

**Comparative Parties and Elections**  
**PS 2312**  
**University of Pittsburgh • Spring 2019**

**Professor Jae-Jae Spoon**

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Office Hours: Tues. 3-5pm or by appointment in 4211 UCIS. You can also find me in my Poli Sci office—4441 Posvar.

**Course Description**

In this graduate seminar, we will explore the vast literature on comparative political parties. We will explore both the classics and more recent research on a variety of topics and questions in both the developed and developing country contexts. These will include the role parties play, why (and how) parties form, party and electoral systems, strategic parties and politicians, linkages between parties and voters, issue ownership, the development of new parties, and ethnic parties. By the end of this course, you will have a thorough introduction to the important questions and puzzles in the study of political parties.

**Course Materials**

There are three books which are required for this course. Used and new copies are all available on your favorite Internet sites. I have also put a copy of each book on reserve at the library.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Kollman, Ken and Chhibber, Pradeep. 2004. *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India, and the United States*. Princeton: Princeton UP. [E-book available through ULS].

The remaining readings are available either on-line (articles) or on CourseWeb (CW) unless otherwise noted.

I would also encourage you to keep up with recent articles published in *Party Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, the *Journal of Elections*, *Public Opinion and Parties*—the three sub-field journals focused on parties and elections—as well as relevant articles published in *Comparative Political Studies* and the general journals.

## Course Requirements

- **Reading and Participation.** Do the readings and come to class prepared to discuss, debate, ask questions. Participation is 20% of your grade, which includes leading discussion once (5% of your participation grade). On your discussion day, please post your questions on CourseWeb by 9am. We will determine the discussion schedule on the first day of class.
- **Response Papers.** 2 (5-6 pages double-spaced) reading response papers—20% of your grade (each paper is worth 10%). You may choose the weeks you wish to work on. By the second week of the class, turn in a schedule of the weeks you are going to do. At least one of these needs to be completed by Week 7. Papers will be due in class that week. No exceptions. These papers are meant to be analytical response papers and not simply restatements of the readings. You should work to synthesize the readings by focusing on one issue, debate, concept, etc. in the readings. You do not need to include all of the readings for a given week, but cannot just focus on one. You may include readings from the Supplementary Readings list, but this is not required. You should coordinate the day you sign-up to lead discussion with one of the days you plan to write a response paper.
- **Research Design.** (15 double-spaced pages)—40% of your grade. The goal of the research design is to give you an opportunity to focus in depth on a question related to the course and how you would design a project to study this. The paper will take the form of an empirical journal article or conference paper and have a research question, brief literature review, hypotheses, discussion of the research method you would use to answer your question, and potential sources of data. You will also present your research design on the last day of class (4/17) using presentation software, such as PowerPoint or LaTeX. The presentations will be conference-style, which means 10-12 minutes in length. You will also serve as discussant of another student's paper. Your comments should be about 5 minutes. You will give a written copy of your comments to the both me and the other student. 20% of your research design grade will come from the presentation and discussion of the other paper. The proposal for the project is due Feb. 6<sup>th</sup>. Paper drafts are to be circulated no later than April 14<sup>th</sup>. The paper will be due April 22<sup>nd</sup> at 5pm.
- **Final Exam.** 20% of your grade. The exam is meant to simulate a comprehensive exam. The exam will be 'take-home' and you will have 8 hours to answer 2 questions. The exam will be open book/article and open note. It is scheduled for April 25<sup>th</sup> from 9am-5pm. Please plan accordingly and let me know as soon as possible if you have a conflict with a class for which you are the TA.

## Evaluation

All work will be weighted according to the break-down described above. Your final grade will thus be out of 100 possible points.

Grades will be calculated on a scale of A-B, etc. broken down as follows: 97-100=A+; 94-96=A; 90-93=A-; 87-89=B+; 84-86=B; 80-83=B-...

## Class Policies

**Expectations.** I expect you to come to class prepared to participate. Please bring all readings with you and make sure you have looked at the discussion questions before class. When you're in class, I expect you to be fully engaged. You may use your laptop or other device to take notes. Please turn your phone off while you are in class and do not text, check Facebook, Twitter, or look up information that is not relevant to class. If I find you are doing something non-class related on your device, I will no longer allow you to bring it to class.

