

# Comparative Parties & Politics

## PSC 769—Fall 2023

Department of Political Science  
Syracuse University

Tuesday 12:30 pm – 3:15 pm  
Room: Eggers Hall 100

Professor: Seth Jolly (he/him/his)

*Contact Information*

Office: 325 Eggers Hall

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Email: [skjolly@syr.edu](mailto:skjolly@syr.edu)

Course website: [blackboard.syr.edu](https://blackboard.syr.edu)

*Office Hours in Eggers 325:*

Tuesday 3:30–4:30pm or by appointment

*Student Drop-in hours in Eggers Cafe:*

Thursday 11am–12pm

### 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 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. 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 and you are welcome to incorporate them.

## **Manuscript Review**

Each student will review a recent conference paper on party politics. The goal of this assignment is to introduce you to the art of reviewing papers for journals, a vital and under-taught part of academia.

You should visit the 2021 or 2021 APSA conference page and find an article related to our class topics from the paper archives. You must send me the paper you are planning to review for approval. Feel free to send me two papers if you cannot decide. After I approve the paper, you must review the paper for publication at a major political science journal, 800 words. We will discuss the review process in class, but there is advice available from [Mirya Holman](#), the [Chronicle](#), and [Brendan Nyhan](#).

The deadline to email me your paper choice is February 24, Friday. The review is due Friday, March 10 via email.

## **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 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**

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 March 7th, 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.

During the final class session on April 25th, 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. 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 May 9th. 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 May 1st and May 9th.

## 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.

For great tips on how to read journal articles for substance, as a researcher, as a writer, and as a seminar participant, see Michael J. Nelson's guide: <https://t.co/rt0COBRm1I>.

## Evaluation

Response Papers (2)	20%
Article 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)

## Class Schedule

1. Introductions (17 January)
2. Why Parties (24 January)
3. Theories of Party Competition (31 January)
4. Cleavages and Party Competition (7 February)
5. Institutions: Electoral Systems & Parties (14 February)
6. Parties as Organizations (21 February)
7. Behavioral Approaches and Responsiveness (28 February)
8. Strategic Politicians (7 March)

Spring Break (14 March)

9. Gender and Party Politics (21 March)
10. New Parties (28 March)
11. Party Competition (4 April)
12. Clientelistic Linkages Between Parties and Voters (11 April)
13. Ethnic Parties (18 April)
14. New Issues in Party Politics (25 April)

## Session 1: Introductions (17 January)

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

Gidron, Noam and Daniel Ziblatt. 2019. "Center-Right Political Parties in Advanced Democracies." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22: 17–35

## Session 2: Why Parties? (24 January)

### Tier 1 Readings

- Madison, James. 1787. "Federalist #10." *The Federalist Papers*.
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1984. "On the Theory of Party Organization." *Journal of Politics* 46.2 (May): 369–400.
- Aldrich, John. 1995. *Why Parties?* Chicago: Chicago UP, 3–61 (optional: 241–296).
- de Vries, Catherine E. and Sara B. Hobolt. 2020. *Political Entrepreneurs: The Rise of Challenger Parties in Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Introduction and Chs. 1-2. The entire ebook is available from <https://doi-org.libezproxy2.syr.edu/10.2307/j.ctvt9k3d3>.
- 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.

### Tier 2 Readings

- 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.
- 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

- 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.
- LaPalombara, Joseph and Myron Weiner. 1990. "The Origin of Political Parties." *The West European Party System*, ed. Peter Mair, Ch. 1, 25–31.
- Lenin, V. I. 1902. *What Is to Be Done?* New York: International Publishers.

### Session 3: Theories of Party Competition (31 January)

#### 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*, Chs. 1–3, 5–6, 9–10 & 13.

#### 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.
- Schuessler, Alexander A. 2000. “Expressive Voting.” *Rationality and Society* 12.1: 87–119

## Session 4: Cleavages and Party Competition (7 February)

### Tier 1 Readings

- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments." *The West European Party System*, ed. Peter Mair, 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.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chs. 7 – 8.
- 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.

### *Read an article on one of the regions*

#### Post-Communist Eastern Europe

- Rovny, Jan. 2014. "Communism, Federalism, and Ethnic Minorities. Exploring Party Competition Patterns in Eastern Europe." *World Politics* 66.4: 669–708.

