

IR 408 Elections and Party Politics

Fall 2021

Course and Contact Information

Instructor: Dr. Fatih Erol

Class Hours: Thursday 09:00 AM to 11:50 AM

Class Location: S-ÇSM 403

Office Hours: Thursday 01:15 PM to 02:15 PM, or by appointment (on Zoom)

Office Location: E5 205

Instructor Email: ferol15@ku.edu.tr

Course Description

This course aims to give students an understanding of the political processes that underlie features of representative democracies. The course takes theories from the party and electoral politics and comparative political behavior research and applies them to political questions. The course will address questions like:

- What do we mean by political competition, and how can we measure it?
- To what extent do parties respond to shifts in public opinion?
- How do people choose who to vote for in the elections?
- What are the roles of individual psychophysiological and socioeconomic factors in shaping citizens' turnout in elections?

Course Goals and Objectives

This course is designed to provide you with an understanding of elections, electoral systems, political parties, party systems, political elites, voting behavior, turnout, and political polarization. To accomplish this, you will read comparative political parties, electoral systems, and political behavior studies, be walked through about them, and discuss the research implications, limitations, and possible future directions in class.

Required Texts and Materials

This course does not build on a single textbook but instead relies primarily on select articles and chapters of books. The following books can help the students get a general overview of the course content:

- Cox, G. (1997). *Making votes count: Strategic coordination in the world's electoral systems*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sartori, G. ([1976] 2005). *Parties and party systems: A framework for analysis*. ECPR Press.

The required readings are listed in the course outline and will be made available to the students.

Work Required

- Participation: Participation by the students is a critical part to everyone's learning. What this means is that you will be expected to have done the readings assigned for each day and to come to class ready to discuss them in a thoughtful manner. Attendance is necessary but not sufficient to receive full participation points. Points can be earned by raising thoughtful comments and questions about the readings. Arriving late, leaving early, or otherwise disrupting the class will result in a lower participation grade.
- Discussion questions: Between Weeks 3 and 13, you will be expected to submit discussion questions related to readings of the select five weeks of your choice (by 08:00 PM the day before the first class of each relevant week). You will select your preferred weeks from a list provided in an online survey in Week 2. **When submitting these discussion questions to me by email, always use the following subject line format: IR 408 – FALL 2021 - NAME SURNAME – STUDENT ID – WEEK [3...13] DISCUSSION QUESTION.**
- Research paper: You will also write a research paper for this course, in three stages. Rubrics for each stage will be provided in advance. First, you will select a topic from a list provided in an online survey in Week 2 and write an annotated bibliography of original sources on the topic (i.e., beyond those that we have/will read for class). Next, you will write an outline of your argument (e.g., tentative introduction, literature review, and hypotheses). Finally, you will write the research paper itself, building on the bibliography and outline. The purpose of this multi-stage approach is to develop good research habits and to write the strongest paper possible.

Grade components (100 points total):

- Participation in class discussion (10 points)
- Submitting discussion questions before class (10 points [2 points per select week])

- Annotated bibliography (Due Friday night of **Week 6**; 10+ sources; 25 points)
- Final paper outline (Due Friday night of **Week 10**; 1,000-1,250 words; 25 points)
- Final paper (Middle day of final examinations period [night of January 24, 2022]; 3,000 words ($\pm$ 300 words); 30 points)

Extra Credit Policy

You will have the opportunity to earn extra credit with a supplemental assignment (worth up to 5 points). In class, you will make a ten-minute presentation briefly summarizing the optional article of your choice and sharing your thoughts on the study, its methods, and/or conclusions. Your preference for extra credit (and, if so, the preferred week and the optional article) will be surveyed in an online survey in **Week 2**. Two of your attending classmates will be anonymously and randomly selected to grade and give one-page feedback (around 300 words) on your presentation on a number of dimensions, including clarity, insightfulness, concise and appropriate use of tables and figures, and completion of the presentation within ten minutes. The feedback should be appropriately delivered within five days of the post-presentation period (to me by email). Depending on the timeliness of feedback submission and the quality of feedback (judged by myself), those two reviewer students can get a maximum of extra 2.5 points. The purpose is for students to be able to help each other learn to be better presenters, as there is the feedback that you can provide which I cannot (i.e., I am already familiar with the supplemental materials, whereas you are not, so you will be able to assess different aspects of the presentation).

