

Comparative Parties & Politics

PSC 769—Fall 2019

Department of Political Science
Syracuse University

Tuesday 9:30 am – 12:15 pm
Room: Eggers Hall 152 Geography Library

Professor: Seth Jolly
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Office Hours
Tuesday 3 – 4 pm,
or by appointment
Course website: blackboard.syr.edu

Course Overview

The course provides an overview of concepts and theories employed in the study of political parties in competitive democracies. The course will develop theoretical arguments and employ empirical examples primarily from the literature on party systems in advanced postindustrial democracies. In the first section, we will focus on pure, general theories of parties as coalitions of politicians and party systems as arenas for competition among such coalitions.

In the second part of class, we consider democratic institutions, and more specifically electoral systems and federalism, as rules that constrain and enable politicians to choose strategies. In the third section, we consider societal (political-economic, cultural) conditions as forces impinging upon the nature of competition among parties and internal party organization. In the final part of class, we consider change in both parties and party systems, paying special attention to new forms of linkage between parties and voters, the entry of new parties, and ethnic parties.

Course Expectations and Requirements

Response Papers

Each student will complete two written critiques of the readings, 5 – 6 pages each (or 1250 – 1500 words). Each paper should be distributed to all class members via email by 12:30 pm the Monday before class. These response papers will be the starting point for our discussion each week and the authors are expected to help lead the discussion. To ensure even coverage, we will coordinate response papers during the first session.

I expect the papers to be analytical response papers, not simply restatements of the main arguments. Rather than summaries, you should focus on the strengths and weaknesses of the readings, including addressing any debates between the readings as well as any interesting unanswered research questions raised by the authors. Do not feel obliged to address each article from the week. Rather, you may want to focus on one issue or debate and follow it through several pieces. The supplementary readings provide additional resources for this purpose and you are welcome to incorporate them.

Book Review

In addition, students will write one book review on a work in the Supplementary Readings, 800 – 1200 words. You may propose a book not on the syllabus that is pertinent to the topics of a class section, but each book may be reviewed only once. Similar to the response papers, the better reviews will not simply describe the main argument but focus on evaluating the theory and empirics. Issues to address include: central question(s) and its relevance in the scholarly literature and/or the policy world, the clarity and validity of the theory, and the quality of the key evidence. Book reviews are to be circulated to me and your peers no later than 21 hours before the appropriate class session, i.e., by 12:30 pm on Monday. Book reviews will be distributed on a first-come first-serve basis, so notify me when you select a book.

Discussant

Each student will choose one article from the main readings to discuss. The discussant will present the paper, key findings, and some criticism to jump-start the discussion. In addition, the discussant should explain how the article connects to the literature and, especially, to the week's theme. Beyond presenting and summarizing the paper itself, discussants should provide comments and criticisms similar to the Political Science Research Workshop format. Comments should be between 10 – 20 minutes.

For great tips on being a discussant, see Chris Blattman's "The Discussant's Art" (<https://chrisblattman.com/2010/02/22/the-discussants-art/>)

Either a research design or a mock comprehensive exam

Each student will choose between an original research design or a mock comprehensive exam.

If you choose to write an original research design, the paper will be between 12 – 15 pages (~3,000 – 3,750 words). These papers should look like an empirical journal article or conference paper, with only the actual empirical analysis missing. The papers should include a research question or puzzle, a short review of the relevant literature, theoretical arguments and hypotheses, and a proposed method of researching the question (empirical evidence, methodology, i.e. how you would answer test these hypotheses etc.). Papers can include some preliminary analysis. The papers can focus on any of the literatures or questions discussed in the class.

By October 22nd, each student should prepare a topic statement and submit it for approval. We will discuss these ideas in class to generate constructive feedback and directions for research.

If students choose the research design, during the final class sessions on 12/3, we will have a panel discussion of the papers. Each student will present their paper and serve as a discussant for a colleague's paper. The presentation and discussion will count as 25% of the research design grade. Presentations are expected to be conference-style, meaning 10 – 15 minutes, preferably with presentation software like PowerPoint. To facilitate the discussion, the paper drafts will be circulated no later than the Monday before your presentation by 12:30 pm.

The final paper is due 12/11. Submit it electronically.

Alternatively, students can choose to take a mock comprehensive exam. The exam will have several

questions, from which students will choose two. Students will have 24 hours to complete the open note, open book exam. The exam can be scheduled anytime between 12/3 and 12/11.

Participation

As a graduate seminar, each participant will be expected to attend class and be prepared to discuss the assigned readings. Active student participation is essential to a successful seminar.

Evaluation

Response Papers (2)	20%
Book review	10%
Discussant	10%
Research Paper or exam	40%
Participation	20%

Readings

All students are expected to read all of the Tier 1 readings, and choose from among the Tier 2 readings. Response paper writers should read both Tier 1 and Tier 2 readings for their assigned weeks.

All books will be available for purchase from the Syracuse University bookstore. Readings will be available on-line in blackboard.

Required Books

Adams, James F., Samuel Merrill III, and Bernard Grofman. 2005. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition: A Cross-National Analysis Integrating Spatial and Behavioral Factors*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (ISBN: 0521544939)

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (ISBN: 0521891418)

Chhibber, Pradeep and Ken Kollman. 2004. *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India, and the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (ISBN: 0691119325)

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (ISBN: 0521457157)

Mair, Peter. 1990. *The West European Party System*. New York: Oxford University Press, USA. (ISBN: 0198275838) (abbreviated *WEPS*)

Class Schedule

Session 1: Introductions (27 August)

Session 2: Why Parties? (3 September)

Tier 1 Readings

LaPalombara, Joseph and Myron Weiner. 1990. "The Origin of Political Parties." *WEPS* Ch. 1, 25–31.

Madison, James. 1787. "Federalist #10." *The Federalist Papers*.

Aldrich, John. 1995. *Why Parties?* Chicago: Chicago UP, 3–61 (optional: 241–296).

Hanson, Stephen E. 2010. *Post-Imperial Democracies: Ideology and Party Formation in Third Republic France, Weimar Germany, and Post-Soviet Russia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 3.

Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1984. "On the Theory of Party Organization." *Journal of Politics* 46.2 (May): 369–400.

Tier 2 Readings

Stokes, Susan. 1999. "Political Parties and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 243–267.

Janda, Kenneth. 1993. "Comparative Political Parties: Research and Theory." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*, ed. Ada Finifter. Washington, D.C.: APSA, 163–191.

Supplementary Readings

Daalder, H. 2002. "Parties: Denied, Dismissed, or Redundant? A Critique." In *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*, eds. Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero, and Juan J. Linz. Oxford: Oxford UP, 39–57.

