

**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY,
 POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

POLS 358 — 1st TRIMESTER 2009 (i.e., 2 March to 7 June 2009)

HOW DEMOCRACIES VOTE



VAL TILL RIKSDAGEN

Moderata Samlingspartiet

Du får bara markera en av dessa **anmälda** kandidater.

- 1 Carl Bildt, Partiledare, 49 år
- 2 Beatrice Ask, Riksdagsledamot, 42 år
- 3 Mikael Odenberg, Riksdagsledamot, 44 år
- 4 Elisabeth Fleetwood, Riksdagsledamot, 71 år
- 5 Ulf Kristersson, Riksdagsledamot, 34 år
- 6 Carl Erik Hedlund, Riksdagsledamot, 61 år
- 7 Carl-Erik Skårman, 1 Borgarråd, 58 år
- 8 Birgitta Wistrand, Riksdagsledamot, 59 år
- 9 Henrik S Järrel, Riksdagsledamot, 49 år
- 10 Anna Lilliehöök, Civilekonom, 51 år
- 11 Margareta Cederfelt, Leg sjuksköterska, 38 år
- 12 Anna Kinberg, Projektledare, 28 år
- 13 Curt Linderöth, Pensionär, 67 år
- 14 Mikael Söderlund, Fil kand, 33 år
- 15 Kristina Axén Olin, Musklärare, 35 år
- 16 Berthold Gustavsson, Kriminalinspektör, 52 år
- 17 Christer Leijonhufvud, Jur kand, 65 år
- 18 Anders Malmsten, Kriminalinspektör, 52 år
- 19 Ebba von Schéele, Företagare, 54 år
- 20 Maria Abrahamsson, Jurist, 35 år
- 21 Ulla Ericson, Konsult, 39 år
- 22 Marie Vallée, VD-assistent, 43 år
- 23 Madeleine Raukas, Fil kand, 31 år
- 24 Gabriel Kurt, Näringsdjur, 46 år
- 25 Ingvar Snees, Ekonom, 54 år
- 26 Joen Lagerberg, Jur kand, 61 år
- 27 Bo Ehlin, Rektor, 58 år

Stockholms stad
 0001-03897



LECTURER:

Professor Nigel S. Roberts (for further details see <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/pols/Staff/nroberts.aspx> and <http://www.nigel-roberts.info>).

OFFICE:

MY 533 (in the Murphy annexe).

PHONE:

463-5288.

EMAIL:

Nigel.Roberts88vuw.ac.nz (remember to replace "88" with the @ symbol). **Note:** Emails to Nigel Roberts about POLS 358 *must* have POLS 358 in the subject line; if they don't, they are liable to be deleted as spam.

LECTURE TIMES:

Thursdays, 2:00 to 4:00 pm.

VENUE:

HU 220 (which is on the second floor of the Hunter building).

OFFICE HOURS:

This is a 1st trimester course, and during the first trimester, 2009, my office hours will be Mondays 9:00-9:50 am and Thursdays 9:00-9:50 am. You are also welcome to telephone or email me to arrange an appointment.

COMMUNICATION OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

Whenever it's necessary to do so, additional information about POLS 358 will be posted as announcements on the POLS 358 2009 Blackboard website. *It is essential that all students consult Blackboard regularly, preferably at least once a day.*

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

The course will analyse different types of electoral systems and various ways in which they can be categorised. This is a branch of politics which has seen major changes in recent years — not only in New Zealand (with the introduction of the Mixed Member Proportional, or MMP, electoral system), but also internationally (for example, a large number of states in eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Africa have implemented new voting systems).

By the end of the course, students should have a thorough understanding

- of the criteria by which electoral systems can be assessed;
- of various ways in which electoral systems can be classified;
- of the different dimensions that affect the workings of electoral systems;
- of New Zealand's Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system; and
- of a range of overseas electoral systems — including both long- and newly-established systems.