Late, Incomplete, and Revised Work Policy

Late work will have 10% deducted from its grade per day (or partial day). Incomplete work will be graded on the same rubric as completed assignments, which may result in poor grades depending on the nature of the incompleteness. I will not accept revised writing assignments. Extensions may be granted if requested in advance of class. Extension requests on or after the due date will only be granted in extraordinary circumstances and all late extensions will be subject to the already accumulated late work penalty.

Attendance Policy

Regular class attendance is expected of all students. Each unexcused absence will result in the loss of one participation point. Students who do not turn in an assignment on time as a result of an absence will lose points according to the late work policy above. Students may have their absence excused (thereby not losing participation points) by providing notification to the instructor in advance of class, if the absence is for acceptable reasons as outlined (e.g., disability accommodation, illness). Absences will not be excused after the fact except in extraordinary circumstances, proved by an official document.

Email Policy

If you have a question about the course or an assignment, I would encourage you to check the syllabus first to see if the answer to your question is there. You are also encouraged to discuss any questions or concerns about the course with me at office hours or after class. If you need to reach me outside of class or office hours, please send me an email and I will attempt to respond as quickly as I can within reason.

Use of Personal Electronic Devices in the Classroom

Disruptions or interruptions in the classroom due to the improper use of cell phones or laptops (e.g., texting, chatting, browsing Facebook/Twitter) will not be tolerated. Students who are disrupting the class will be asked to stop using their electronic device and may be asked to leave.

Academic Integrity

In this course, all students will be held to the standards of the Istanbul Bilgi University, a code that you pledged to honor when you matriculated at this institution. If you are unfamiliar with the details of this code and how it is administered, you should consult the [Higher Education Institutions Student Discipline Regulation](#). This regulation outlines the University's expectations for the integrity of your academic work, the procedures for resolving alleged violations of those expectations, and the rights and responsibilities of students and faculty members throughout the process.

Syllabus Change Policy

This syllabus is only a guide for the course and is subject to change with advanced notice.

Course Structure

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Week 1: Representative Democracy (October 14, 2021)

- Expectations
- Discussion of syllabus
- Conceptualizing representative democracy and covering the differences between the majoritarian and proportional visions of democracy

Mandatory Readings

- Lijphart, A. ([1999] 2012). *Patterns of democracy*. Yale University Press: **skim** ch. 1 and 14.
- Powell, G. B. (2000). *Elections as instruments of democracy: Majoritarian and proportional visions*. Yale University Press: **skim** ch. 1-2.

Optional

- Soroka, S. N., & Wlezien, C. (2015). *The majoritarian and proportional visions and democratic responsiveness*. *Electoral Studies*, 40, 539-547.

Week 2: Parties and Party Systems (October 21, 2021)

- What are political parties?
- How do we measure party systems?
- What do political parties want for themselves, and what do voters expect from political parties?

Mandatory Readings

- Sartori, G. ([1976] 2005). *Parties and party systems: A framework for analysis*. ECPR Press: ch. 1.
- Lijphart, A. ([1999] 2012). *Patterns of democracy*. Yales University Press: ch. 5.

Optional

- Katz, R. S., & Mair, P. (1995). *Changing models of party organization and party democracy: The emergence of the cartel party*. *Party Politics*, 1(1), 5-28.
- Werner, A. (2019). *What voters want from their parties: Testing the promise-keeping assumption*. *Electoral Studies*, 57, 186-195.