#### 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

- 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 and Cas Mudde. 1998. "The Party Family and its Study." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 211–229.
- 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.

### 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.
- Daalder, Hans. 1966. "The 'Reach' of the Party System." *The West European Party System*, ed. Peter Mair, Ch. 8, 78–90.
- 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." *The West European Party System*, ed. Peter Mair, Ch. 4, 46–49.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1989. *Commerce and Coalitions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rokkan, Stein. 1977. "Toward a Generalized Concept of *Verzuiling*." *The West European Party System*, ed. Peter Mair, Ch. 10, 139–149.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1968. "The Sociology of Parties: A Critical Review." *The West European Party System*, ed. Peter Mair, Ch. 11, 150–182.
- 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 5: Institutions: Electoral Systems & Parties (14 February)

### Tier 1 Readings

Chhibber and Kollman. *The Formation of National Party Systems*, Chs. 1–4 & 6–8.

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.

### Tier 2 Readings

Catalano Weeks, Ana. 2018. “Why Are Gender Quota Laws Adopted by Men? The Role of Inter- and Intra-party Competition.” *Comparative Political Studies* 51.14: 1935–73.

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.

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.

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.

- Kedar, Orit. 2005. "When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections." *American Political Science Review* 99.2: 185–200.
- 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.
- 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 6: Parties as Organizations (21 February)

### 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.
- 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.

### Tier 2 Readings

- Bischof, Daniel and Markus Wagner. 2020. "What Makes Parties Adapt to Voter Preferences? The Role of Party Organization, Goals and Ideology." *British Journal of Political Science* 50.1: 391–401.
- 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.
- Kölln, Ann-Kristin. 2016. "Party membership in Europe: Testing party-level explanations of decline." *Party Politics* 22.4: 465–477.
- Robertson, David. 1976. "A Predictive Theory of Competitive Democracy." In *A Theory of Party Competition*. New York: Wiley, 23–53.

### 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.
- Panebianco, Angelo. 1988. *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press, esp. Chs. 1–4.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1985. "Party Strategy, Class Organization, and Individual Voting." *Capitalism and Social Democracy*, Ch. 3 99–132.
- 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: Behavioral Approaches and Responsiveness (28 February)

### 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. 2020. "Multidimensional Incongruence, Political Disaffection, and Support for Anti-Establishment Parties." *Journal of European Public Policy* 27.2: 292–309.
- 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.
- Anduiza, Eva and Guillem Rico. 2022. "Sexism and the Far-Right Vote: The Individual Dynamics of Gender Backlash." *American Journal of Political Science* doi:10.1111/ajps.12759.

### Tier 2 Readings

- 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*.
- 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](https://wapo.st/2HrLE8m).
- Spoon, Jae-Jae, Sara B. Hobolt, Catherine E. de Vries. 2014. "Going Green: Explaining Issue Competition on the Environment." *European Journal of Political Research* 53.2: 363–380.

### 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.
- de Vries, Catherine and Sara B. Hobolt. 2012. "When Dimensions Collide: The Electoral Success of Issue Entrepreneurs." *European Union Politics* 13.2: 246–68.

Volgens, 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.

De Vries, Catherine E. and Sara B. Hobolt. 2020. *Political Entrepreneurs: The Rise of Challenger Parties in Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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

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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.

- Louwerse, 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 8: Strategic Politicians (7 March)

### Tier 1 Readings

Kitschelt. *The Transformation of Social Democracy*, Chs. 1, 2 and 4.

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](http://library.syr.edu)

Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Political Science Review* 40: 825–850.

Lupu, Noam. 2013. "Party Brands and Partisanship: Theory with Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Argentina." *American Political Science Review* 57.1: 49–64.

### Supplementary Readings

Bartolini, Stefano. *The Class Cleavage. The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860–1980*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

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Böhmelt, Tobias, Lawrence Ezrow, Roni Lehrer, and Hugh Ward. "Party Policy Diffusion." *American Political Science Review* 110.2: 397–410.

Budge, Ian and Dennis Farlie. 1983. "Party Competition- Selective Emphasis or Direct Confrontation?" In *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*, eds. Hans Daalder and Peter Mair. London: Sage Publications, 267–306.

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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.
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- 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.

