B)(R)
- Mitchel, Paul, Evans, Geoffrey, and Brendan O'Leary. 2009. Extremist Outbidding in Ethnic Party Systems is Not Inevitable: Tribune Parties in Northern Ireland. *Political Studies* 57: 397-421. (B)(R)

Topic 7: The Geography of Political Preferences**Oct. 22**

- Gourevitch, Peter. 1979. The reemergence of Peripheral Nationalisms: Some Comparative Speculations on the Spatial distribution of Political Leadership and Economic Growth. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21(3): 303-322. (B)(R)
- Erikson, Robert, John, and Gerald Wright. 1987. State Political Culture and Public Opinion. *American Political Science Review* 81(3): 797-814. (B)(R)
- Hearl, Derek, Budge, Ian, and Bernard Pearson. Distinctiveness of Regional Voting: A Comparative Analysis Across the European Community (1979-1993). *Electoral Studies* 15(2): 167-182. (B)(R)

- Hale, Henry. 2004. Explaining Ethnicity. *Comparative Political Studies* 37(4): 458-485. (B)(R)
- Posner, Daniel. 2004. Measuring Ethnic Fractionalization in Africa. *American Journal of Political Science* 48(4): 849-863. (B)(R)

Topic 8: Multilevel Elections: A General Framework**Oct. 29**

- Reif, Karlheinz and Hermann Schmitt. 1980. Nine Second-order National Elections: a conceptual framework for the Analysis of European Election Results. *European Journal of Political Research* 8(1):3-44. (B)(R)
- Campbell, James. 1986. Presidential Coattails and Midterm Losses in State Legislative Elections. *American Political Science Review* 80(1): 45-63. (B)(R)
- Marsh, Michael. 1998. Testing the second-order election model after Four European Elections. *British Journal of Political Science* 28: 591-607. (B)(R)
- Samuels, David. 2000. The Gubernatorial Coattails Effect: Federalism and Congressional Elections in Brazil. *Journal of Politics* 62(1): 240-253. (B)(R)
- Schakel, Arjan and Charlie Jeffery. 2013. Are Regional Elections really 'Second-Order' Elections? *Regional Studies* 47(3): 323-341. (B)(R)

Topic 9: FINAL PAPER DRAFT WORKING SESSION**Nov. 5**

Group meeting to collectively deal with the challenges found in the process of writing the Final Paper draft. At this point, students should have an advanced version of their manuscripts, and most probably, doubts about some aspects of their research. Every student will make a short (5 minutes) presentation introducing to the class his/her work (research question, argument, and research strategy) and if it is the case, the difficulties encountered in the process. The goal of this session is to help students in the process of polishing the draf that they will present one week later, on November 12th.

Topic 10: Multilevel Voting (I)**Nov. 12**

- Campbell, Angus and Warren E. Miller. 1957. The motivational basis of straight and split ticket voting. *American Political Science Review* 51(2): 293-312. (B)(R)
- Heath, Anthony, McLean, Iain, Taylor, Bridget and John Curtice. 1999. Between first and second order: A comparison of voting behavior in European and Local elections in Britain. *European Journal of Political Research* 35: 389-414. (B)(R)
- Erikson, Robert and Mikhail Filippov. 2001. Electoral Balancing in Federal and Sub-national Elections: The case of Canada. *Constitutional Political Economy* 12: 313-331. (B)(R)
- Carrubba, Cliff and Richard J. Timpone. 2005. Explaining Vote Switching Across First and Second Order Elections: Evidence from Europe. *Comparative Political Studies* 38: 260-281.(B)(R)

NOTE: FINAL PAPER DRAFT DEADLINE

Topic 11: Multilevel Voting (II)**Nov. 19**

- Anderson, Cameron D. 2006. Economic voting and multilevel governance: a comparative individual-level analysis. *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 449-463. **(B)(R)**
- Hix, Simon and Michael Marsh. 2007. Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections. *Journal of Politics* 69(2): 495-510. **(B)(R)**
- Cutler, Fred. 2008. One voter, two first-order elections? *Electoral Studies* 27: 492-504. **(B)(R)**
- Rodden, Jonathan and Erik Wibbels. 2010. Dual accountability and the nationalization of party competition: Evidence from four federations. *Party Politics* 17(5): 629-653. **(B)(R)**
- Garmendia Madariaga, Amuitz and H. Ege Ozen. 2015. Looking for Two-Sided Coattail Effects: Integrated parties and multilevel elections in the U.S. *Electoral Studies* 40: 66-75. **(B)(R)**