Week 3: Elections and Electoral Systems (October 28, 2021)

- How do citizens' votes become seats?
- What are the types of voting systems?
- What are the causes and consequences of electoral systems?

Mandatory Readings

- Lijphart, A. ([1999] 2012). *Patterns of democracy*. Yales University Press: ch. 8.
- Cox, G. (1997). *Making votes count: Strategic coordination in the world's electoral systems*. Cambridge University Press: ch. 3.

Optional

- Benoit, K. (2007). *Electoral laws as political consequences: Explaining the origins and change of electoral institutions*. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10, 363-390.
- Becher, M., & González, I. M. (2019). *Electoral reform and trade-offs in representation*. *American Political Science Review*, 113(3), 694-709.
- Carey, J. M., & Hix, S. (2011). *The electoral sweet spot: Low-magnitude proportional electoral systems*. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(2), 383-397.

Week 4: Party Competition (November 4, 2021)

- How do sociopolitical and economic cleavages shape party competition?
- On what kind of dimensions do parties compete with one another?
- Do citizens hold consistent and stable preferences influencing party competition?

Mandatory Readings

- Dalton, R. J. (1996). [Political cleavages, issues, and electoral change](#). In L. LeDuc et al. (Eds.), *Comparing democracies: Elections and voting in global perspective* (pp. 319-42). Sage
- Downs, A. (1957). [An economic theory of democracy](#). Harper Collins: **skim** ch. 8.
- Sartori, G. ([1976] 2005). [Parties and party systems: A framework for analysis](#). ECPR Press: ch. 10.
- Zaller, J. R. (1992). [The nature and origins of mass opinion](#). Cambridge University Press: **skim** ch. 11.

Optional

- Stokes, D. E. (1963). [Spatial models of party competition](#). *American Political Science Review*, 57(2), 368-377.
- Strom, K. (1990). [A behavioral theory of competitive political parties](#). *American Journal of Political Science*, 34(2), 565-598.
- Matsuo, A., & Lee, S. (2018). [Multi-dimensional policy preferences in the 2015 British general election: A conjoint analysis](#). *Electoral Studies*, 55, 89-98.
- Basu, C. (2020). [Bridging spatial and saliency theory: Party size and issue selection in campaigns](#). *Political Science Research and Methods*, 8(3), 444-458.

Week 5: Party System Challenges (November 11, 2021)

- How does the people's disappointment with political parties (e.g., anti-party sentiment) affect competition?
- What are the alternative forms of political representation to party governments?
- Why do some small parties succeed in elections while others fail?

Mandatory Readings

- Ignazi, P. (2014). Power and the (il)legitimacy of political parties: An unavoidable paradox of contemporary democracy?. *Party Politics*, 20(2), 160-169.
- Caramani, D. (2017). Will vs. reason: The populist and technocratic forms of political representation and their critique to party government. *American Political Science Review*, 111(1), 54-67.

Optional

- Meguid, B. M. (2005). Competition between unequals: The role of mainstream party strategy in niche party success. *American Political Science Review*, 99(3), 347-359.
- Abou-Chadi, T., & Krause, W. (2020). The causal effect of radical right success on mainstream parties' policy positions: A regression discontinuity approach. *British Journal of Political Science*, 50(3), 829-847.

Week 6: Party Families and Positions and Issue Salience (November 18, 2021)

—ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE ON NOVEMBER 19, 2021, BY 11:59 PM (TRT)—

- How can we classify parties and measure their policy positions?
- What are the distinctions among issue position, salience, and ownership?
- Why do some political parties' stances on major issues change from time to time?

Mandatory Readings

- Mair, P., & Mudde, C. (1998). The party family and its study. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1(1), 211-229.
- Budge, I. (2015). Issue emphases, saliency theory and issue ownership: A historical and conceptual analysis. *West European Politics*, 38(4), 761-777.
- Laver, M. (2014). Measuring policy positions in political space. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 207-223.