## Spring Break March 13–17

### Session 9: Gender and Party Politics (21 March)

#### 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.
- Weeks, Ana Catalano, Bonnie M. Meguid, Miki Caul Kittilson, and Hilde Coffé. 2022. "When Do Männerparteien Elect Women? Radical Right Populist Parties and Strategic Descriptive Representation." *American Political Science Review*. Also, see associated blog post: [bit.ly/weeksRRblog](https://bit.ly/weeksRRblog)
- 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. 2020. "Party organization and gender in European elections." *Party Politics* 26.5: 675–688.
- 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. 2001. "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.

#### 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 Trounstein. 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.
- Givens, Terri E. 2005. "The Radical Right Gender Gap." *Comparative Political Studies* 37: 30–54.
- 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.
- 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.
- O'Brien, Diana Z. 2019. "Female leaders and citizens' perceptions of political parties." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties* 29.4: 465–489.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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 10: New Parties (28 March)

### 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.
- 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.

- 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**

- Berman, Sheri. 2020. "The Causes of Populism in the West." *Annual Review of Political Science* 24: 71–88.
- 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.
- 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.

## Session 11: Party Competition: Entrepreneurs & Mainstream Parties (4 April)

### Required Readings

- Hobolt, Sara B. and Catherine E. de Vries. 2015. "Issue Entrepreneurship and Multiparty Competition." *Comparative Political Studies* 48.9: 1159–1185.
- Berman, Sheri, and Maria Snegovaya. 2019. "Populism and the Decline of Social Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 30.3: 5–19.
- Bandau, Frank. 2023. "What Explains the Electoral Crisis of Social Democracy? A Systematic Review of the Literature." *Government and Opposition* 58: 183–205.
- Gidron, Noam. 2022. "Many Ways to be Right: Cross-pressured Voters in Western Europe." *British Journal of Political Science* 52.1: 146–161.
- Spoon, Jae-Jae, and Heike Klüver. 2020. "Responding to Far Right Challengers: Does Accommodation Pay Off?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 27.2: 273–291.

### Tier 2 Readings

- Enggist, Matthias, and Michael Pinggera. 2022. "Radical Right Parties and their Welfare State Stances—Not so Blurry After All?" *West European Politics* 45.11: 102–128.
- Krause, Werner, Denis Cohen, and Tarik Abou-Chadi. 2022. "Does accommodation work? Mainstream party strategies and the success of radical right parties." *Political Science Research Methods First View*.
- Tavits, Margit. 2007. "Principle vs. pragmatism: Policy shifts and political competition." *American Journal of Political Science* 51.1: 151–165.

### Supplementary Readings

- Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Markus Wagner. 2020. "Electoral fortunes of social democratic parties: do second dimension positions matter?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 27: 246–272.
- Bale, Timothy, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Andréa Krouwel, Kurt Richard Luther, Nick Sitter. 2009. "If you can't Beat them, Join them? Explaining Social Democratic Responses to the Challenge from the Populist Radical Right in Western Europe." *Political Studies* 58: 410–426.
- Benedetto, Giacomo, Simon Hix, and Nicola Mastroiocco. 2020. "The Rise and Fall of Social Democracy, 1918–2017." *American Political Science Review* 114.3: 928–939.
- Berman, Sheri. 2019. "Populism is a Symptom Rather than a Cause: Democratic Disconnect, the Decline of the Center-Left, and the Rise of Populism in Western Europe." *Polity* 51: 654–667.
- De Vries, Catherine E., Sara B. Hobolt, and Stefanie Walter. 2021. "Politicizing International Cooperation: The Mass Public, Political Entrepreneurs, and Political Opportunity Structures." *International Organization* 75.2: 306–332.
- Karreth, Johannes, Jonathan T. Polk, Christopher S. Allen. 2013. "Catchall or Catch and Re-

lease? The Electoral Consequences of Social Democratic Parties' March to the Middle in Western Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 46: 791–822.

Rooduijn, Matthijs, Sarah L. de Lange, and Wouter van der Brug. 2014. "A populist Zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in Western Europe." *Party Politics* 20.4: 563–575.

Schmidtke, Oliver. 2016. "The 'Party for Immigrants'? Social Democrats' Struggle with an Inconvenient Electoral Issue." *German Politics* 25: 398–413.