Dalton, Russell J. and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2000. "Unthinkable Democracy: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies." In Dalton and Wattenberg, eds. *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. New York: Oxford UP.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Addison Wesley.

Hinich, Melvin and Michael Munger. 1996. *Ideology and the Theory of Political Choice*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Key, V.O. 1964. *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*. New York: Crowell.

Lenin, V. I. 1902. *What Is to Be Done?* New York: International Publishers.

Session 3: Theories of Party Competition (10 September)

Tier 1 Readings

- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Addison Wesley, Ch. 2.
- Adams, Merrill, and Grofman. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition*.

Tier 2 Readings

- Grofman, Bernard. 2004. "Downs and Two-Party Convergence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7: 25–46.
- Laver, Michael. 2005. "Policy and the Dynamics of Party Competition." *American Political Science Review* 99.2 (May): 263–282.
- Rabinowitz, George, and Stuart Elaine Macdonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Voting." *American Political Science Review* 83: 93–121.

Supplementary Readings

- Bakker, Ryan, Seth Jolly, and Jonathan Polk. 2012. "Complexity in the European Party Space: Exploring Dimensionality with Experts." *European Union Politics* 13.2: 219–45.
- Budge, Ian and Dennis Farlie. 1983. "Party Competition. Selective Emphasis or Direct Confrontation? An Alternative View with Data." In *Western European Party Systems. Continuity and Change*, eds. Hans Daalder and Peter Mair. Beverly Hills: Sage, 267–306.
- Cox, Gary. 1990. "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 34.4: 903–35.
- Fowler, James, and Michael Laver. 2008. "A Tournament of Party Decision Rules." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52.1: 68–92.
- Kollman, Ken, John H. Miller, and Scott E. Page. 1992. "Adaptive Parties in Spatial Elections." *American Political Science Review* 86.4 (December): 929–937.
- Iversen, Torben. 1994. "The Logics of Electoral Politics. Spatial, Directional, and Mobilizational Effects." *Comparative Political Studies* 27: 155–89.
- Merrill, Samuel and Bernard Grofman. 1997. "Directional and Proximity Models of Voter Utility and Choice: A New Synthesis and An Illustrative Test of Competing Models." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 9.1: 25–48.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems. A Frameworks for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schofield, Norman. 1993. "Political Competition and Multiparty Coalition Governments." *European Journal of Political Research* 23: 1–33.

Session 4: Institutions: Electoral Systems & Parties (17 September)

Tier 1 Readings

Chhibber and Kollman. *The Formation of National Party Systems*.

Boix, Carles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 93.3 (September): 609–24.

Kedar, Orit. 2005. "When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections." *American Political Science Review* 99.2: 185–200.

Tier 2 Readings

Folke, Olle, Torsten Persson, and Johanna Rickne. 2016. "The Primary Effect: Preference Votes and Political Promotions." *American Political Science Review* 110.3 (August): 559–578.

Schuessler, Alexander A. 2000. "Expressive Voting." *Rationality and Society* 12.1: 87–119

Morgenstern, Scott and Javier Vázquez-D'Elia. 2007. "Electoral laws, parties, and party systems in Latin America." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 143–168.

Recommended further reading

Cox, Gary W. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press. *eBook available from library.syr.edu*

Supplementary Readings

Boix, Carles. 2007. "The Emergence of Parties and Party Systems." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, eds. Carles Boix and Susan Stokes. New York: Oxford University Press.

Caramani, Daniele. 2004. *The Nationalization of Politics: The Formation of National Electorates and Party Systems in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Clark, William and Matt Golder. 2006. "Rehabilitating Duverger's Theory: Testing the Mechanical and Strategic Modifying Effects of Electoral Laws." *Comparative Political Studies*. 39: 679–708.

Cox, Gary and Matthew McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ezrow, Lawrence. 2010. *Linking Citizens and Parties: How Electoral Systems Matter for Political Representation*. New York: Oxford UP.

Grofman, Bernard and Arend Lijphart, eds. 1986. *Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences*. New York: Agathon Press.

Harmel, Robert and Kenneth Janda. 1982. *Parties and Their Environment*. New York: Longman.

Iversen, Torben. 1994. "Political Leadership and Representation in Western European Democracies: A Test of the Three Models of Voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 46–74.

- Katz, Richard. 1980. *A Theory of Party and Electoral Systems*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1994. *Electoral and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945–1990*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Linz, Juan. 1994. “Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does It Make a Difference?” In *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*, eds. Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 3–87.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1991. “Politicians, Parties, and Electoral Systems. Brazil in Comparative Perspective.” *Comparative Politics* 24.1 (October): 21–43.
- Morgenstern, Scott, Stephen M. Swindle, and Andrea Castagnola. 2009. “Party Nationalization and Institutions.” *Journal of Politics*. 71.4: 1322–1341.
- Moser, Robert. 1999. “Electoral Systems and the Number of Parties in Postcommunist States.” *World Politics* 51.3: 359–384.
- Müller, Wolfgang C. 1993. “The Relevance of the State for Party System Change.” *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 5.4: 419–454.
- Neto, Octavio and Gary Cox. 1997. “Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures and the Number of Parties.” *American Journal of Political Science* 41.1: 149–174.
- O’Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. “Delegative Democracy.” *Journal of Democracy* 5: 55–69.
- Ordeshook, Peter C. 1995. “Institutions and Incentives.” *Journal of Democracy* 6.2 (April): 46–60.
- Ordeshook, Peter and Olga Shvetsova. 1994. “Ethnic Heterogeneity, District Magnitude, and the Number of Parties.” *American Journal of Political Science* 38.1 (February): 100–123.
- Powell, G. Bingham. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg and John M. Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies. Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, esp. chs. 1–2 and 9–11.
- Shugart, Matthew S. 1995. “The Electoral Cycle and Institutional Sources of Divided Government.” *American Political Science Review* 89.2: 327–343.
- Shugart, Matthew S. and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2001. *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Singer, Matthew M., and Laura B. Stephenson. 2009. “The Political Context and Duverger’s Theory: Evidence at the District Level.” *Electoral Studies* 28.3: 480–91.
- Taagepera, Rein and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1989. *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. New Haven: Yale University Press, esp. 61–156.
- Taagepera, Rein and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1993. “Predicting the Number of Parties: A Quantitative Model of Duverger’s Mechanical Effect.” *American Political Science Review* 87.2 (June): 455–464.
- Taagepera, Rein. 2007. *Predicting Party Sizes: The Logic of Simple Electoral Systems*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Session 5: Cleavages and Party Competition (24 September)

Tier 1 Readings

- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments." *WEPS* Ch. 9, 91–138.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2017. "Cleavage theory meets Europe's crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the transnational cleavage." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25.1: 109–135.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1968. "The Sociology of Parties: A Critical Review." *WEPS* Ch. 11, 150–182.
- Meyer, Thomas M. and Markus Wagner. 2013. "Mainstream or Niche? Vote-Seeking Incentives and the Programmatic Strategies of Political Parties." *Comparative Political Studies* 46.10: 1246–1272.

