

Comparative Parties and Elections
PS 2312
University of Pittsburgh • Spring 2021

Professor Jae-Jae Spoon

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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 two books which are required for this course. Used and new copies are all available on your favorite Internet sites. ULS also has e-book versions.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge UP. [E-book available through ULS].

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 Canvas (C) 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). Please post your questions on Canvas by 5pm Weds. We will determine the discussion schedule on the first day of class.

- **Response Papers.** 2 (4-5 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 and data you would use to answer your question. Some preliminary analysis can also be included, though is not required. You will also present your research design on the last day of class (4/22) 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. 18th. Paper drafts are to be circulated no later than April 18th. The paper will be due April 26th 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 29th from 9am-5pm. Please plan accordingly and let me know as soon as possible if you have a conflict.

****Please turn in all written work on Canvas. There will be designated folders for each assignment/exam.**

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 have all readings with you and make sure you have looked at (and thought about) the discussion questions before class. When

you're in class, I expect you to be fully engaged. To this end, I would like your cameras to be turned in. If for some reason you are not comfortable with your camera on, please let me know.

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.

Communication. Please make sure you check your Pitt email regularly. This is how I will communicate with you. Should you need to reach me, please email me directly. I will typically respond within a few hours (as long as it's not the middle of the night).

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>.

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.

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, 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/>

Health and Safety (should we meet in person). In the midst of this pandemic, it is extremely important that you abide by public health regulations and University of Pittsburgh health standards and guidelines. While in class, at a minimum, this means you must wear a face covering and comply with physical distancing requirements; other requirements may be added by the University during the semester. These rules have been developed to protect the health and safety of all community members. Failure to comply with these requirements will result in you not being permitted to attend class in person

and could result in a Student Conduct violation. For the most up-to-date information and guidance, please visit coronavirus.pitt.edu and check your Pitt email for updates before each class.

Syllabus

Week 1. Introduction and Preliminaries (Jan. 21): 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. [C]

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

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

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

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. [C]

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.

LaPalombara, Joseph and Myron Weiner. 1990. "The Origin of Political Parties." *The West European Party System*, Peter Mair, ed. Pgs. 25-31.

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.

Week 2. Party Formation : Societal and Cultural Explanations v. Institutional and Organizational (Jan. 28)

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. [C]

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

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

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

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

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.

Cox, Gary and Matthew McCubbins. 2007. *Legislative Leviathan*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 4-5.

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

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

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

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

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2017. *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Modern Democracy in Europe*. New York: Cambridge UP.

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

Week 3. Parties as Organizations (Feb. 4)

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

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

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

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

Ascencio, Sergio and Yann P. Kerevel. 2020. "Party Strategy, Candidate Selection, and Legislative Behavior in Mexico." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lsq.12300>

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.

Gallagher, Michael and Michael Marsh, eds. 1988. *Candidate Selection in Comparative Perspective: The Secret Garden of Politics*. London: Sage.

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 21st Century." *Party Politics*. 22.6: 661-678.

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 4. Parties and Institutions: Electoral Systems (Feb. 11)

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.

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

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

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. [C]

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

Party Systems

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

Hicken, Allen. 2009. *Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies*. 2009. New York: Cambridge UP.

Laakso, Markku and Rein Taagepera. 1979. "Effective Number of Parties: A Measure with Application to West Europe." *Comparative Political Studies*. 12: 3-27.

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.

Morgenstern, Scott. 2017. *Are Politics Local? The Two Dimensions of Party Nationalization around the World*. New York: Cambridge UP.

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

Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Electoral Systems

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.

Chang, Eric C. C. 2005. "Electoral Incentives for Political Corruption under Open-List Proportional Representation." *Journal of Politics*. 67: 716-730.

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

Cox, Gary W. 1990. "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems." *AJPS*. 34.4: 903-935.

Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count*: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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.
- Kedar, Orit. 2009. *Voting for Policy, Not Parties: How Voters Compensate for Power Sharing*. New York: Cambridge UP.
- McElwain, Kenneth. 2008. "Manipulating Electoral Rules to Manufacture Single-Party Dominance." *AJPS*. 52.1: 32-47.
- 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.
- Samuels, David. J. 1999. "Incentives to Cultivate a Party Vote in Candidate-Centric Electoral Systems: Evidence from Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies*. 32: 487-518.
- 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 5. Parties and Institutions: Parliamentary and Presidential Systems (Feb. 18)

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

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. 2020. "Helping or Hurting? How Governing as a Junior Coalition Partner Influences Electoral Outcomes." *Journal of Politics*. 82.4: 1231-1242.

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.

Martinez-Gallardo, Cecilia. 2012. "Out of the Cabinet: What Drives Defections from the Government in Presidential Systems." *Comparative Political Studies*. 45.1: 62-90.

Kellam, Marisa. 2015. "Why Pre-Electoral Coalitions in Presidential Systems." *British Journal of Political Science*. 47: 391-411.

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.

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.

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.

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 6. Strategic Politicians (Feb. 25)

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. [C]

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.

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.

Supplementary Readings

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

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 7. Issue Positioning and Issue Ownership (Mar. 4)

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. [C]

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.

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

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.

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 Saliency, Issue Ownership, and Issue-Based Vote Choice." *Electoral Studies*. 27.3: 477-91.

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

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.

Han, Kyung Joon. 2020. "Beclouding Party Position as an Electoral Strategy: Voter Polarization, Issue Priority and Position Blurring." *BJPS*. 50.2: 653-675.

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.

van de Wardt, Marc. 2012. "Putting the Damper On? Do Parties De-Emphasize Issues in Response to Internal Divisions among Their Supporters?" *Party Politics*. 20.3: 330-340.

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

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

Week 8. Party Responsiveness and Policy Shifts (Mar. 11)

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. 2020. "The Causal Effect of Radical Right Success on Mainstream Parties' Policy Positions: A Regression Discontinuity Approach." *BJPS*. 50.3: 829-847.

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Week 11. Ethnic Parties (Apr. 1)

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Week 13. Women and Party Politics (April 15)

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Week 14. Research Design Presentations (April 22)

***RESEARCH DESIGNS DUE ON APRIL 26th @ 5PM .**

***FINAL EXAM: APRIL 29th—9AM-5PM**