Topic 12: Responsibility Attribution in Multilevel Settings**Dec. 3**

- Rudolph, T.J. 2003. Who's responsible for the economy? The formation and consequences of responsibility attributions. *American Journal of Political Science* 47(4): 698-713. **(B)(R)**
- Cutler, Fred. 2004. Government Responsibility and Electoral Accountability in Federations. *Publius* 34(2): 19-38. **(B)(R)**
- León, Sandra. 2010. Who is responsible for what? Clarity of responsibilities in multilevel states: The case of Spain. *European Journal of Political Research* 50: 80-109. **(B)(R)**
- Johns, Robert. 2011. Credit Where it's Due? Valence Politics, Attributions of Responsibility, and Multi-Level Elections. *Political Behavior* 33: 53-77. **(B)(R)**
- Hobolt, Sara B. and James Tilley. 2013. Who's in Charge? How Voters Attribute Responsibility in the European Union. *Comparative Political Studies* 47(6): 795-819. **(B)(R)**

Topic 13: FINAL PAPER WORKING SESSION**Dec. 10**

In the beginning of class, 10 minutes time slots will be distributed to every student (mechanism TBD). Following the latter, students will have individual meetings with the Instructor to deal with last minute issues and questions. To be as effective as possible, at this point, students should have a nearly finished version of their Final Papers.

Gen. Ed. Requirements This course satisfies the Social Science N and Composition C requirements. Students in N courses will demonstrate: (1) Knowledge of major concepts, models, and issues (and their interrelationships) of at least one of the social sciences: anthropology, economics, geography, history, political science, or sociology; (2) An understanding of the methods used by social scientists to explore social phenomena, including, when appropriate to the discipline, observation, hypothesis development, measurement and data collection, experimentation, evaluation of evidence, and analysis by mathematics or other interpretive frameworks. Composition (C) courses must fulfill the following requirements: (1) These courses require at least 20 pages of expository writing; (2) The course must include a longer paper of at least 7 pages or at least two papers of at least 5 pages; (3) For these longer papers, a process of revision with instructor feedback (not just peer feedback) is mandatory. One paper of at least 5 pages must undergo a substantial revision process; At least 50% of the course grade must be based on writing.

Academic Honesty Plagiarism and cheating are serious matters that, should they occur, will be pursued to the limits of University rules. Moreover, academic dishonesty will result in a failing grade for the course. For details regarding the University's policy on cheating and plagiarism and academic dishonesty more generally, see the University Handbook.

Course Material Students are advised to **retain all course material** for all course work for **two weeks** after final grades are received. This includes: returned assignments, Turnitin email receipts, and electronic versions of written assignments. I will not consider any grading questions without evidence of the assignment. All writing assignments are to be submitted through Turnitin. Each time you submit to Turnitin, an electronic receipt is emailed to you—no receipt means something went wrong, so check your email after you submit to the Turnitin link. No evidence from Turnitin means the assignment will be treated as an incomplete assignment.

Students with Disabilities Students with disabilities should register with the office of Services for Students with Disabilities (607.777.2686), University Union (Room 119), ssd@binghamton.edu. Extra time and necessary arrangements can be made in conjunction with that office and the instructor.

Course Website/Syllabus Please visit the course website on Blackboard; I'll update it weekly with electronic versions of the chapters from books that are not listed as *required* for the course. Students will be expected to find articles through the [Binghamton Libraries](#) website. The online version of the syllabus is the official syllabus for this course as it is updated periodically. I reserve the exclusive right to alter the syllabus if I feel such changes are necessary for the class. Visit the course website to view the most recent version of the syllabus (updated date is located at the lower right corner of the document). You will be notified in your Binghamton email of any changes to the syllabus. **YOU** as the student are responsible for having the most updated copy of this document, and I will make sure you are notified of any changes.

Internet Access & Assignments Failure to complete an assignment because of a faulty or lacking internet signal will not be excused. Assignment dates and times are posted well in advance, and it is your responsibility to ensure that you will have adequate access to Blackboard during those and other times required to fulfill assignment requirements, if necessary.

Assignment Extensions No extensions will be allowed for any assignment, as all assignments are posted well in advance of the due date. Students are expected to know the deadlines and complete all assignments by their due date, preparing in advance for any unforeseen events that may fall around the assignment deadline. I will not respond to extension requests, and **no** excuses will be accepted.

Extra Credit No extra credit assignments will be provided for this course.