Optional

- Abou-Chadi, T., Green-Pedersen, C., & Mortensen, P. B. (2020). Parties' policy adjustments in response to changes in issue saliency. *West European Politics*, 43(4), 749-771.
- Slothuus, R., & Bisgaard, M. (2020). How political parties shape public opinion in the real world. *American Journal of Political Science*.

Week 7: Responsiveness and Congruence (November 25, 2021)

- What is the party mandate model? Does democratic mandate lead to ideological and policy congruence between citizens and their governments?
- What are the consequences of citizen-elite incongruence for democracy?
- What makes the parties fulfill their election campaign promises?

Mandatory Readings

- Louwse, T. (2012). [Mechanisms of issue congruence: The democratic party mandate](#). *West European Politics*, 35(6), 1249-1271.
- McDonald, M. D., Mendes, S. M., & Budge, I. (2004). [What are elections for? Conferring the median mandate](#). *British Journal of Political Science*, 34(1), 1-26.
- Ferland, B. (2021). [Policy congruence and its impact on satisfaction with democracy](#). *Electoral Studies*, 69, 102204.
- Thomson, R., Royed, T., Naurin, E., Artés, J., Costello, R., Ennser-Jedenastik, L., ... & Praprotnik, K. (2017). [The fulfillment of parties' election pledges: A comparative study on the impact of power sharing](#). *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(3), 527-542.

Optional

- Ferland, B. (2018). [Ideological congruence over government mandates under majoritarian and proportional representation electoral systems](#). *West European Politics*, 41(2), 350-383.
- Lax, J. R., & Phillips, J. H. (2012). [The democratic deficit in the states](#). *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(1), 148-166.

Week 8: Political Elites (December 2, 2021)

- Do political leaders shape public opinion and citizens' voting behavior?
- Does personalization of politics make party politics redundant?
- What are the implications of personalized politics for voting behavior and political participation?

Mandatory Readings

- Somer-Topcu, Z. (2017). [Agree or disagree: How do party leader changes affect the distribution of voters' perceptions](#). *Party Politics*, 23(1), 66-75.

- Pedersen, H. H., & Rahat, G. (2021). [Political personalization and personalized politics within and beyond the behavioural arena](#). *Party Politics*, 27(2), 1-9.
- Garzia, D., & Ferreira da Silva, F. (2021). [Negative personalization and voting behavior in 14 parliamentary democracies, 1961–2018](#). *Electoral Studies*, 71, 102300.
- Ferreira da Silva, F., Garzia, D., & De Angelis, A. (2021). [From party to leader mobilization? The personalization of voter turnout](#). *Party Politics*, 27(2), 220-233.

Optional

- Hayes, D. (2009). [Has television personalized voting behavior?](#). *Political Behavior*, 31(2), 231-260.
- Costa, P., & Ferreira da Silva, F. (2015). [The impact of voter evaluations of leaders' traits on voting behaviour: Evidence from seven European countries](#). *West European Politics*, 38(6), 1226-1250.

Week 9: Election Turnout (December 9, 2021)

- What are the individual-level explanations of voter turnout?
- Do national contexts and election types matter for the decision to vote?
- What is the relationship between voter turnout and democratic satisfaction?

Mandatory Readings

- Smets, K., & Van Ham, C. (2013). [The embarrassment of riches? A meta-analysis of individual-level research on voter turnout](#). *Electoral Studies*, 32(2), 344-359.
- Cancela, J., & Geys, B. (2016). [Explaining voter turnout: A meta-analysis of national and subnational elections](#). *Electoral Studies*, 42, 264-275.
- Leininger, A., Rudolph, L., & Zittlau, S. (2018). [How to increase turnout in low-salience elections: Quasi-experimental evidence on the effect of concurrent second-order elections on political participation](#). *Political Science Research and Methods*, 6(3), 509-526.
- Kostelka, F., & Blais, A. (2018). [The chicken and egg question: Satisfaction with democracy and voter turnout](#). *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 51(2), 370-376.