GRADUATE ATTRIBUTES:

As with all POLS and INTP courses, the aims and objectives of this course contribute to the attainment of specific attributes in the areas of critical thinking, creative thinking, communication and leadership. Please consult the 2009 *Political Science and International Relations Prospectus*, p. 10, for more details. The URL for the *Prospectus* is: <<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/undergrad/publications/Pols-Intpol.pdf>>.

COURSE CONTENT:

An outline of the structure and contents of the course can be found on page 6.

COURSE READINGS:**The textbook for the course is:**

Arend Lijphart, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Note: Three copies of this book will be on closed reserve in the University Library, and one copy will be on three-day reserve.

Other useful texts are:

Report of the Royal Commission on the Electoral System: Towards a Better Democracy (Wellington: Government Printer, 1985).

The Guide to the Electoral Referendum (Wellington: Electoral Referendum Panel, 1992).

The Referendum. The Guide. (Wellington: Electoral Referendum Panel, 1993).

Referendum '93: Media Handbook (Wellington: Electoral Referendum Panel, 1993).

Jonathan Boston, Stephen Levine, Elizabeth McLeay, and Nigel S. Roberts, *New Zealand Under MMP: A New Politics?* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996).

Helena Catt, Paul Harris, and Nigel S. Roberts, *Voter's Choice: Electoral Change in New Zealand?* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1992).

David Farrell, *Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction* (Basingstoke, Hants.: Palgrave, 2001).

Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell, eds., *The politics of Electoral Systems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Dieter Nohlen, Michael Krennerich, and Bernhard Thibaut, eds., *Elections in Africa: A Data Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann, eds., *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook — Volumes I and II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Andrew Reynolds and Ben Reilly, eds., *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design* (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2nd edition, 1997).

Andrew Reynolds, Ben Reilly, and Andrew Ellis, eds., *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook* (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2005).

Rein Taagepera and Matthew Soberg Shugart, *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

Electoral Studies is the pre-eminent journal in its field and is essential reading for the course. Issues are held in the University Library.

Representation is another very useful journal for students of comparative electoral systems. It is often more readable (*i.e.*, less technical) than *Electoral Studies*, and copies are also held in the University Library.

Internet sources:

<http://fruitsandvotes.com/> is Matt Shugart's elections and electoral systems blog-site. Professor Shugart co-authored *Seats and Votes*, a classic in electoral systems literature, so it should come as no surprise that his blog is both exceptionally good and extremely useful.

<http://ElectionResources.org/> is the URL for Manuel Alvarez-Rivera's *Election Resources on the Internet* website and is extremely useful.

<http://www.psr.keele.ac.uk/election.htm> is the URL for Keele University's handy guide to *Elections and electoral systems around the world*.

<http://www.aceproject.org/> is the URL for International IDEA's ACE project about the *Administration and Costs of Elections* and has a lot of information.

<http://www.unc.edu/~asreynol/ballots.html> has a very useful collection of ballot papers from a large number of countries.

Reference staff in the University Library are also happy to show students how to use the Library's computerised data bases and the Reuters news service.

The text book is out of print, and thus cannot be purchased from bookshops in Wellington (which is why I have put **four copies of the text book on reserve** in the VUW Library).

(Students may like to know that Vicbooks is located on the top floor of the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus. Books of Reading are distributed from the Student Notes Shop on the ground floor of the Student Union Building. Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop the day after placing an order online. Opening hours are 8:00 am to 6:00 pm, Monday to Friday during term time [closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays], and 10.00 am to 1.00 pm on Saturday. Phone: 463-5515.)

EXPECTED WORKLOAD:

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 18 hours per week to POLS 358. This includes 2 hours of lectures per week.

ASSESSMENT REQUIREMENTS:

The course will be assessed on the following basis:-

- Two essays: each must be a minimum of 2,000 words in length, and each essay will count for 30% of the overall grade awarded to students.
- There will also be eleven weekly class tests. Students are required to sit a minimum of eight of the eleven class tests — including at least four from each half of the course. Marks from students' two best test scores in the first half of the course and from students' two best test scores in the second half of the course will count for 40% of the overall grade awarded to students.