**Attendance.** As this is a graduate seminar, I expect you to attend *all* sessions. Should something come up that will prevent you from attending class, please let me know in advance. We will make arrangements to meet outside of class to discuss the material.

**Extensions and Alternate Dates.** In general, I will not allow extensions on assignments. However, should you find yourself in a situation where you will not be able to turn an assignment in on-time, please advise me of this as soon as you can, and not the day the assignment is due. We will work together to come up with a solution.

**Late Policy.** A late assignment will be penalized 1/3 of a grade for each day it is late. After 1 week, I will no longer accept it.

**Grade Appeals.** Should you want to appeal a grade you've received, it must be in writing. You will need to explain why you believe you deserve a grade that is different than the one you received.

**Academic Integrity.** Students in this course are expected to comply with the University of Pittsburgh's Policy on Academic Integrity. Cheating, plagiarism, or other acts of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. Any student suspected of violating this obligation for any reason during the semester will be required to participate in the procedural process, initiated by the instructor, as outlined in the University Guidelines on Academic Integrity. More information and the complete policy can be found at <http://www.provost.pitt.edu/info/ai1.html>.

**Accommodations.** If you have a disability for which you are or may be requesting an accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both me and the Office of Disability Resources and Services (DRS), 140 William Pitt Union, (412-648-7890, 412-228-5347 for P3 ASL users), [drsrecp@pitt.edu](mailto:drsrecp@pitt.edu), as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course. For more information, please see <https://www.studentaffairs.pitt.edu/drs/>

**Classroom Recording.** To ensure free and open discussion of ideas, students may not record classroom lectures, discussion and/or activities without the advance permission of the instructor. Any such recording properly approved in advance can be used solely for the student's own private use.

## Syllabus

### **Week 1: Introduction and Preliminaries (Jan. 9): What are parties? What roles do they play? Are parties necessary for democracy?**

Madison, James. *Federalist Paper 10*. [on-line]

Key, V.O. 1958. *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*. Pgs. 163-165. [CW]

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chap. 2. [CW]

Schlesinger, Joseph. 1984. "On the Theory of Party Organization." *Journal of Politics*. 46: 369-400.

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. [CW]

#### ***Supplementary Readings***

Dalton, Russell J., David M. Farrell, and Ian McAllister. 2012. *Political Parties and Democratic Linkage: How Parties Organize Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

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

Lawson, Kay. 1980. "Political Parties and Linkage." In *Political Parties and Linkage: A Comparative Perspective*, Kay Lawson, ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

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

Gunther, Richard, José Ramon Montero, and Juan J. Linz, eds. 2002. *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

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

### **Week 2: Party Formation I: Societal and Cultural Explanations (Jan. 16)**

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967 [1990]. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments." In *The West European Party System*, Peter Mair, ed. Pgs. 91-138. [CW]

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chapters 7-8. [CW]

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1988. "Left-Libertarian Parties: Explaining Innovation in Competitive Party Systems." *World Politics*. 40.2: 194-234.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1997. *Modernization and Post-Modernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton UP. Chap. 1 & 8. [CW]

### ***Supplementary Readings***

Carmines, Edward G. 1991. "The Logic of Party Alignments." *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 3.1: 65-80.

Chhibber, Pradeep and John Petrocik. 1989. "The Puzzle of Indian Politics: Social Cleavages and the Indian Party System." *British Journal of Political Science*. 19.2: 191-210.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1989. *The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell UP.

Mair, Peter, ed. 1990. *The West European Party System*. New York: Oxford UP. Pgs. 75-182.

Zielinski, Jakub. 2002. "Translating Social Cleavages into Party Systems: The Significance of New Democracies." *World Politics*. 54.2: 184-211.

### **Week 3: Party Formation II: Institutional and Organizational Explanations (Jan. 23)**

Aldrich, John. *Why Parties? A Second Look*. 2011. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Ch. 1-2. Optional ch. 8-9. [CW]

Cox, Gary and Matthew McCubbins. 2007. *Legislative Leviathan*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 4-5. [CW]

Kalyvas, Stathis. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP. Intro, Ch. 1-2. [CW]

### ***Supplementary***

Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2002. *Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe*. New York: Cambridge UP.