Optional

- Aarøe, L., Appadurai, V., Hansen, K. M., Schork, A. J., Werge, T., Mors, O., ... & Petersen, M. B. (2021). [Genetic predictors of educational attainment and intelligence test performance predict voter turnout](#). *Nature Human Behaviour*, 5(2), 281-291.

- Dahlgaard, J. O. (2018). [Trickle-up political socialization: The causal effect on turnout of parenting a newly enfranchised voter](#). *American Political Science Review*, 112(3), 698-705.
- Dahlgaard, J. O., Bhatti, Y., Hansen, J. H., & Hansen, K. M. (2021). [Living together, voting together: Voters moving in together before an election have higher turnout](#). *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-18.

Week 10: Economic Voting (December 16, 2021)

—FINAL PAPER OUTLINE DUE ON DECEMBER 17, 2021, BY 11:59 PM (TRT)—

- Do voters' views on the economy influence their voting decisions?
- What kind of economic assessments do voters make before voting?
- What are the benchmarks that voters use to assess the government's competence?

Mandatory Readings

- Lacy, D., & Christenson, D. P. (2017). [Who votes for the future? Information, expectations, and endogeneity in economic voting](#). *Political Behavior*, 39(2), 347-375.
- Alt, J. E., Marshall, J., & Lassen, D. D. (2016). [Credible sources and sophisticated voters: When does new information induce economic voting?](#). *The Journal of Politics*, 78(2), 327-342.
- Aytaç, S. E. (2018). [Relative economic performance and the incumbent vote: A reference point theory](#). *The Journal of Politics*, 80(1), 16-29.
- Healy, A. J., Persson, M., & Snowberg, E. (2017). [Digging into the pocketbook: Evidence on economic voting from income registry data matched to a voter survey](#). *American Political Science Review*, 111(4), 771-785.

Optional

- Aytaç, S. E. (2021). [Effectiveness of incumbent's strategic communication during economic crisis under electoral authoritarianism: Evidence from Turkey](#). *American Political Science Review*, 1-7.
- Aytaç, S. E. (2021). [An experimental investigation of voter myopia in economic evaluations](#). *Electoral Studies*, 74, 1-6.
- Breitenstein, S. (2019). [Choosing the crook: A conjoint experiment on voting for corrupt politicians](#). *Research & Politics*, 6(1), 1-8.

Week 11: Issue Voting (December 23, 2021)

- Do voters' policy preferences or issues influence their voting decisions?
- What are the dimensions of issue voting?
- When does issue voting become more critical?

Mandatory Readings

- Weldon, S., & McNeney, D. (2019). [Issue voting: Modern and classic accounts](#). In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.
- Walgrave, S., Lefevere, J., & Tresch, A. D. (2020). [Position, competence, and commitment: Three dimensions of issue voting](#). *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 32(1), 165-175.
- Moral, M., & Zhirnov, A. (2018). [Issue voting as a constrained choice problem](#). *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(2), 280-295.
 - [AJPS Author Summary](#)
- Lachat, R. (2011). [Electoral competitiveness and issue voting](#). *Political Behavior*, 33(4), 645-663.

Optional

- Lupton, R. N., Myers, W. M., & Thornton, J. R. (2015). [Political sophistication and the dimensionality of elite and mass attitudes, 1980-2004](#). *The Journal of Politics*, 77(2), 368-380.
- Dennison, J. (2020). [How issue salience explains the rise of the populist right in Western Europe](#). *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 32(3), 397-420.
- Jenke, L., & Munger, M. (2019). [Attention distribution as a measure of issue salience](#). *Public Choice*, 1-12.

Week 12: Party Identification (December 30, 2021)

- Do citizens continue to support their favored parties despite changes in party leadership and issue positions?
- What are the effects of partisanship on electoral behavior and party politics?
- What is the direction of causation between partisanship and issue orientations?