Read an article on one of the regions

Post-Communist Eastern Europe

- Tavits, Margit, and Natalia Letki. 2014. "From Values to Interests? The Evolution of Party Competition in New Democracies." *The Journal of Politics* 76.1: 246–58.

Latin America

- Lupu, Noam. 2014. "Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America." *World Politics* 66.4: 561–602.

Tier 2 Readings

- Daalder, Hans. 1966. "The 'Reach' of the Party System." *WEPS* Ch. 8, 78–90.
- Chhibber, Pradeep and M. Torcal. 1997. "Elite Strategy, Social Cleavages, and Party Systems in New Democracies: Spain." *Comparative Political Studies* 30.1: 27–54.
- Mair, Peter. 1996. "Party Systems and Structures of Competition." In *Comparing Democracies*, eds. Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, and Pippa Norris. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 83–106.

Supplementary Readings

- Bartolini, Stefano and Peter Mair. 1990. *Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Benoit, Kenneth and Michael Laver. 2012. "The Dimensionality of Political Space: Epistemological and Methodological considerations." *European Union Politics* 13.2: 194–218.
- Best, Robin E. 2011. "The Declining Electoral Relevance of Traditional Cleavage Groups." *European Political Science Review* 3.2: 279–300.
- Carreras, Miguel, Scott Morgenstern and Yen-Pin Su. 2015. "Refining the Theory of Party Alignments. Evidence from Latin America." *Party Politics* 21.5: 671–685.

- Chhibber, Pradeep and John Petrocik. 1989. "The Puzzle of Indian Politics: Social Cleavages and the Indian Party System." *British Journal of Political Science* 19: 191–210.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chs. 7 – 8.
- Gidron, Noam and Daniel Ziblatt. 2019. "Center-Right Political Parties in Advanced Democracies." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (May): 17–35.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1989. *The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell UP.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1995. "The Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies. Theoretical Propositions." *Party Politics* 1: 447–72.
- Kitschelt, Herbert and Philipp Rehm. 2014. "Occupations as a Site for Political Preference Formation." *Comparative Political Studies*. 47.12: 1670–1707.
- Neumann, Sigmund. 1956. "The Party of Democratic Integration." *WEPS* Ch. 4, 46–49.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1989. *Commerce and Coalitions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rokkan, Stein. 1977. "Toward a Generalized Concept of *Verzuiling*." *WEPS* Ch. 10, 139–149
- Rovny, Jan. 2014. "Communism, Federalism, and Ethnic Minorities. Exploring Party Competition Patterns in Eastern Europe." *World Politics* 66.4: 669–708.
- Whitefield, Stephen. 2002. "Political Cleavages and Post-Communist Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5: 181–200.
- Wittenberg, Jason. 2006. *Sustaining Political Loyalties: Religion and Electoral Continuity in Hungary and Beyond*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Introduction and Ch. 2.
- Zielinski, Jakub. 2002. "Translating Social Cleavages into Party Systems: The Significance of New Democracies." *World Politics* 54: 184–211.

Session 6: Parties as Organizations (1 October)

Tier 1 Readings

- Strøm, Kaare. 1990. "A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 34.2 (May): 565–598.
- Miller, Gary and Norman Schofield. 2003. "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 97.2: 245–260.
- Kitschelt. *The Transformation of Social Democracy*, Ch. 5.
- Tavits, Margit. 2012. "Organizing for Success: Party Organizational Strength and Electoral Performance in Postcommunist Europe." *The Journal of Politics* 74.1: 83–97.

Tier 2 Readings

- Robertson, David. 1976. "A Predictive Theory of Competitive Democracy." In *A Theory of Party Competition*. New York: Wiley, 23–53.
- Dinas, Elias, Vassiliki Georgiadou, Iannis Konstantinidis, and Lamprini Rori. 2016. "From dusk to dawn: Local party organization and party success of right-wing extremism." *Party Politics* 22.1: 80–92.
- Mair, Peter and Cas Mudde. 1998. "The Party Family and its Study." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 211–229.

Supplementary Readings

- Aldrich, John. 1983. "A Downsian Spatial Model with Party Activists." *American Political Science Review*, 77.4: 765–791.
- Desposato, Scott W. 2006. "Parties for Rent? Ambition, Ideology and Party Switching in Brazil's Chamber of Deputies." *American Journal of Political Science* 50: 62–80.
- Duverger, Maurice. 1954. *Political Parties*. London: Methuen.
- Epstein, Leon D. 1967. *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. New York: Praeger.
- Janda, Kenneth and Desmond S. King. 1985. "Formalizing and Testing Duverger's Theories on Political Parties." *Comparative Political Studies* 18.2: 139–169.
- Kam, Christopher, William T. Bianco, Itai Sened, and Regina Smyth. 2010. "Ministerial Selection and Intraparty Organization in the Contemporary British Parliament." *American Political Science Review* 104.2 (May): 289–306.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1989. "The Internal Politics of Parties: The Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited." *Political Studies* 37.3: 400–21.
- Michels, Robert. 1962. *Political Parties*. New York: Free Press.
- Panbianco, Angelo. 1988. *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. New York: Cambridge

University Press, esp. Chs. 1–4.

Tavits, Margit. 2013. *Post-Communist Democracies and Party Organization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thorlakson, Lori. 2009. “Patterns of Party Integration, Influence and Autonomy in Seven Federations.” *Party Politics* 15.2: 157–77.

Tsebelis, George. 1990. *Nested Games*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Ware, Alan. 1996. *Political Parties and Party Systems*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Session 7: Strategic Politicians (8 October)

Tier 1 Readings

- Przeworski, Adam. 1985. *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 3.
- Kitschelt. *The Transformation of Social Democracy*, Chs. 1, 2 and 4.
- Hobolt, Sara B. and Catherine E. de Vries. 2015. "Issue Entrepreneurship and Multiparty Competition." *Comparative Political Studies*. 48.9: 1159–1185.
- Rovny, Jan. 2012. "Who Emphasizes and Who Blurs? Party Strategies in Multidimensional Competition." *European Union Politics*. 13.2: 269–292

Tier 2 Readings

- Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Markus Wagner. 2019. "The Electoral Appeal of Party Strategies in Postindustrial Societies: When Can the Mainstream Left Succeed?" *Journal of Politics*.
- Cox. *Making Votes Count*, Ch. 8. eBook available from library.syr.edu
- Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Political Science Review* 40: 825–850.