### Classic Readings on Party System Change

Mair, Peter. 1990. *The West European Party System*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Duverger, Maurice. 1954. "Caucus and Branch, Cadre Parties and Mass Parties." Ch. 3, 37–45.
- Kirchheimer, Otto. 1966. "The Catch-All Party." Ch. 5, 50–60.
- Rose, Richard and Derek W. Unwin. 1970. "Persistence and Change in Western Party Systems, 1945–1969." Ch. 12, 185–194.
- Pedersen, Mogens N. 1979. "Electoral Volatility in Western Europe, 1948–1977." Ch. 13, 195–207.
- Mair, Peter. 1983. "Parameters of Change." Ch. 14, 208–217.
- Wolinetz, Steven B. 1979. "The Transformation of Western European Party Systems." Ch. 15, 218–231.
- Flanagan, Scott C. and Russell J. Dalton. 1984. "Models of Change." Ch. 16, 232–246.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. "The Nature of Value Change." Ch. 17, 247–252.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1981. "Dimensions of Ideology in European Party Systems." Ch. 18, 253–265.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1987. "From Class-Based to Value-Based Politics." Ch. 19, 266–282.

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.

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.

Rohrschneider, Robert. 1994. "How Iron is the Iron Law of Oligarchy?" *European Journal of Political Research* 25.2: 207–38.

## Session 12: Clientelistic Linkages Between Parties and Voters (11 April)

### 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

- Auerbach, Adam Michael and Tariq Thachil. 2020. "Cultivating Clients: Reputation, Responsiveness, and Ethnic Indifference in India's Slums." *American Journal of Political Science* 64.3 (July): 471–487.
- Ichino, Nahomi and Noah L. Nathan. 2013. "Do Primaries Improve Electoral Performance? Clientelism and Intra-Party Conflict in Ghana." *American Journal of Political Science* 57.2: 428–441.
- Novaes, Lucas. 2018. "Disloyal Brokers and Weak Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 62.1: 84–98.
- 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.

### 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.
- 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.



- Chang, Eric C. C. 2005. "Electoral Incentives for Political Corruption under Open-List Proportional Representation." *The Journal of Politics* 67.3 (August): 716–730.
- 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.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1987. "Trade and the Variety of Democratic Institutions." *International Organization* 41.2: 203–23.
- 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.

## Session 13: Ethnic Parties (18 April)

### 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.

### Tier 2 Readings

- Huber, John D. and Suryanarayan, Pavithra. 2016. "Ethnic Inequality and the Ethnification of Political Parties." *World Politics* 68.1:149–188.

### 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.
- 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.

## Session 14: New Issues in Party Politics (25 April)

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

*Party Politics* 29.1 (January 2023): <https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/ppqa/29/1>

Hibbing, John R., Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, Matthew V Hibbing, and David Fortunato. "Who do the people want to govern?" 3–15.

Dassonneville, Ruth and Ian McAllister. "Are they different? A comparative study of European populist party members." 16–25

Jankowski, Michael, Sebastian H Schneider, and Markus Tepe. "How stable are 'left' and 'right'? A morphological analysis using open-ended survey responses of parliamentary candidates." 26–39.

Cremer, Tobias. "The rise of the post-religious right: Christianity and secularism in the French Rassemblement National." 40–50.

Michener, Gregory, Octavio Amorim Neto, and Jamil Civitarese. "The remoteness of democratic representation." 51–64.

van Erkel, Patrick F. A. "The odd one out: The influence of ideological positioning on individual electoral success." 65–76.

Scherlis, Gerardo. "Party regulation in Latin America: A change of normative paradigms."

VanDusky-Allen, Julie A. and Jaclyn J Kettler. "The impact of party-constituent relationships on executive and legislative influence over policymaking." 89–99.

Persson, Thomas, Christer Karlsson, and Moa M. "The influence of Eurosceptic challenger parties on mainstream party behaviour: Is oppositional behaviour contagious?" 100–111.

Ferrer, Sergi. "Opposition fragmentation facilitates electoral accountability: Evidence from a survey experiment." 112–124.

Ballard, Andrew O. and Hans JG Hassell. "Shifting party goals: Party electoral support and legislative behavior in the majority and the minority." 125–139

Vodová, Petra. "What makes a good minister of a political party? Impact of party- and field-related experience on party pledge fulfilment." 140–152.

