

Comparative Parties & Politics

PSC 769 – Spring 2009

Department of Political Science
Syracuse University

Thursday 12.30 pm-3.15pm
Room: Maxwell 309B

Professor: Seth Jolly
Contact Information
Office: Eggers 540
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Course website: blackboard.syr.edu

Office Hours
Wednesday
10am-12pm
or by appointment

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 add democratic institutions, and more specifically electoral systems, 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 the internal process of strategy formation and resource pooling inside parties. In the final part of class, we consider change in both parties and party systems, paying special attention to the entry of new parties.

Course Expectations and Requirements

Response Papers

Each student will complete two written critiques of the readings, 5-8 pages each (or 1250-2000 words). Each paper should be distributed to all class members via email by 12.30pm the Wednesday before class. These response papers will be the starting point for our discussion each week. The authors will also be expected to help lead the discussion during their week. 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 discussing 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. For these readings, though, be aware your classmates will not have read them so a little more summarizing may be in order.

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 students and the instructor no later than 24 hours before the appropriate class session, i.e., by 12.30pm on Wednesday. Book reviews will be distributed on a first-come first-serve basis, so notify the instructor 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. Beyond presenting and summarizing the paper itself, discussants should provide comments and criticisms should be similar to the Political Science Research Workshop format. Comments should be between 10-20 minutes.

Research Design

Each student will write an original research design, between 15-20 pages (3,750-5,000 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 literature or questions raised in the class.

Prior to spring break, 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 4/23, 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. Presentations are expected to be conference-style, meaning 10-15 minutes, preferably with Power-Point. To facilitate the discussion, the paper drafts will be circulated no later than Monday 4/20.

The final paper is due 5/6. Submit it via hard copy *and* electronically.

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	40%
Participation	20%

Readings

All books will be available for purchase from the Syracuse University bookstore, and will be placed on reserve at the library. Readings will be available on-line, either in library reserves or 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)

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)

Cox, Gary W. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (ISBN: 0521585279)

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*)

Course Policies

Statement Regarding Disability-Related Accommodations

Students who are in need of disability-related academic accommodations must register with the Office of Disability Services (ODS), 804 University Avenue, Room 309, 315-443-4498. Students with authorized disability-related accommodations should provide a current Accommodation Authorization Letter from ODS to the instructor and review those accommodations with the instructor. Accommodations, such as exam administration, are not provided retroactively; therefore, planning for accommodations as early as possible is necessary. For further information, see the ODS website, Office of Disability Services <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu>.

Academic Integrity Statement

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 <http://academicintegrity.syr.edu>

Class Schedule

Session 1: Introduction (15 January)

Session 2: Why Parties? (22 January)

Required Readings

- Aldrich, John. 1995. *Why Parties?* Chicago: Chicago UP, 3-61 (optional: 241-296).
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Brothers, Ch. 2.
- 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.
- LaPalombara, Joseph and Myron Weiner. 1990. "The Origin of Political Parties." *WEPS*, 25-31.
- Stokes, Susan. 1999. "Political Parties and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 243-267.

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.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Parties and Political Intermediation." In *The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*, eds. Kate Nash and Alan Scott. Oxford: Blackwell, 149-162.
- Montero, Jose Ramon and Richard Gunther. 2002. "Introduction: Reviewing and Reassessing Parties." In *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*, eds. Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero, and Juan J. Linz. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1-35.

Session 3: The Internal Politics of Parties (29 January)

Required Readings

- Aldrich, John. 1983. "A Downsian Spatial Model with Party Activists." *American Political Science Review*, 77.4: 765-791.
- Janda, Kenneth and Desmond S. King. 1985. "Formalizing and Testing Duverger's Theories on Political Parties." *Comparative Political Studies* 18.2: 139-169.
- Mair, Peter and Cas Mudde. 1998. "The Party Family and its Study." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 211-229.
- Miller, Gary and Norman Schofield. 2003. "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 97.2: 245-260.
- Robertson, David. 1976. "A Predictive Theory of Competitive Democracy." In *A Theory of Party Competition*. New York: Wiley, 23-53.
- Strom, Kaare. 1990. "A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 34.2 (May): 565-598.
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1984. "On the Theory of Party Organization." *Journal of Politics* 46.2 (May): 369-400.