Supplementary Readings

- Bartolini, Stefano. *The Class Cleavage. The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860–1980*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Böhmelt, Tobias, Lawrence Ezrow, Roni Lehrer, and Hugh Ward. "Party Policy Diffusion." *American Political Science Review* 110.2: 397–410.
- Greene, Kenneth. 2009. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Greene, Kenneth. 2010. "The Political Economy of Single-Party Dominance." *Comparative Political Studies* 43.9: 1–27.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1995. *The Radical Right in Western Europe*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.
- Laver, Michael. 1998. "Models of Government Formation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 1–15.
- Laver, Michael. 2003 "Government Termination." *Annual Review of Political Science* 6 (June): 23–40.
- Laver, Michael and Norman Schofield. 1998 [1990]. *Multiparty Government: The Politics of*

- Coalitions in Europe*. 2nd ed. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Müller, Wolfgang C. and Kaare Strøm, eds. 1999. *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam and John Sprague. 1986. *Paper Stones*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, Kenneth. 2002. "Social Inequalities Without Class Cleavages in Latin America's Neoliberal Era." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36.4: 3–33.
- Strøm, Kaare, Ian Budge, and Michael J. Laver. 1994. "Constraints on Cabinet Formation in Parliamentary Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 38.2 (May): 303–335.
- Warwick, Paul. 1992. "Ideological Diversity and Government Survival in Western European Parliamentary Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 25.3 (October): 332–361.

Session 8: Clientelistic Linkages Between Parties and Voters (15 October)

Tier 1 Readings

- Kitschelt, Herbert and Steve Wilkinson, eds. 2007. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Introduction.
- Stokes, Susan. 2005. "Perverse Accountability. A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina." *American Political Science Review* 99.3: 315–325.
- Hidalgo, F. Daniel and Simeon Nichter. 2016. "Voter Buying: Shaping the Electorate through Clientelism." *American Journal of Political Science* 60.2 (April): 436–455.
- Holland, Alisha C. and Brian Palmer-Rubin. 2015. "Beyond the Machine: Clientelist Brokers and Interest Organizations in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 48.9: 1186–1223.
- Thachil, Tariq. 2014. "Elite Parties and Poor Voters: Theory and Evidence from India." *American Political Science Review* 108.2: 454–477.

Tier 2 Readings

- Chang, Eric C. C. 2005. "Electoral Incentives for Political Corruption under Open-List Proportional Representation." *The Journal of Politics* 67.3 (August): 716–730.
- Samuels, David. J. 1999. "Incentives to Cultivate a Party Vote in Candidate-Centric Electoral Systems: Evidence from Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 32.4 (June): 487–518.
- Novaes, Lucas. 2018. "Disloyal Brokers and Weak Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 62.1: 84–98.

Supplementary Readings

- Ames, Barry. 1995. "Electoral Strategy under Open-List Proportional Representation." *American Journal of Political Studies* 39.2: 406–33.
- Brusco, Valeria, Marcelo Nazareno and Susan C. Stokes. 2004. "Vote Buying in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* 39.2: 66–88.
- Budge, Ian. 1994. "A New Spatial Theory of Party Competition: Uncertainty, Ideology and Policy Equilibria Viewed Comparatively and Temporally." *British Journal of Political Science* 24.4: 443–467.
- Cain, Bruce, John Ferejohn and Morris Fiorina. 1987. *The Personal Vote*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Cain, Bruce E., John A. Ferejohn, Morris P. Fiorina. 1984. "The Constituency Service Basis of the Personal Vote for U.S. Representatives and British Members of Parliament." *American Political Science Review* 78.1 (March): 110–125.
- Carey, John M. and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14.4: 417–39.

- Desposato, Scott W. 2006. "Parties for Rent? Ambition, Ideology and Party Switching in Brazil's Chamber of Deputies."
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. and Luis Roniger. 1984. *Patrons, Clients and Friends. Interpersonal Relations and the Structures of Trust in Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gans-Morse, Jordan, Sebastian Mazzuca, and Simeon Nichter. 2014. "Varieties of Clientelism: Machine Politics during Elections." *American Political Science Review* 58.2: 415–432.
- Iversen, Torben. 1994. "The Logics of Electoral Politics: Spatial, Directional, and Mobilizational Effects." *Comparative Political Studies*. 27: 155–189.
- Kang, David. 2002. *Crony Capitalism. Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines*. New York: Cambridge University Press, esp. Chs. 1 & 7.
- Kedar, Orit. 2009. *Voting for Policy, Not Parties: How Voters Compensate for Power Sharing*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert and Steve Wilkinson, eds. 2007. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kuenzi, Michelle and Gina Lambright. 2005. "Party Systems and Democratic Consolidation in Africa's Electoral Regimes." *Party Politics* 11.4: 423–446.
- Levitsky, Steven R. and Lucan A. Way. 2012. "Beyond Patronage: Violent Struggle, Ruling Party Cohesion, and Authoritarian Durability." *Perspectives on Politics* 10.4 (December): 869–889.
- Lewis, Jeffrey B. and Gary King. 2000. "No Evidence on Directional vs. Proximity Voting." *Political Analysis* 8.1: 21–33.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael and Mary Stegmaier. 2000. "Economic Determinants of Electoral Outcomes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 183–219.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1999. *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully, eds. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Nichter, Simeon. 2008. "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and Secret Ballots." *American Political Science Review* 102.1: 19–31.
- Piattoni, Simona, ed. 2001. *Clientelism, Interests, and Democratic Representation. The European Experience In Historical and Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
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- Schaffer, Joby and Baker, Andy. 2015. "Clientelism as Persuasion-Buying Evidence From Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies*. 48.9: 1093–1126.
- Shefter, Martin. 1994. *Political Parties and the State. The American Historical Experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Tavits, Margit. 2007. "Principle vs. Pragmatism: Policy Shifts and Political Competition." *American Journal of Political Science* 51.1: 151–65.

Session 9: Party & Party System Change (22 October)

Required Readings

- Rose, Richard and Derek W. Unwin. 1970. "Persistence and Change in Western Party Systems, 1945–1969." *WEPS* Ch. 12, 185–194.
- Mair, Peter. 1983. "Parameters of Change." *WEPS* Ch. 14, 208–217.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. "The Nature of Value Change." *WEPS* Ch. 17, 247–252.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1987. "From Class-Based to Value-Based Politics." *WEPS* Ch. 19, 266–282.
- Duverger, Maurice. 1954. "Caucus and Branch, Cadre Parties and Mass Parties." *WEPS* Ch. 3, 37–45.
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair. 1995. "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party." *Party Politics* 1.1: 5–18.
- Recommended:* Response to Katz and Mair by Ruud Koole. 1996. "Cadre, Catch-All or Cartel?" *Party Politics* 2.4: 507–523.
- Flanagan, Scott C. and Russell J. Dalton. 1984. "Models of Change." *WEPS* Ch. 16, 232–246.