### **Week 4: Parties as Organizations (Jan. 30)**

Duverger, Maurice. 1990. "Caucus and Branch, Cadre Parties and Mass Parties" in *The West European Party System*, Peter Mair, ed. Pgs. 37-45. [CW]

Michels, Robert. 1962 [1911]. *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York: Free Press. Pgs. 365-392. [CW]

Kirchheimer, Otto. 1990. "The Catch-All Party" in *The West European Party System*, Peter Mair, ed. Pgs. 50-60. [CW]

Katz, Richard and Mair, Peter. 1995. "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party." *Party Politics* 1.1: 5-28.

Response by Koole, Ruud. 1996. "Cadre, Catch-All or Cartel?" *Party Politics*. 2.4: 507-523.

Miller, Gary and Norman Schofield. 2003. "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States." *APSR*. 97.2: 245-260.

Tavits, Margit. 2012. "Organizing for Success: Party Organizational Strength and Electoral Performance in Postcommunist Europe." *Journal of Politics*. 74.1: 83-97.

### ***Supplementary Readings***

Duverger, Maurice. 1954. *Political Parties*. New York: Wiley.

Chhibber, Pradeep. 2013. "Dynastic Parties: Organization, Finance, and Impact." *Party Politics*. 19.2: 277-295.

Eldersveld, Samuel. 1982. *Political Parties in American Society*. Chapter 8.

Harmel, Robert and Alexander Tan. 2003. "Party Actors and Party Change: Does Factional Dominance Matter?" *EJPR*. 42.2: 409-424.

Hazan, Reuven Y. and Gideon Rahat. 2010. *Democracy within Parties: Candidate Selection Methods and their Political Consequences*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Katz, Richard and Peter Mair. 2009. "The Cartel Party Thesis: A Restatement." *Perspectives on Politics*. 7.4: 753-766.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Citizens, Politicians, and Party Cartellization: Political Representation and State Failure in Post-Industrial Democracies." *EJPR*. 37.2: 149-179.

Panbianco, Angelo. 1988. *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Wilson, James Q. 1973. *Political Organizations*. Princeton: Princeton UP. Chapter 6.

Poguntke, Thomas, Susan E. Scarrow, Paul D. Webb. 2016. "Party Rules, Party Resources and the Politics of Parliamentary Democracies: How Parties Organize in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." *Party Politics*. 22.6: 661-678.

Samuels, David J. and Matthew S. Shugart. 2010. *Presidents, Parties, and Prime Ministers: How the Separation of Powers Affects Party Organization and Behavior*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Schofield, Norman and Itai Sened. 2006. *Multiparty Democracy: Elections and Legislative Politics*. Cambridge UP.

Shomer, Yael. 2014. "What Affects Candidate Selection Processes? A Cross-National Examination." *Party Politics*. 20.4: 533-546.

## **Week 5: Party and Electoral Systems (Feb. 6)**

Kollman, Ken and Chhibber, Pradeep. 2004. *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, and India*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Morgenstern, Scott, Stephen M. Swindle, and Andrea Castagnola. 2009. "Party Nationalization and Institutions." *Journal of Politics*. 71.4: 1322-1341.

Boix, Carles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *APSR*. 93.3: 609-624.

*For background:*

Duverger, Maurice. 1963 [1951]. *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*. New York: John Wiley and Sons. Pgs. 206-55. [CW]

Lijphart, Arend. 1994. *Electoral and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty—Seven Democracies, 1945-1990*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Farrell, David M. 2001. *Electoral Systems*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

### ***Supplementary Readings***

Bawn, Kathleen. 1993. "The Logic of Institutional Preferences: The German Electoral Law as a Social Choice Outcome." *AJPS*. 37.4: 965-89.

Benoit, Kenneth and John W. Schiemann. 2001. "Institutional Choice in New Democracies." *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 13.2: 152-182.

Blais, Andre and R.K. Carty. 1991. "The Psychological Impact of Electoral Laws: Measuring Duverger's Elusive Factor." *British Journal of Political Science*. 21: 79-93.

Calvo, Ernesto. 2009. "The Competitive Road to Proportional Representation: Partisan Biases and Electoral Regime Change under Increasing Party Competition." *World Politics*. 61.2: 254-295.

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

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

Cox, chapters 10-11.