The purpose of the two essays is to ensure that students develop an accurate and detailed understanding both of the ways in which electoral systems can be compared and of the ways in which key electoral systems function. The aim of the weekly tests is to assess the ability of students to recall, integrate, and use the knowledge they acquire during the course.

Full details of the topics for the essays, and the dates on which they are due, are given on page 7.

Printed copies and electronic copies of your essays must be submitted by their due dates. Extensions will be granted only to those who meet the University's *aegrotat* rules (e.g., students with a medical certificate, a family bereavement, or critical personal circumstances beyond their control). Late essays must be emailed to Professor Roberts; they must also be handed directly either to Professor Roberts or to a Political Science and International Relations Administration Assistant who will record on the essays the date and time they were received.

MANDATORY COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

The mandatory course requirements for POLS 358 are (i) attending at least nine of the POLS 358 seminars; (ii) sitting a minimum of eight of the weekly class tests, including at least four tests from each half of the course (iii) presenting an in-class seminar during the second half of the course; (iv) completing and submitting both the essays for the course; and (v) obtaining at least a D-grade for the overall weekly class tests' mark.

A student who has obtained an overall mark of 50% or more, but failed to satisfy the mandatory requirements for the course, will receive a K grade for the course, while a course mark of less than 50% will result in the appropriate fail grade (D or E).

PENALTIES:

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays – a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY AND PLAGIARISM:

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work. Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification. The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source;
- The work of other students or staff;
- Information from the internet;
- Software programs and other electronic material;
- Designs and ideas;
- The organisation or structuring of any such material.

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website:
<<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>>.

ASSIGNMENT COVER SHEETS:

All Political Science and International Relations Programme assignments must be handed in together with a signed Assignment Cover Sheet, a copy of which is appended to this course outline. Students are required to submit **both hard copies and electronic copies** of all their POLS 358 assignments.

THE USE OF TURNITIN:

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <<http://www.turnitin.com>>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which identifies material that may have been copied from other sources including the Internet, books, journals, periodicals or the work of other students. Turnitin is used to assist academic staff in detecting misreferencing, misquotation, and the inclusion of unattributed material, which may be forms of cheating or plagiarism. At the discretion of the head of School, handwritten work may be copy typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. You are strongly advised to check with your tutor or the course coordinator if you are uncertain about how to use and cite material from other sources. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted materials on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions will not be made available to any other party.

GENERAL UNIVERSITY STATUTES AND POLICIES:

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the Victoria University Calendar or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on <<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>>.

This website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates.

COURSE OUTLINE:

1. INTRODUCTION (5 March 2009)

As well as introducing students to the course and its requirements, this seminar will also consider criteria for assessing electoral systems. See especially *Report of the Royal Commission on the Electoral System: Towards a Better Democracy*, chapter 2.

2. THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ELECTORAL SYSTEMS (12 March to 9 April 2009)

The remaining seminars during the first half of the course will be devoted to assessing various ways in which electoral systems can be classified, as well as to examining key structural variables that affect the outcome of elections.

This section of the course will initially refer to Andrew Reynolds and Ben Reilly, eds., *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design*, and to Andrew Reynolds, Ben Reilly, and Andrew Ellis, eds., *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*; and then draw primarily on the analysis and classifications contained in Arend Lijphart, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*.

On a week-by-week basis, this part of the course will examine:

- The classification of electoral systems. See Andrew Reynolds and Ben Reilly, eds., *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design*, pp. 17-94 and pp. 139-142, and Andrew Reynolds, Ben Reilly, and Andrew Ellis, eds., *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*, pp. 27-126 and pp. 166-173. (12 March 2009)
- Factors which affect the way in which electoral systems function, and different types of electoral systems. See Arend Lijphart, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*, chapters 1 and 2. (See also Rein Taagepera and Matthew Soberg Shugart, *Seats and Votes*, chapters 1 to 6.) (19 and 26 March 2009)
- Assessing the effects on the way electoral systems function of the variables studied on 25 July and 1 August. See Arend Lijphart, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*, chapters 3 to 7. (2 and 9 April 2009)

3. THE STRUCTURE AND OPERATION OF INDIVIDUAL ELECTORAL SYSTEMS (30 April to 4 June 2009)

During the second half of the course, we will examine the structure and workings of specific electoral systems. Each student will lead a seminar discussion describing and analysing the functioning of the electoral system(s) in one country. (The allocation of countries to students will be finalised on 19 March.) Seminar presentations will be *no longer than 20 minutes* per student, and – depending on the number of students taking the course – we will examine roughly four countries' electoral systems during each two-hour seminar.