Mandatory Readings

- Dalton, R. J. (2016). [Party identification and its implications](#). In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.
- Highton, B., & Kam, C. D. (2011). [The long-term dynamics of partisanship and issue orientations](#). *The Journal of Politics*, 73(1), 202-215.
- Gerber, A. S., Huber, G. A., & Washington, E. (2010). [Party affiliation, partisanship, and political beliefs: A field experiment](#). *American Political Science Review*, 104(4), 720-744.
- Bankert, A. (2020). [Negative and positive partisanship in the 2016 US presidential elections](#). *Political Behavior*, 1-19.

Optional

- Theodoridis, A. G. (2017). [Me, myself, and \(I\),\(D\), or \(R\)? Partisanship and political cognition through the lens of implicit identity](#). *The Journal of Politics*, 79(4), 1253-1267.
- Enns, P. K., & McAvoy, G. E. (2012). [The role of partisanship in aggregate opinion](#). *Political Behavior*, 34(4), 627-651.
- Mayer, S. J. (2017). [How negative partisanship affects voting behavior in Europe: Evidence from an analysis of 17 European multi-party systems with proportional voting](#). *Research & Politics*, 4(1), 1-7.
- Lupu, N. (2015). [Party polarization and mass partisanship: A comparative perspective](#). *Political Behavior*, 37(2), 331-356.

Week 13: Political Polarization (January 6, 2022)

- What do mean by political polarization?
- How do we measure political polarization?
- What are the ramifications of political polarization?

Mandatory Readings

- Moral, M. (2017). [The bipolar voter: On the effects of actual and perceived party polarization on voter turnout in European multiparty democracies](#). *Political Behavior*, 39(4), 935-965.
- Iyengar, S., Lelkes, Y., Levendusky, M., Malhotra, N., & Westwood, S. J. (2019). [The origins and consequences of affective polarization in the United States](#). *Annual Review of Political Science*, 22, 129-146.
- Druckman, J. N., & Levendusky, M. S. (2019). [What do we measure when we measure affective polarization?](#). *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 83(1), 114-122.

- Klar, S., Krupnikov, Y., & Ryan, J. B. (2018). [Affective polarization or partisan disdain? Untangling a dislike for the opposing party from a dislike of partisanship](#). *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 82(2), 379-390.

Optional

- Rogowski, J. C., & Sutherland, J. L. (2016). [How ideology fuels affective polarization](#). *Political Behavior*, 38(2), 485-508.
- Whitt, S., Yanus, A. B., McDonald, B., Graeber, J., Setzler, M., Ballingrud, G., & Kifer, M. (2020). [Tribalism in America: Behavioral experiments on affective polarization in the Trump Era](#). *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 1-13.
- Lelkes, Y. (2021). [Policy over party: Comparing the effects of candidate ideology and party on affective polarization](#). *Political Science Research and Methods*, 9(1), 189-196.
- Levendusky, M. S. (2018). [When efforts to depolarize the electorate fail](#). *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 82(3), 583-592.
- Nall, C. (2015). [The political consequences of spatial policies: How interstate highways facilitated geographic polarization](#). *The Journal of Politics*, 77(2), 394-406.
- Druckman, J. N., Klar, S., Krupnikov, Y., Levendusky, M., & Ryan, J. B. (2021). [Affective polarization, local contexts and public opinion in America](#). *Nature Human Behaviour*, 5(1), 28-38.

Suggested to Visit

- [Strategies and Tools for Mitigating Polarization in Turkey \(TurkuazLab\)](#)
 - [TurkuazLab Digital Platform](#) (in Turkish only)

Week 14: New Directions (January 13, 2022)

I will survey the class' choice among biology, experimental advances, or computational social sciences in elections and party politics in [Week 12](#).

—FINAL PAPER DUE ON JANUARY 24, 2021, BY 11:59 PM (TRT)—