Cusack, Thomas, Torben Iversen and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems." *APSR*. 101.3: 373-391.

- Ezrow, Lawrence. 2008. "Parties' Policy Programmes and the Dog that Didn't Bark: No Evidence that Proportional Systems Promote Extreme Party Positioning." *BJPS*. 38.3: 479-497.
- Grofman, Bernard and Arend Lijphart. 1986. *Electoral Laws and their Political Consequences*. New York: Agathon Press.
- Hicken, Allen. 2009. *Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies*. 2009. New York: Cambridge UP.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1991. "Politicians, Parties, and Electoral Systems: Brazil in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics*. 24.1 (October): 21-43.
- Mair, Peter, ed. 1990. *The West European Party System*. New York: Oxford UP. Pgs. 185-351.
- Mair, Peter. 2002. "Comparing Party Systems" in *Comparing Democracies 2*, Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi, and Pippa Norris, eds. Thousand Oaks: Sage. Pgs. 88-107.
- McElwain, Kenneth. 2008. "Manipulating Electoral Rules to Manufacture Single-Party Dominance." *AJPS*. 52.1: 32-47.
- Morgenstern, Scott. 2017. *Are Politics Local? The Two Dimensions of Party Nationalization around the World*. New York: Cambridge UP.
- Moser, Robert. 1999. "Electoral Systems and the Number of Parties in Postcommunist States." *World Politics*. 51.3: 358-384.
- Mozaffar, Shaheen, James R. Scarritt, and Glen Galaich. 2003. "Electoral Institutions, Ethnopolitical Cleavages, and Party Systems in Africa's Emerging Democracies." *APSR*. 97.3: 379-390.
- Neto, Octavio Amorim and Cox, Gary. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties." *AJPS*. 41: 149-74.
- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Ordeshook, Peter and Shvetsova, Olga. 1994. "Ethnic Heterogeneity, District Magnitude, and the Number of Parties." *AJPS*. 38: 100-23.
- Powell, G. Bingham. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven: Yale UP.
- Rae, Douglas. 1971. *The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws*. New Haven: Yale UP.
- Riker, William. 1982. "The Two Party System and Duverger's Law: An Essay on the History of Political Science." *APSR*. 76.4: 753-766.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Shugart, Matthew S. and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2001. *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford UP.



Singer, Matthew M. and Laura B. Stephenson. 2009. "The Political Context and Duverger's Theory: Evidence at the District Level." *Electoral Studies*. 28.3: 480-491.

Taagepera, Rein and Matthew Sogberg Shugart. 1993. "Predicting the Number of Parties: A Quantitative Model of Duverger's Mechanical Effect." *APSR*. 87.2: 455-464.

Taagepera, Rein and Matthew Sogberg Shugart. 1989. *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. New Haven: Yale UP.

### **Week 6: Strategic Voting (Feb. 13)**

Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count*: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1-7

Kedar, Orit. 2005. "When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections." *APSR*. 99.2: 185-99.

Schuessler, Alexander. 2000. "Expressive Voting." *Rationality and Society*. 12.1. 87-119.

#### ***Supplementary Readings***

Alvarez, R. Michael and Jonathan Nagler. 2000. "A New Approach for Modelling Strategic Voting in Multiparty Elections." *BJPS*. 30: 57-75.

Blais, André, Richard Nadeau, Elisabeth Gidengil, and Neil Nevitte. 2001. "Measuring Strategic Voting in Multiparty Plurality Elections." *Electoral Studies*. 20: 343-352.

Gschwend, Thomas. 2007. "Ticket-splitting and Strategic Voting under Mixed Electoral Rules: Evidence from Germany." *European Journal of Political Research*. 46.1: 1-23.

Iversen, Torben. 1994. "The Logics of Electoral Politics: Spatial, Directional, and Mobilizational Effects." *Comparative Political Studies*. 27: 155-189.

Kedar, Orit. 2009. *Voting for Policy, Not Parties: How Voters Compensate for Power Sharing*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Merrill, Samuel and Bernard Grofman. 1999. *A Unified Theory of Voting: Directional and Proximity Spatial Models*. Cambridge UP.

Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Rabinowitz, George and Stuart MacDonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *APSR*. 83.1: 93-121.