Silva, Patrick Cunha. "The effect of the ballot in an unranked ballot system." 153–163.

Whitesell, Anne, Kevin Reuning, and A. Lee Hannah. "Local political party presence online." 164–175.

## University Policies

### Academic Integrity

The Syracuse University Academic Integrity Policy holds students accountable for the integrity of the work they submit. Students should be familiar with the Policy and know that it is their responsibility to learn about instructor and general academic expectations with regard to proper citation of sources in written work. The policy also governs the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments as well as the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verifications of participation in class activities. Serious sanctions can result from academic dishonesty of any sort. For more information and the complete policy, see [academicintegrity.syr.edu](http://academicintegrity.syr.edu).

Academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. If I suspect academic dishonesty or plagiarism, I will submit formal reports to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. Also, [www.plagiarism.org](http://www.plagiarism.org) is a useful website for tips on citations and other writing resources.

### Statement Regarding Disability-Related Accommodations

Syracuse University values diversity and inclusion; we are committed to a climate of mutual respect and full participation. There may be aspects of the instruction or design of this course that result in barriers to your inclusion and full participation in this course. I invite any student to contact me to discuss strategies and/or accommodations (academic adjustments) that may be essential to your success and to collaborate with the Center for Disability Resources (CDR) in this process.

If you would like to discuss disability-accommodations or register with CDR, please visit Center for Disability Resources. Please call (315) 443-4498 or email [disabilityresources@syr.edu](mailto:disabilityresources@syr.edu) for more detailed information.

The CDR is responsible for coordinating disability-related academic accommodations and will work with the student to develop an access plan. Since academic accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact CDR as soon as possible to begin this process.

### Religious Observances Policy

SU's religious observances notification and policy, found at <http://hendricks.syr.edu/spiritual-life/index.html>, recognizes the diversity of faiths represented among the campus community and protects the rights of students, faculty, and staff to observe religious holidays 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 regular session classes and by the submission deadline for flexibly formatted classes. For fall and spring semesters, an online notification process is available for students in **My Slice/StudentServices/Enrollment/MyReligiousObservances/Add a Notification**.

## Campus Resources

There may be times during the semester that you need assistance, academically or otherwise. There are a wide variety of campus resources that may be able to help. Please consider using help when you need it. If you don't know what type of help you need, you can ask me or other faculty in CCE.

- Counseling Center: <http://counselingcenter.syr.edu/faculty-staff/helping-students-in-distress.html>
- Writing Center: <https://thecollege.syr.edu/writing-center/>
- Tutoring Services: Center for Learning and Student Success: <https://class.syr.edu>
- Financial Counseling: <http://financialaid.syr.edu/financialliteracy/>
- Career Services: <https://thecollege.syr.edu/student-success/>
- Other personal health resources: <http://dailyorange.com/2018/08/heres-breakdown-personal-health-resources-available-su-students/>

## Harassment

Federal and state law, and University policy prohibit discrimination and harassment based on sex or gender (including sexual harassment, sexual assault, domestic/dating violence, stalking, sexual exploitation, and retaliation). If a student has been harassed or assaulted, they can obtain confidential counseling support, 24-hours a day, 7 days a week, from the Sexual and Relationship Violence Response Team at the Counseling Center (315-443-8000, Barnes Center at The Arch, 150 Sims Drive, Syracuse, New York 13244). Incidents of sexual violence or harassment can be reported non- confidentially to the University's Title IX Officer (Sheila Johnson Willis, 315-443-0211, [titleix@syr.edu](mailto:titleix@syr.edu), 005 Steele Hall). Reports to law enforcement can be made to the University's Department of Public Safety (315-443-2224, 005 Sims Hall), the Syracuse Police Department (511 South State Street, Syracuse, New York, 911 in case of emergency or 315-435-3016 to speak with the Abused Persons Unit), or the State Police (844-845-7269). I will seek to keep information you share with me private to the greatest extent possible, but as a professor I have mandatory reporting responsibilities to share information regarding sexual misconduct, harassment, and crimes I learn about with the University's Title IX Officer to help make our campus a safer place for all.

Last updated: February 8, 2023.