

Comparative Parties and Elections
PSCI 5650
University of North Texas • Fall 2013

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Office Hours: Mon and Weds 3:30-5pm, or by appointment in 136 WH

Course Description

In this graduate seminar, we will explore the vast literature on comparative political parties. In the first part of the course, we will look at what parties are, what role they play in democracies, why parties form, how parties are organized, party systems, electoral systems, party strategy and behavior, and strategic vs. sincere voting. In the second part of the course, we will look at different issues which parties face in developed and developing countries, including the development of new parties, whether parties are still relevant, the development of ethnic parties, and the failure of party consolidation. 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 five 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. The remaining readings are available either on-line (articles) or on Blackboard (BB) unless otherwise noted.

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.

Dalton, Russell J. and Wattenberg, Martin P. eds. 2000. *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford 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.

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

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. On your discussion day, please post your questions on Blackboard by 11 am. If more than one person is assigned to lead discussion on a given day, please coordinate. We will determine the discussion schedule on the first day of class.
- **Response Papers.** 4 (3-4 pages double-spaced) reading response papers—40% 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 (2 have to be done by Week 7 and 2 have to be done after unless you make special arrangements with me). 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 recommended list, but this is not required.
- **Research Design.** (12-15 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 either on the last day of class (12/5) or on a second day that we agree on to meet during/before exam week using presentation software, such as Powerpoint. 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. One-fifth of the points for the research design will come from the presentation and discussion of the other paper. The proposal for the project is due Oct. 3rd. Paper drafts are to be circulated no later than 12/2. The paper will be due Dec. 12th at 5pm.

Important Info & Policies

- You will need to bring the readings to class, either in hardcopy or electronic form. You may thus bring your laptop/tablet to class to refer to readings, take notes, etc. However, if I find you doing things that are not class-related, I will no longer allow you to bring your laptop/tablet to class.
- 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.

- 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.
- I expect you to attend *all* classes. Should something come up that will prevent you from attending class, please let me know in advance.
- Grade appeals must be in writing. You will need to explain why you believe you deserve a grade different than what you received.
- Should you need any special accommodations, please let me know ASAP.

Syllabus

Week 1: Introduction and Preliminaries (Aug. 29)

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. [BB]

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

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

Recommended

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/Cultural Explanations (Sept. 5)

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. [BB]

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

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. [BB]

Recommended

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 (Date TBD)

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

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

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

Week 4: Parties as Organizations (Date TBD)

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

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

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

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.

Recommended

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.

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.

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

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

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

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.

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

Week 5: Party and Electoral Systems I: Determinants and Variations (Sept. 26)

Mair, Peter. 2002. "Comparing Party Systems" in *Comparing Democracies 2*, Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi, and Pippa Norris, eds. Thousand Oaks: Sage. Pgs. 88-107. [BB]

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

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

Recommended

Adams, James , Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2004. "Understanding Change and Stability in Party Ideologies: Do Parties Respond to Public Opinion or to Past Election Results." *British Journal of Political Science*. 34.4: 589-610.

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

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

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

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

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.

McElwain, Kenneth. 2008. "Manipulating Electoral Rules to Manufacture Single-Party Dominance." *AJPS*. 52.1: 32-47.

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.

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

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.

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

Week 6: Party and Electoral Systems II: Testing Duverger's Law and Electoral Aggregation (Oct. 3)

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.

Cox, chapters 10-11

Recommended

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.

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.

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

Neto, Octavio Amorim and Cox, Gary. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties." *AJPS*. 41: 149-74.

Ordeshook, Peter and Shvetsova, Olga. 1994. "Ethnic Heterogeneity, District Magnitude, and the Number of Parties." *AJPS*. 38: 100-23.

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.

Week 7: Strategic vs. Expressive Voting (Oct. 10)

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

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

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

Recommended

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.

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 8: Party Strategy and Behavior I: Policy, Office, or Votes? (Oct. 17)

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

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

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

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

Recommended

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.

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

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.

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 9: Party Strategy and Behavior II: Issue Positioning and Issue Ownership (Oct. 24)

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. [BB]

Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science*. 40: 825-50.

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

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: 825-846.

Recommended

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.

Adams, James and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2009. "Moderate Now, Win Votes Later: The Electoral Consequences of Parties' Policy Shifts in 25 Postwar Democracies." *Journal of Politics*. 71.2: 678-692.

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

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

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

Robertson, David. 1976. *Theory of Party Competition*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Week 10: Issues in Developed Democracies I: Challenges to Traditional Parties—New Party Development and Success (Oct. 31)

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." *APSR*. 50.3: 513-529.

Meguid, Bonnie. 2008. *Party Competition between Unequals: Strategies and Electoral Fortunes in Western Europe*. New York: Cambridge UP. Chapters 1-4. [BB]

Rydgren, Jens. 2005. "Is Extreme Right-Wing Populism Contagious? Explaining the Emergence of a New Party Family." *European Journal of Political Research*. 44.3: 413-437.

Spoon, Jae-Jae. 2011. *Political Survival of Small Parties in Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Chapters 1-2. [BB]

Recommended

Bolleyer, Nicole and Evelyn Bytzek. 2013. "Origins of Party Formation and New Party Success in Advanced Democracies." *European Journal of Political Research*. Forthcoming.