Schuessler, Alexander. 2000. *The Logic of Expressive Choice*. Princeton UP.

## Week 7: Strategic Politicians (Feb. 20)

Strøm, Kaare. 1990. "A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Parties." *AJPS*. 34.2: 565-598.

Przeworski, Adam and Sprague, John. 1986. *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*. Chapters 1-4. [CW]

Greene, Kenneth F. 2010. "The Political Economy of Single-Party Dominance." *Comparative Political Studies*. 43.9: 1-27.

Lupu, Noam. 2013. "Party Brands and Partisanship: Theory with Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Argentina." *APSR*. 57.1: 49-64.

Cox, ch. 8

### *Supplementary Readings*

Adams, James and Samuel Merrill. 2006. "Why Small, Centrist Third Parties Motivate Policy Divergence by Major Parties." *APSR*. 100.3: 403-417.

Beaulieu, Emily and Susan D. Hyde. 2009. "In the Shadow of Democracy Promotion: Strategic Manipulation, International Observers, and Election Boycotts." *Comparative Political Studies*. 42.3: 392-415.

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

Golder, Sona N. 2006. "Pre-Electoral Coalition Formation in Parliamentary Democracies." *BJPS*. 36: 193-212.

Greene, Kenneth. 2009. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Harmel, Robert and Janda, Kenneth. 1994. "An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change." *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 6.3: 259-287.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. New York: Cambridge UP. Chapter 4.

Kollman, Ken, John H. Miller, and Scott E. Page. 1992. "Adaptive Parties in Spatial Elections." *American Political Science Review*. 86.4: 929-937.

Luna, Juan Pablo. 2014. *Segmented Representation: Political Party Strategies in Unequal Democracies*. New York: OUP.

Magaloni, Beatriz. 2008. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Müller, Wolfgang C. and Strøm, Kaare. 2000. *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Robertson, David. 1976. "A Predictive Theory of Competitive Democracy." In *A Theory of Party Competition*. New York: Wiley, 23-53.

Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1994. *Political Parties and the Winning of Office*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

West, Karleen Jones and Jae-Jae Spoon. 2013. "Credibility vs. Competition: The Impact of Party Size on Decisions to Enter Presidential Elections in South America and Europe." *Comparative Political Studies*. 46.4: 513-539.

Wittman, Donald A. 1973. "Parties as Utility Maximizers." *APSR*. 67: 490-98.

### **Week 8. Making and Breaking Governments (Feb. 27)**

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

Laver, Michael. 2003. "Government Termination." *Annual Review of Political Science* 6: 23-40.

Fortunato, David and Randolph T. Stevenson. 2013. "Perceptions of Partisan Ideologies: The Effect of Coalition Participation" *American Journal of Political Science* 57.2: 459-477.

Klüver, Heike and Jae-Jae Spoon. N.D." Helping or Hurting? How Governing as a Junior Coalition Partner Influences Electoral Outcomes." Manuscript. [CW]

Thomson, Robert, et al. 2017. "The Fulfillment of Parties' Election Pledges: A Comparative Study on the Impact of Power Sharing." *AJPS*. 61.3: 527-542.

### **Supplementary Readings**

Gamson, William A. 1961. "A Theory of Coalition Formation." *American Sociological Review*. 26.3: 373-382.

Laver, Michael and Norman Schofield. 1998 [1990]. *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalitions in Europe*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Laver, Michael and Kenneth Shepsle. 1996. *Making and Breaking Governments: Cabinets and Legislatures in Parliamentary Democracies*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Lupia, Arthur and Kaare Strøm. 1995. "Coalition Termination and the Strategic Timing of Legislative Elections." *American Political Science Review* 89(3): 648-665.

Martin, Lanny W. and Randolph T. Stevenson. 2001. "Government Formation in Parliamentary Democracies." *AJPS*. 45.1: 33-50.

Müller, Wolfgang and Kaare Strøm. 2000. *Coalition Governments in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Riker, William H. 1962. *The Theory of Political Coalitions*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Spoon, Jae-Jae and Heike Klüver. 2017. "Does Anybody Notice? How Policy Positions of Coalition Parties Are Perceived by Voters," *European Journal of Political Research* 56.1: 115-132.