Supplementary Readings

- Duverger, Maurice. 1954. *Political Parties*. London: Methuen.
- Epstein, Leon D. 1967. *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. New York: Praeger.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1989. *The Logics of Party Formation. Ecology Parties in Belgium and Germany*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Kitschelt. *The Transformation of Social Democracy*, Chs. 5-6.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. "The Internal Politics of Parties: The Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited." *Political Studies* 37.3: 400-21.
- Lenin, V. I. 1902. *What Is to Be Done?* New York: International Publishers.
- McAllister, Ian. 1996. "Leaders." In *Comparing Democracies*, eds. Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, and Pippa Norris. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 280-98.
- Michels, Robert. 1962. *Political Parties*. New York: Free Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 1996. "Legislative Recruitment," In *Comparing Democracies*, eds. Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, and Pippa Norris. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 184-215.
- Panebianco, Angelo. 1988. *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press, esp. Chs. 1-4.
- 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, esp. Chs. 1-3.

Session 4: Theories of Party Competition (5 February)

Required Readings

Adams, Merrill, and Grofman. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition*.

Grofman, Bernard. 2004. "Downs and Two-Party Convergence." *Annual Review of Politics* 7: 25-46.

Laver, Michael. 2005. "Policy and the Dynamics of Party Competition." *American Political Science Review* 99.2 (May): 263-282.

Supplementary Readings

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.

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

Grofman, Bernard et al. 1999. "The Potential Electoral Disadvantages of a Catch-All Party: Ideological Variance Among Republicans and Democrats in the 50 US States." *Party Politics* 5.2: 199-210.

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, Chs. 5-6.

Schofield, Norman. 1993. "Political Competition and Multiparty Coalition Governments." *European Journal of Political Research* 23: 1-33.

Session 5: Institutional Constraints & Opportunities Part 1 (12 February)

Required Readings

- 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.
- Cox. *Making Votes Count*, Chs. 1-8.
- Ordeshook, Peter C. 1995. "Institutions and Incentives." *Journal of Democracy* 6.2 (April): 46-60.
- 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.

Session 6: Institutional Constraints & Opportunities Part 2 (19 February)

- Cox. *Making Votes Count*, Chs. 10-11.
- Chhibber and Kollman. *The Formation of National Party Systems*.

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.
- Carey, John M. and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: a Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14.4: 417-439.
- 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.
- Katz, Richard. 1980. *A Theory of Party and Electoral Systems*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1994. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*. 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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. 2007. *Predicting Party Sizes: The Logic of Simple Electoral Systems*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Session 7: Cleavages and Party Competition (26 February)

Required 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.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1992. "The Formation of Party Systems in East Central Europe." *Politics and Society* 20.1: 7-50.
- Mair. *WEPS*:
- Maurice Duverger, Ch. 3 "Caucus and Branch, Cadre Parties and Mass Parties": 37-45.
 - Sigmund Neumann, Ch. 4 "The Party of Democratic Integration": 46-49.
 - Hans Daalder, Ch. 8 "The 'Reach' of the Party System": 78-90.
 - Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, Ch. 9 "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments": 91-138.
 - Stein Rokkan, Ch. 10 "Toward a Generalized Concept of *Verzuiling*": 139-149
 - Giovanni Sartori, Ch. 11 "The Sociology of Parties: A Critical Review": 150-184.
- 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.
- Zielinski, Jakub. 2002. "Translating Social Cleavages into Party Systems: The Significance of New Democracies." *World Politics* 54: 184-211.

Supplementary Readings

- Aldrich, John. 1995. *Why Parties?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chs. 1-5.
- Bartolini, Stefano and Peter Mair. 1990. *Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 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.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1995. "The Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies. Theoretical Propositions." *Party Politics* 1: 447-72.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1989. *Commerce and Coalitions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Ch. 1. [or article version in 1987 *APSR*].
- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Ch. 5.
- 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.

Session 8: Strategic Politicians (5 March)

Required Readings

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

Laver, Michael. 1998. "Models of Government Formation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 1-15.

Przeworski, Adam. 1985. *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 3.

Supplementary Readings

Adams, James et al. 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.

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

Kalyvas, Stathis. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1995. *The Radical Right in Western Europe*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.

Müller, Wolfgang C. and Kaare Strom, 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.

**No Class — Spring Break
(12 March)**

**Session 9: Linkages Between Parties and Electoral Constituencies
(19 March)**

Required Readings

- Ames, Barry. 1995. "Electoral Strategy under Open-List Proportional Representation." *American Journal of Political Studies* 39.2: 406-33.
- 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.
- 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.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages Between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities." *Comparative Political Studies* 33.6/7: 845-879.
- Kitschelt, Herbert and Steve Wilkinson, eds. 2007. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Introduction and Conclusion.
- Nichter, Simeon. 2008. "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and Secret Ballots." *American Political Science Review* 102.1: 19-31.
- Rabinowitz, George, and Stuart Elaine Macdonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Voting." *American Political Science Review* 83: 93-121.
- Stokes, Susan. 1999. "Perverse Accountability. A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina." *American Political Science Review* 99.2: 315-327.