Tier 2 Readings

- Pedersen, Mogens N. 1979. "Electoral Volatility in Western Europe, 1948–1977." *WEPS* Ch. 13, 195–207.
- Mair, Peter. 1997. "Myths of Electoral Change and the Survival of the 'Old' Parties." In *Party System Change. Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford: Oxford, University Press, 76–91.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1981. "Dimensions of Ideology in European Party Systems." *WEPS* Ch. 18, 253–265.
- Kirchheimer, Otto. 1966. "The Catch-All Party." *WEPS* Ch. 5, 50–60.
- Wolinetz, Steven B. 1979. "The Transformation of Western European Party Systems." *WEPS* Ch. 15, 218–231.
- Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2004. "Understanding Change and Stability in Party Ideologies: Do Parties Respond to Public Opinion or to Past Election Results?" *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 589–610.

Supplementary Readings

- Dalton, Russell, Ian McAllister and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2002. "The Consequences of Partisan Dealignment." In *Parties without Partisans*, eds. Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Harmel, Robert and Kenneth Janda. 1994. "An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 6.2: 259–87.

- Jalali, Carlos, Patrícia Silva, and Sandra Silva. 2012. "Givers and Takers: Parties, State Resources and Civil Society in Portugal." *Party Politics* 18.1 (January): 61–80.
- Katz, Richard S. et al. 1992. "The Membership of Political Parties in European Democracies, 1960–1990." *European Journal of Political Research* 22: 329–45.
- Katz, Richard and Peter Mair, eds. 1994. *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organization in Western Democracies*. London: Sage.
- Katz, Richard and Peter Mair. 2009. "The Cartel Party Thesis: A Restatement." *Perspectives on Politics* 7.4: 753–766.
- Kitschelt. *The Transformation of Social Democracy*, Ch. 7.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Citizens, Politicians, and Party Cartellization. Political Representation and State Failure in Post-industrial Democracies." *European Journal of Political Research* 37.2: 149–179.
- Lawson, Kay, ed. 1994. *How Political Parties Work*. London: Praeger.
- Mayhew, David. 2000. "Electoral Realignment." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 449–474.
- Rohrschneider, Robert. 1994. "How Iron is the Iron Law of Oligarchy?" *European Journal of Political Research* 25.2: 207–38.
- Verge, Tània. 2012. "Party Strategies towards Civil Society in New Democracies: The Spanish Case." *Party Politics* 18.1 (January): 45–60.

Session 10: Behavioral Approaches and Responsiveness (29 October)

Tier 1 Readings

- Adams, James. 2012. "Causes and Electoral Consequences of Party Policy Shifts in Multi-party Elections: Theoretical Results and Empirical Evidence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 401–19.
- Bakker, Ryan, Seth Jolly, and Jonathan Polk. N.d. "Multidimensional Incongruence, Political Disaffection, and Support for Anti-Establishment Parties." Forthcoming at *Journal of European Public Policy*.
- de Vries, Catherine and Sara B. Hobolt. 2012. "When Dimensions Collide: The Electoral Success of Issue Entrepreneurs." *European Union Politics* 13.2: 246–68.
- Klüver, Heike and Spoon, Jae-Jae. 2016. "Who Responds? Voters, Parties and Issue Attention." *British Journal of Political Science* 46.3: 633–654.
- Somer-Topcu, Zeynep. 2015. "Everything to Everyone: The Electoral Consequence of the Broad Appeal Strategy in Europe." *American Journal of Political Science*. 59.4: 841–854.

Tier 2 Readings

- Adams, James, Lawrence Ezrow and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2011. "Is Anybody Listening? Evidence that Voters Do Not Respond to European Parties' Policy Programmes." *American Journal of Political Science* 5: 370–382.
- Ezrow, Lawrence and Timothy Hellwig. 2014. "Responding to Voters or Responding to Markets? Political Parties and Public Opinion in an Era of Globalization." *International Studies Quarterly* 58.4: 816–827. Also, see associated *Monkey Cage* article: wapo.st/2HrLE8m.
- Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Werner Krause. 2018. "The Causal Effect of Radical Right Success on Mainstream Parties' Policy Positions: A Regression Discontinuity Approach." First View at *British Journal of Political Science*.

For more on measurement issues

- Bakker, Ryan, Seth Jolly, Jonathan Polk, and Keith Poole. 2014. "The European Common Space: Extending the Use of Anchoring Vignettes." *The Journal of Politics* 76.4 (October): 1089–1101.
- Benoit, Kenneth, and Michael Laver. 2007. "Estimating Party Policy Positions: Comparing Expert Surveys and Hand-Coded Content Analysis." *Electoral Studies* 26.1: 90–107.
- Budge, Ian. 2000. "Expert Judgments of Party Positions. Uses and Limitations in Political Research." *European Journal of Political Research* 37.1: 103–13.
- Mölder, Martin. 2016. "The Validity of the RILE Left-Right Index as a Measure of Party Policy." *Party Politics* 22.1: 37–48.
- Volkens, Andrea. 2007. "Strengths and Weaknesses of Approaches to Measuring Policy Positions of Parties." *Electoral Studies* 26.1: 108–120.