Strøm, Kaare, Wolfgang C. Müller and Torbjörn Bergman. 2008. *Cabinets and Coalition Bargaining: The Democratic Life Cycle in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Warwick, Paul. 1994. *Government Survival in Parliamentary Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Warwick, Paul V. and James N. Druckman. 2001. "Portfolio Salience and the Proportionality of Payoffs in Coalition Governments." *British Journal of Political Science*. 31.4: 627-649.

### **Week 9: Issue Positioning and Issue Ownership (Mar. 6)**

Budge, Ian and Dennis Farlie. 1983. *Explaining and Predicting Elections: Issue Effects and Party Strategies in Twenty-Three Democracies*. London: George Allen & Unwin. Ch. 2. [CW]

Hobolt, Sara B. and Catherine E. de Vries. 2015. "Issue Entrepreneurship and Multiparty Competition." *Comparative Political Studies*. 48.9: 1159-1185.

Somer-Topcu, Zeynep. 2015. "Everything to Everyone: The Electoral Consequence of the Broad Appeal Strategy in Europe." *AJPS*. 59.4: 841-854.

Rovny, Jan. 2012. "Who Emphasizes and Who Blurs? Party Strategies in Multidimensional Competition." *European Union Politics*. 13.2: 269-292.

Wagner, Markus and Thomas M. Meyer. 2014. "Which Issues Do Parties Emphasise? Salience Strategies and Party Organisation in Multiparty Systems." *West European Politics*. 37.5: 1019-1045

### **Supplementary Readings**

Abou-Chadi, Tarik. 2016. "Niche Party Success and Mainstream Party Policy Shifts—How Green and Radical Right Parties Differ in Their Impact." *BJPS*. 46.2: 417-436.

Bélanger, Eric and Bonnie M. Meguid. 2008. "Issue Salience, Issue Ownership, and Issue-Based Vote Choice." *Electoral Studies*. 27.3: 477-91.

De Sio, Lorenzo and Till Weber. 2014. "Issue Yield: A Model of Party Strategy in Multidimensional Space." *APSR*. 108.4: 870-885.

Green-Pedersen, Christoffer. 2007. "The Growing Importance of Issue Competition: The Changing Nature of Party Competition in Western Europe." *Political Studies*. 55.3: 607-628

Han, Kyung Joon. 2015. "The Impact of Radical Right-Wing Parties on the Positions of Mainstream Parties Regarding Multiculturalism." *West European Politics*. 38.3: 557-576.

Lefevre, Jonas, Anke Tresch, and Stefann Walgrave, eds. 2015. "Issue Ownership: How the Public Links Parties to Issues and Why It Matters." *West European Politics* Special Issue. 38.4: 755-932.

Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *AJPS*. 40: 825-50.

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.

Walgrave, Stefaan, Jonas Lefevre, and Anke Tresch. 2012. "The Associative Dimension of Issue Ownership." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 76.4: 771-782.

**\*\*Spring Break. No Class—March 13<sup>th</sup>\*\***

### **Week 10. Party Responsiveness and Policy Shifts (Mar. 20)**

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.

Fernandez-Vazquez, Pablo. 2014. "And Yet It Moves: The Effect of Election Platforms on Party Policy Images." *Comparative Political Studies*. 47.14: 1919-1944.

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.

Klüver, Heike and Jae-Jae Spoon. 2016. "Who Responds? Voters, Parties and Issue Attention." *British Journal of Political Science*. 46.3: 633-654.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Werner Krause. 2018. "The Causal Effect of Radical Right Success on Mainstream Parties' Policy Positions: A Regression Discontinuity Approach." *BJPS*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123418000029>

### **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?" *BJPS*. 34.4: 589-610.

Adams, James, Andrea B. Haupt, and Heather Stoll. 2009. "What Moves Parties? The Role of Public Opinion and Global Economic Conditions in Western Europe." *Comparative Political Studies*. 42.5: 611-639.

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### **Week 13: Clientalism, Clientalistic Linkages and Corruption (Apr. 10)**

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#### **Week 14: Research Design Presentations (April 17)**

**\*RESEARCH DESIGNS DUE ON APRIL 22<sup>ND</sup> @ 5PM .**

**\*FINAL EXAM: APRIL 25<sup>th</sup>—9AM-5PM**