It is also important to bear in mind that (i) your second essay will stem directly from your seminar presentation — it will describe, analyse and assess the functioning of the electoral system[s] in the country of your choice; and (ii) in the end-of-year examination, there will be a compulsory multiple-choice section devoted to the electoral systems covered in the second half of the course.

Counties that have reasonably recently had elections that are of considerable interest to students of electoral systems include:

Australia (24 November 2007), Belgium (10 June 2007), Canada (14 October 2008), Costa Rica (5 February 2002), Denmark (13 November 2007), Fiji (6 to 13 May 2006), Finland (18 March 2007), France (10 and 17 June 2007), Germany (18 September 2005), Greece (16 September 2007), Hungary (9 and 23 April 2006), Iceland (12 May 2007), India (April-May 2004), Ireland (24 May 2007), Israel (10 February 2009), Italy (13 and 14 April 2008), Japan (11 September 2005), Lesotho (17 February 2007), Malta (8 March 2008), Nepal (12 April 2008), Netherlands (22 November 2006), Norway (12 September 2005), Russia (2 December 2007), Samoa (31 March 2006), Scotland and Wales (3 May 2007), South Africa (14 April 2004), Spain (9 March 2008), Sweden (17 September 2006), Switzerland (21 October 2007), United Kingdom (5 May 2005), United States (4 November 2008), Vanuatu (2 September 2008).

ESSAYS AND TESTS:

As outlined on page 4, you will be required to write two essays for POLS 358, namely:-

- The first essay will be an essay of at least 2,000 words on one of the following topics:
 - (1) (a) Critically assess the utility of the diagram illustrating the classification of “Electoral Systems for Legislative Office” contained in Pippa Norris, “Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian and Mixed Systems”, *International Political Science Review*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1997.
 - (1) (b) Compare and contrast the effects that the Sainte-Laguë, the d’Hondt, the Hare, the Droop, and the Imperiali formulae for allocating seats to political parties would have had on the results of the 2008 New Zealand general election.
 - (1) (c) David Farrell has asked, “Why bother? What is the point of spending time examining electoral systems?” How would you answer Farrell’s questions, and why?

The first essay must be handed in (and, *remember*, you are required to submit **both hard copies and electronic copies** of your POLS 358 assignments) **by no later than 5:00 pm on Friday, 1 May 2009.**

- The second essay will also be at least 2,000 words long and will stem directly from your seminar presentation. It will describe, analyse and assess the functioning of the electoral system(s) in a country of your choice. It will, *inter alia*, use data from the latest lower house elections in the country that you choose to examine.

The second essay must be handed in (and, *remember*, you are required to submit **both hard copies and electronic copies** of your POLS 358 assignments) **by no later than 5:00 pm on Friday, 5 June 2009.**

There will not be an end-of-trimester exam for POLS 358. Instead, as was explained on page 3, there will be eleven weekly class tests. Students are **required to sit a minimum of eight of the eleven class tests — including at least four from each half of the course.** Each test will be worth ten percent, and marks from students’ two best test scores in the first half of the course and from students’ two best test scores in the second half of the course will count for 40% of the overall grade awarded to students.

Nigel S. Roberts
13 January 2009

Page 1 photographs (clockwise from the top left-hand corner):

Voting in the 2007 Australian federal elections; posters advertising the two remaining candidates in one of France’s 577 electoral districts in the second round of the 2007 French parliamentary elections; voting in the 2008 New Zealand parliamentary elections; a 1998 Swedish Conservative Party parliamentary ballot paper; a polling clerk and voters in the 2004 United States federal elections.