Supplementary Readings

- Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2004. "Understanding Change and Stability in Party Ideologies: Do Parties Respond to Public Opinion or Past Election Results?" *British Journal of Political Science* 34.4: 589–610.
- Adams, James and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2009. "Policy Adjustment by Parties in Response to Rival Parties' Policy Shifts: Spatial Theory and the Dynamics of Party Competition in Twenty-Five Post-War Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 39.4: 825–46.
- Arnold, Christine and Mark N. Franklin. 2012. "Introduction: Issue Congruence and Political Responsiveness." *West European Politics* 35.6: 1217–1225.
- Arnold, Christine, Elyahu V. Sapir and Catherine de Vries. 2012. "Parties' Positions on European Integration: Issue Congruence, Ideology or Context?." *West European Politics* 35.6: 1341–1362.
- Bakker, Ryan, Catherine de Vries, Erica Edwards, Liesbet Hooghe, Seth Jolly, Gary Marks, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, and Milada Vachudova. 2015. "Measuring Party Positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File, 1999–2010." *Party Politics* 21.1: 143–152.
- Bakker, Ryan, Erica Edwards, Seth Jolly, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny and Marco Steenbergen. 2014. "Anchoring the Experts: Using Vignettes to Compare Party Ideology across Countries." *Research & Politics* October-December: 1–8.
- Bakker, Ryan, Seth Jolly, and Jonathan Polk. 2018. "Multidimensional Incongruence and Vote Switching in Europe." *Public Choice* 176.1–2: 267–296.
- Costello, Rory, Jacques Thomassen and Martin Rosema. 2012. "European Parliament Elections and Political Representation: Policy Congruence between Voters and Parties." *West European Politics* 35.6: 1226–1248.
- De Sio, Lorenzo and Mark N. Franklin. 2012. "Strategic Incentives, Issue Proximity and Party Support in Europe." *West European Politics* 35.6: 1363–1385.
- Ezrow, Lawrence. 2010. *Linking Citizens and Parties: How Electoral Systems Matter for Political Representation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fernandez-Vazquez, Pablo. 2014. "And Yet It Moves: The Effect of Election Platforms on Party Policy Images." *Comparative Political Studies* 47.4: 1919–44.
- Hakhverdian, Armen. 2012. "The Causal Flow between Public Opinion and Policy: Government Responsiveness, Leadership, or Counter Movement?." *West European Politics* 35.6: 1386–1406.
- Lehrer, Ron. 2012. "Intra-Party Democracy and Party Responsiveness." *West European Politics* 35.6: 1295–1319.
- Louwse, Tom. 2012. "Mechanisms of Issue Congruence: The Democratic Party Mandate." *West European Politics* 35.6: 1249–1271.
- Rohrschneider, Robert, and Stephen Whitefield. 2012. *The Strain of Representation: How Parties Represent Diverse Voters in Western and Eastern Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rohrschneider, Robert and Stephen Whitefield. 2012. "Institutional Context and Representational

- Strain in Party-Voter Agreement in Western and Eastern Europe.” *West European Politics* 35.6: 1320–1340.
- Somer-Topcu, Zeynep. 2009. “Timely Decisions: The Effects of Past National Elections on Party Policy Change.” *Journal of Politics* 71.1: 238–48.
- Soroka, Stuart N., and Christopher Wlezien. 2010. *Degrees of Democracy: Politics, Public Opinion, and Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomassen, Jacques. 2014. *Elections and Democracy: Representation and Accountability*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Volkens, Hans-Dieter Klingemann Andrea, Judith Bara, Ian Budge, and Michael McDonald. 2006. *Mapping Policy Preferences II. Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments in Eastern Europe, European Union and OECD 1990–2003*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wagner, Markus. 2012. “When Do Parties Emphasize Extreme Positions How Strategic Incentives for Policy Differentiation Influence Issue Importance.” *European Journal of Political Research* 51.1: 64–88.
- Wlezien, Christopher and Stuart N. Soroka. 2012. “Political Institutions and the Opinion-Policy Link.” *West European Politics* 35.6: 1407–1432.

Session 11: Women in Party Politics (5 November)

Tier 1 Readings

- Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2010. "If Only They'd Ask: Gender, Recruitment, and Political Ambition." *Journal of Politics* 72.2: 310–326.
- Kanthak, Kristin and Jonathan Woon. 2015. "Women don't run? Election aversion and candidate entry." *American Journal of Political Science* 59.3: 595–612.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. 1999. "Women's representation in parliament: The role of political parties." *Party Politics* 5.1: 79–98.
- Krook, Mona L. and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2012. "All the President's Men? The Appointment of Female Cabinet Ministers Worldwide." *Journal of Politics* 74.3: 840–855.
- O'Brien, Diana Z. 2015. "Rising to the top: Gender, political performance, and party leadership in parliamentary democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 59.4: 1022–1039.

Tier 2 Readings

- Aldrich, Andrea S. 2018. "Party organization and gender in European elections." *Party Politics first view*.
- Barnes, Tiffany D. and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2018. "Defending the realm: The appointment of female defense ministers worldwide." *American Journal of Political Science* 62.2: 355–368.
- Homola, Jonathan. 2019. "Are Parties Equally Responsive to Women and Men?" *British Journal of Political Science* 49.3: 957–975.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. "Political parties and the adoption of candidate gender quotas: A cross-national analysis." *Journal of Politics* 63.4: 1214–1229.
- Hayes, Danny and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2015. "A non-gendered lens? Media, voters, and female candidates in contemporary congressional elections." *Perspectives on Politics* 13.1: 95–118.
- Thomsen, Danielle. 2015. "Why so few (Republican) women? Explaining the partisan imbalance of women in the US Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 40.2: 295–323.

Supplementary Readings

- Aldrich, Andrea S. and William T. Daniel. 2019. "The Consequences of Quotas: Assessing the Effect of Varied Gender Quotas on Legislator Experience in the European Parliament." *Politics & Gender first view*.
- Andersen, Kristi. 1996. *After Suffrage: Women in Partisan and Electoral Politics Before the New Deal*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Barnes, Tiffany D. 2016. "Gendering legislative behavior." Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barnes, Tiffany D. and Stephanie M. Burchard. 2013. "Engendering politics: The impact of

- descriptive representation on women's political engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 46.7: 767–790.
- Campbell, David E. and Christina Wolbrecht. 2006. "See Jane run: Women politicians as role models for adolescents." *Journal of Politics* 68.2: 233-247.
- Cassese, Erin C. and Mirya R. Holman. 2018. "Party and gender stereotypes in campaign attacks." *Political Behavior* 40.3: 785–807.
- Crowder-Meyer, Melody, Shana Kushner Gadarian, and Jessica Trounstine. 2015. "Electoral institutions, gender stereotypes, and women's local representation." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 3.2: 318–334.
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2018. *Voting for women: How the public evaluates women candidates*. New York: Routledge.
- Hayes, Danny and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2016. *Women on the Run: Gender, Media, and Political Campaigns in a Polarized Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2006. *Challenging parties, changing parliaments: Women and elected office in contemporary Western Europe*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- Krook, Mona L. 2010. *Quotas for women in politics: Gender and candidate selection reform worldwide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Krook, Mona L. and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2010. "The politics of group representation: Quotas for women and minorities worldwide." *Comparative Politics* 42.3: 253–272.
- Lawless, Jennifer L. and Richard L. Fox. 2010. *It Still Takes A Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McRae, Elizabeth Gillespie. 2018. *Mothers of Massive Resistance: White Women and the Politics of White Supremacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, Andrew, Jason Seawright, and Jennifer Cyr. 2012. "Do Electoral Laws Affect Women's Representation? *Comparative Political Studies*." 46.12: 1555–1581.
- Wolbrecht, Christina. 2000. *The politics of women's rights: Parties, positions, and change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Schneider, Monica C., Mirya R. Holman, Amanda B. Diekman, and Thomas McAndrew. 2016. "Power, conflict, and community: How gendered views of political power influence women's political ambition." *Political Psychology* 37.4: 515–531.
- Wolbrecht, Christina and David E. Campbell. 2007. "Leading by example: Female members of parliament as political role models." *American Journal of Political Science* 51.4: 921–939.