Supplementary Readings

- 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.
- Cox, Gary, and Frances M. Rosenbluth. 1995. "The Structural Determinants of Electoral Cohesiveness. England, Japan, and the United States." In *Structure And Policy in Japan and the United States*, eds. Peter F. Cowhey and Mathew D. McCubbins. New York: Cambridge University Press, 19-34.
- 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.
- Kang, David. 2002. *Crony Capitalism. Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines*. New York: Cambridge University Press, esp. Chs. 1 & 7.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radek Markowski, and Gabor Toka. 1999. *Post-Communist Party*

- Systems. Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Collaboration*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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 10: Party & Party System Change (26 March)

Required Readings

- Adams, James et al. 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.
- 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.
Response by Koole, Ruud. 1996. "Cadre, Catch-All or Cartel?" *Party Politics* 2.4: 507-523.
- 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.
- Mair. *WEPS*:
- Otto Kirchheimer, Ch. 5 "The Catch-All Party": 50-60.
 - Richard Rose and Derek W. Unwin, Ch. 12 "Persistence and Change in Western Party Systems, 1945-1969": 185-194.
 - Mogens N. Pedersen, Ch. 13 "Electoral Volatility in Western Europe, 1948-1977": 195-207.
 - Peter Mair, Ch. 14 "Parameters of Change": 208-217.
 - Steven B. Wolinetz, Ch. 15 "The Transformation of Western European Party Systems": 218-231.
 - Scott C. Flanagan and Russell J. Dalton, Ch. 16 "Models of Change": 232-246.
 - Ronald Inglehart, Ch. 17 "The Nature of Value Change": 247-252.
 - Arend Lijphart, Ch. 18 "Dimensions of Ideology in European Party Systems": 253-265.
 - Ronald Inglehart, Ch. 19 "From Class-Based to Value-Based Politics.": 266-282.
- Mayhew, David. 2000. "Electoral Realignments." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 449-474.

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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2004. "Diversification and Reconfiguration of Party Systems in Postindustrial Democracies." *Europäische Politik* 3: 1-23.
- Lawson, Kay, ed. 1994. *How Political Parties Work*. London: Praeger.
- Rohrshneider, Robert. 1994. "How Iron is the Iron Law of Oligarchy?" *European Journal of Political Research* 25.2: 207-38.

Session 11: New Parties (2 April)

Required Readings

- Adams, James, et al. 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.
- Ezrow, Lawrence. 2008. "Parties' Policy Programmes and the Dog that Didn't Bark: No Evidence that Proportional Systems Promote Extreme Party Positioning." *British Journal of Political Science* 38: 479-497.
- 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.
- Hug, Simon. 1996. "The Emergence of New Political Parties from a Game-theoretic Perspective." *European Journal of Political Research* 29.2: 169-90.
- Kedar, Orit. 2005. "When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections." *American Political Science Review* 99.2: 185-200.
- Laver, Michael and Michel Schilperoord. 2007. "Spatial Models of Political Competition With Endogenous Political Parties." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* 362: 1711-1721.
- Meguid, Bonnie. 2005. "Competition between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy and Niche Party Success." *American Political Science Review* 99.3: 347-60.
- Tavits, Margit. 2006. "Party System Change: Testing a Model of New Party Entry." *Party Politics* 12.1: 99-119.

Supplementary Readings

- Harmel, Robert and John D. Robertson. 1984. "Formation and Success of New Parties. A Cross-National Analysis." *International Political Science Review* 6: 501-23.
- Hauss, 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.
- Jolly, Seth. 2008. "How EU Fuels Sub-State Nationalism." Working Paper. <http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/skjolly/HowEUFu>
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1989. *The Logics of Party Formation. Ecology Parties in Belgium and Germany*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Rosenstone, Steven J., Roy L. Behr and Edward H. Lazarus. 1984. *Third Parties in America*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Rüdig, Wolfgang. 1990. "Explaining Green Party Development. Reactions 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.

**Session 12: European Parties and Representation Workshop
(Friday, 10 April)**

**Session 13: New Party Case Study: the Radical Right
(16 April)**

Required Readings

- Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth. 2005. "The Vulnerable Populist Right Parties: No Economic Realignment Fuelling Their Electoral Success." *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 465-492.
- Mudde, Cas. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Ch. 9 "Demand-side: In Search of the Perfect Breeding Ground": 201-231.
Ch. 10 "External Supply-side: Political Opportunity Structures": 232-255.
Ch. 11 "Internal Supply-side: The Populist Radical Right Party": 256-276.
Ch. 12 "Assessing Impact: Populist Radical Right Parties vs. European Democracies": 277-292.
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