Ezrow, Lawrence. 2008. "On the Inverse Relationship between Votes and Proximity for Niche Parties." *European Journal of Political Research*. 47.2: 206-220.

Golder, Matthew. 2003. "Explaining Variation in the Success of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe." *Comparative Political Studies*. 36.4: 432-466.

Harmel, Robert and John Robertson. 1985. "Formation and Success of New Parties." *International Political Science Review*. 6: 501-523.

Hug, Simon. 2001. *Altering Party Systems: Strategic Behavior and the Emergence of New Political Parties in Western Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

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

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

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1984. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge UP.

Rosenstone, Steven, Roy Behr, Edward Lazarus. 1996. *Third Parties in America*. Princeton UP.

Rüdiger, Wolfgang. 1990. "Explaining Green Party Development: Reflections on a Theoretical Framework." Glasgow, Scotland: Strathclyde Papers on Government and Politics, No. 71.

Tavits, Margit. 2006. "Party System Change: Testing a Model of New Party Entry." *Party Politics*: 12.1: 90-119.

van der Brug, Wouter, Meindert Fennema, and Jean Tillie. 2000. "Anti-Immigrant Parties in Europe: Ideological or Protest Vote?" *European Journal of Political Research*. 37: 77-102.

Week 11: Issues in Developed Democracies II: Are Parties Still Relevant? (Nov. 7)

Dalton, Russell J. and Wattenberg, Martin P., eds. 2000. *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Chapters 1, 3-6, 9-12.

Jensen, Christian B. and Jae-Jae Spoon. 2010. "Testing the 'Party Matters' Thesis: Explaining Progress Towards Kyoto Protocol Targets." *Political Studies*. 1-17.

Recommended

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

Week 12: Issues in Developing Democracies I: Ethnic Parties (Nov. 14)

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

Van Cott, Donna Lee and Roberta Rice. 2006. "The Emergence and Performance of Indigenous Peoples' Parties in South America: A Sub-national Statistical Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies*. 39.6: 709-32.

Recommended

Birnir, Jóhanna. 2006. *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. New York: Cambridge UP.

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.

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.

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 UP.

Week 13: Issues in Developing Democracies II: Party Consolidation and Corruption (Nov. 21)

Samuels, David. J. 1999. "Incentives to Cultivate a Party Vote in Candidate-Centric Electoral Systems: Evidence from Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies*. 32: 487-518.

Desposato, Scott W. 2006. "Parties for Rent? Ambition, Ideology and Party Switching in Brazil's Chamber of Deputies." *AJPS*. 50: 62-80.

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

Michelle Kuenzi and Gina Lambright. 2005. "Party Systems and Democratic Consolidation in Africa's Electoral Regimes." *Party Politics*. 11.4: 423-446.

Recommended

Carey, John and Matthew Sogberg Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies*. 14.4: 417-439.

Figueiredo, Argelina C. and Limongi Fernando. 2000. "Presidential Power, Legislative Organization, and Party Behavior in Brazil." *Comparative Politics*. 32: 151-70.

Golden, Miriam and Eric C.C. Chang. 2003. "Electoral Connections: The Effects of the Personal Vote on Political Patronage, Bureaucracy and Legislation in Postwar Italy." *BJPS*. 33.2.

Hagopian, Frances, Carlos Gervasoni, Juan Andres Moraes. 2009. "From Patronage to Program: The Emergence of Party-Oriented Legislators in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies*. 42.3: 360-391.

Heller, William B. and Carol Mershon. 2005. "Party Switching in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, 1996-2001." *The Journal of Politics*. 67: 536-559.

Horowitz, Shale and Eric Browne. 2005. "Sources of Post Communist Party System Consolidation." *Party Politics*. 11: 689-706.

Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven Wilkinson, eds. 2007. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies. Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully, eds. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford UP.

Nichter, Simeon. 2008. "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and Secret Ballots." *American Political Science Review*. 102.1: 19-31.

Stokes, Susan. 2005. "Perverse Accountability. A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina." *American Political Science Review*. 99.3: 315-325.

****Thanksgiving Break (Nov. 28)****

Week 14: Research Design Presentations (Dec. 5 and a second day TBD)

****RESEARCH DESIGNS DUE ON DEC. 12TH @ 5PM.**

Additional Important Information

The Political Science Department adheres to and enforces UNT's policy on academic integrity (cheating, plagiarism, forgery, fabrication, facilitating academic dishonesty and sabotage). Students should review the policy (UNT Policy Manual Section 18.1.16), which is located at http://policy.unt.edu/sites/default/files/untpolicy/pdf/7-Student_Affairs-Academic_Integrity.pdf.

Violations of academic integrity in this course will be addressed in compliance with the penalties and procedures laid out in this policy.

The Political Science Department cooperates with the Office of Disability Accommodation to make reasonable accommodations for qualified students with disabilities. Further information can be found at www.unt.edu/oda/index.html. Please present your written accommodation request on or before the sixth class day (beginning of the second week of classes).