Session 12: New Parties (12 November)

Tier 1 Readings

- Hug, Simon. 1996. "The Emergence of New Political Parties from a Game-theoretic Perspective." *European Journal of Political Research* 29.2: 169–90.
- Tavits, Margit. 2006. "Party System Change: Testing a Model of New Party Entry." *Party Politics* 12.1: 99–119.
- Spoon, Jae-Jae. 2011. *Political Survival of Small Parties in Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, Chs. 1–2.
- Meguid, Bonnie. 2005. "Competition between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy and Niche Party Success." *American Political Science Review* 99.3: 347–60.
- Jolly, Seth. 2015. "Regionalist Party Success." In *The European Union and the Rise of Regionalist Parties*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, Ch.3, 54–86.

Tier 2 Readings

- Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2006. "Are Niche Parties Fundamentally Different from Mainstream Parties? The Causes and the Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976–1998." *American Journal of Political Science* 50.3: 513–529.
- Rydgren, Jens. 2005. "Is Extreme Right-Wing Populism Contagious? Explaining the Emergence of a New Party Family." *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 413–37.
- Guth, James L. and Brent F. Nelsen. 2019. "Party choice in Europe: Social cleavages and the rise of populist parties." *Party Politics* 21.1: 1–12.

Supplementary Readings

- Abou-Chadi, Tarik. 2016. "Niche Party Success and Mainstream Party Policy Shifts—How Green and Radical Right Parties Differ in Their Impact." *British Journal of Political Science*. 46.2: 417–436.
- Adams, James, Lawrence Ezrow and Debra Leiter. 2012. "Partisan Sorting and Niche Parties in Europe." *West European Politics* 35.6: 1272–1294.
- Ferrara, Federico and Erik S. Herron. 2005. "Going It Alone? Strategic Entry under Mixed Electoral Rules." *American Journal of Political Science* 49.1 (January): 16–31.
- Harmel, Robert and John D. Robertson. 1984. "Formation and Success of New Parties. A Cross-National Analysis." *International Political Science Review* 6: 501–23.
- Haus, Charles and David Rayside. 1978. "The Development of New Parties in Western Democracies since 1945." In *Political Parties. Development and Decay*, eds. L. Maisel and J. Cooper. Beverly Hills: Sage.

- Hug, Simon. 2001. *Altering Party Systems. Strategic Behavior and the Emergence of New Political Parties in Western Democracies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1989. *The Logics of Party Formation. Ecology Parties in Belgium and Germany*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Laver, Michael and Michel Schilperoord. 2007. "Spatial Models of Political Competition with Endogenous Political Parties." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* 362: 1711–21.
- Meguid, Bonnie. 2008. *Party Competition between Unequals: Strategies and Electoral Fortunes in Western Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenstone, Steven J., Roy L. Behr and Edward H. Lazarus. 1984. *Third Parties in America*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Rüdiger, Wolfgang. 1990. "Explaining Green Party Development. Reflections on a Theoretical Framework." Glasgow, Scotland: Strathclyde Papers on Government and Politics, No. 71.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. and Ronald N. Cohen. 1990. "Multiparty Competition, Entry, and Entry Deterrence in Spatial Models of Election." In *Advances in the Spatial Theory of Voting*, eds. James M. Enelow and Melvin J. Hinich. New York: Cambridge University Press, 12–45.

Supplementary Readings for Radical Right Parties

- Bustikova, Lenka. 2014. "Revenge of the Radical Right." *Comparative Political Studies* 47.12: 1738–1765.
- Carter, Elisabeth. 2005. *The Extreme Right in Western Europe. Success or Failure?* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Cole, Alexandra. 2005. "Old Right or New Right? The Ideological Positioning of Parties of the Far Right." *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 203–30.
- Gidengil, Elisabeth, Matthew Hinnigar, Andre Blais and Neil Nevitte. 2005. "Explaining the Gender Gap in Support for the New Right. The Case of Canada." *Comparative Political Studies* 38: 1171–95.
- Givens, Terri E. 2005. "The Radical Right Gender Gap." *Comparative Political Studies* 37: 30–54.
- Givens, Terri E. 2005. *Voting Radical Right in Western Europe*. New York: Cambridge UP.
- Golder, Matt. 2003. "Explaining Variation in the Success of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 36.4: 432–466.
- Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth. 2005. "The Vulnerable Populist Right Parties: No Economic Realignment Fuelling Their Electoral Success." *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 465–492.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1995. *The Radical Right in Western Europe*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Press.
- Lubbers, M., M. Gijsberts and P. Scheepers. 2002. "Extreme Right-Wing Voting in Western Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 41: 345–78.
- Mudde, Cas. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. New York: Cambridge UP.
- Norris, Pippa. 2005. *Radical Right. Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press.

- Rovny, Jan. 2013. "Where Do Radical Right Parties Stand? Position Blurring in Multidimensional Competition." *European Political Science Review* 5.1: 1–26.
- Swank, Duane and Hans-Georg Betz. 2003. "Globalization, the Welfare State and Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe." *Socio-Economic Review* 1: 215–45.
- Veugelers, John and Andre Magnan. 2005. "Conditions of Far-Right Strength in Contemporary Western Europe: An Application of Kitschelt's Theory." *European Journal of Political Research* 44.6: 837–60.

Session 13: Ethnic Parties (19 November)

Tier 1 Readings

- Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee and Roberta Rice. 2006. "The Emergence and Performance of Indigenous Peoples' Parties in South America: A Subnational Statistical Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies*. 39.6: 709–32.

Recommended further reading on European parties and Muslim inclusion

- Adida, Claire L., David D. Laitin, and Marie-Anne Valfort. 2016. *Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Dancygier, Rafaela. 2017. *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Supplementary Readings

- Chandra, Kanchan. 2011. "What is an Ethnic Party?" *Party Politics* 17.2: 151–169.
- de Winter, Lieven and Huri Türsan, eds. 1998. *Regionalist Parties in Western Europe*. Routledge.
- Heller, William B. 2002. "Regional Parties and National Politics in Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 35.6: 657–685.
- Horowitz, Donald L. 2000 [1985]. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Htun, Mala. 2004. "Is Gender Like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2.
- Huber, John D. and Pavithra Suryanarayan. 2016. "Ethnic Inequality and the Ethnification of Political Parties." *World Politics* 68.1: 149–188.
- Ishiyama, John and Marijke Breuning. 2011. "What's in a Name? Ethnic Party Identity and Democratic Development in Post-Communist Politics." *Party Politics* 17.2: 223–241.
- Jolly, Seth. 2015. *The European Union and the Rise of Regionalist Parties*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Madrid, Raul L. 2005. "Indigenous Parties and Democracy in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society*. 47.4: 161–179.
- Rice, Roberta. 2011. "From the Ground Up: The Challenge of Indigenous Party Consolidation in Latin America." *Party Politics* 17.2: 171–188.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2003. "Institutional Change and Ethnic Parties in South America." *Latin American Politics and Society*. 45.2: 1–39.

Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2005. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wilkinson, Steven. 2006. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

No Class — Thanksgiving week (26 November)

Session 14: New Issues in Party Politics (3 December)

Read three articles from the most recent two issues of *Party Politics*. Present one in class using slides (Powerpoint, Keynote, Beamer, etc.).

Party Politics 25.3 (May 2019)

Kleinnijenhuis, Jan, Jasper van de Pol, Anita MJ van Hoof and André PM Krouwel. "Genuine effects of vote advice applications on party choice: Filtering out factors that affect both the advice obtained and the vote." 291–302.

Ruedin, Didier and Laura Morales. "Estimating party positions on immigration: Assessing the reliability and validity of different methods." 303–314.

Atkins, Judi. "Constructing conflict and cooperation: The rhetoric of coalition bargaining." 315–324.

Bjarnegard, Elin and Pär Zetterberg. "Political parties, formal selection criteria, and gendered parliamentary representation." 325–335.

Steiner, Nils D. and Matthias Mader. "Intra-party heterogeneity in policy preferences and its effect on issue salience: Developing and applying a measure based on elite survey data." 336–348.

Barceló Joan. "The clarity of the majority's preference moderates the influence of lobbying on representation." 349–357.

Gomez, Raul and Luis Ramiro. "Beyond the 2008 Great Recession: Economic factors and electoral support for the radical left in Europe." 358–368.

Ciftci, Sabri and Tevfik Murat Yildirim. "Hiding behind the party brand or currying favor with constituents: Why do representatives engage in different types of constituency-oriented behavior?" 369–381.

Blais, André, Fernando Feitosa and Semra Sevi. "Was my decision to vote (or abstain) the right one?" 382–389.

Lisi, Marco and João Cancela. "Types of party members and their implications: Results from a survey of Portuguese party members." 390–400.

Sheagley, Geoffrey. "The effect of cross-cutting partisan debates on political decision-making." 401–411.

Haselmayer, Martin, Thomas M Meyer and Markus Wagner. "Fighting for attention: Media coverage of negative campaign messages." 412–423.

Green-Pedersen, Christoffer and Simon Otjes. "A hot topic? Immigration on the agenda in Western Europe." 424–434.

Kramon, Eric. "Ethnic group institutions and electoral clientelism." 435–447.

Ellinas, Antonis A. and Iasonas Lamprinou. "Far right activism and electoral outcomes." 448–460.

Giuliani, Marco and Sergio Alberto Massari. "The economic vote at the party level: Electoral behaviour during the Great Recession." 461–473.

***Party Politics* 25.4 (July 2019)**

- Cross, William and Scott Pruysers. “Sore losers? The costs of intra-party democracy.” 483–494
- Birkhead, Nathaniel A. and Marjorie Randon Hershey. “Assessing the ideological extremism of American party activists.” 495–506.
- Lefevere, Jonas, Julie Sevenans, Stefaan Walgrave and Christophe Lesschaeve. “Issue reframing by parties: The effect of issue salience and ownership.” 507–519.
- Meléndez, Carlos and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. “Political identities: The missing link in the study of populism.” 520–533.
- Gomez, Raul and Luis Ramiro. “The limits of organizational innovation and multi-speed membership: Podemos and its new forms of party membership.” 534–546.
- Chiru, Mihail and Sergiu Gherghina. “Committee chair selection under high informational and organizational constraints.” 547–558.
- Laroze, Denise. “Party collapse and new party entry.” 559–568.
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. “Hoist on their own petards? The reinvention and collapse of authoritarian successor parties.” 569–582.
- Vrânceanu, Alina. “The impact of contextual factors on party responsiveness regarding immigration issues.” 583–593.
- Burnett, Craig M. “Parties as an organizational force on nonpartisan city councils.” 594–608.
- Guntermann, Eric. “Party influence where predispositions are strong and party identification is weak: Assessing citizens’ reactions to party cues on regional nationalism in Spain.” 609–620.
- Kuenzi, Michelle, John P Tuman, Moritz P Rissmann and Gina MS Lambright. “The economic determinants of electoral volatility in Africa.” 621–631.

Course Policies

Academic Integrity Statement

Syracuse University's Academic Integrity Policy reflects the high value that we, as a university community, place on honesty in academic work. The policy defines our expectations for academic honesty and holds students accountable for the integrity of all work they submit. Students should understand that it is their responsibility to learn about course-specific expectations, as well as about university-wide academic integrity expectations. The policy governs appropriate citation and use of sources, the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments, and the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verification of participation in class activities. The policy also prohibits students from submitting the same work in more than one class without receiving written authorization in advance from both instructors. Under the policy, students found in violation are subject to grade sanctions determined by the course instructor and non-grade sanctions determined by the School or College where the course is offered as described in the Violation and Sanction Classification Rubric. SU students are required to read an online summary of the University's academic integrity expectations and provide an electronic signature agreeing to abide by them twice a year during pre-term check-in on MySlice. For more information about the policy, see academicintegrity.syr.edu.

The Violation and Sanction Classification Rubric establishes recommended guidelines for the determination of grade penalties by faculty and instructors, while also giving them discretion to select the grade penalty they believe most suitable, including course failure, regardless of violation level. Any established violation in this course may result in course failure regardless of violation level.

Statement Regarding Disability-Related Accommodations

If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS), <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu>, located at 804 University Avenue, room 309, or call (315) 443-4498 for an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting accommodations. ODS is responsible for coordinating disability-related accommodations and will issue students with documented disabilities "Accommodation Authorization Letters," as appropriate. Since accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact ODS as soon as possible.

Religious Observances Policy

SU's religious observances policy, found at supolicies.syr.edu/emp_ben/religious_observance.htm, recognizes the diversity of faiths represented among the campus community and protects the rights of students, faculty, and staff to observe religious holy days according to their tradition. Under the policy, students are provided an opportunity to make up any examination, study, or work requirements that may be missed due to a religious observance provided they notify their instructors before the end of the second week of classes. For fall and spring semesters, an online notification process is available through MySlice/Student Services/Enrollment/My Religious Observances from the first day of class until the end of the second week of class.

Last updated: August 26, 2019.