

## PS 5262 Comparative Party Politics

Spring 2013  
Tuesdays 3-5PM  
Seigle L004

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This seminar provides an introduction to the comparative literature on parties and party systems in democratic regimes. The topic of comparative party politics is broad and includes very diverse research agendas. The syllabus includes a representative selection of these agendas but does not aspire to provide a complete overview of the research on political parties. Our focus will be mostly on theoretical aspects of party politics and comparative empirical analyses rather than on a close scrutiny of particular national cases. Most of the literature that this course will cover focuses on Europe, but empirical studies with cases from other regions are also occasionally included. This course should be of interest to students planning on writing a dissertation on a topic related to political parties, representation, or political institutions.

### Requirements and Grading

1. *Class participation*: This is a graduate seminar, and all students will be expected to have done the required reading before each week's seminar and contribute to the class discussion. Everyone is also expected to submit three potential discussion questions to the class discussant every week (see point 2). **(20%)**
2. *Class discussant*: One or two people will be in charge of leading our discussion, and every seminar participant will have to perform as discussant 2-3 times in the semester. In addition to leading the discussion on the required readings, the discussion leaders should report on extra readings (if applicable). The discussants should prepare a list of discussion questions and submit these no later than **Monday (at noon) before class** to the entire class. The discussants should also incorporate into their final discussion agenda at least some questions submitted by fellow students (see point 1). **(10% each)**
4. *Group research proposal*: A research proposal will look like an empirical journal article, only without the actual analysis. It will include a statement of a research question or puzzle, a review of the literature related to the topic, theoretical arguments that can be used to provide an answer to the question, hypotheses drawn from these theories that can be tested empirically, and a description of what empirical evidence and methods will be used to test these hypotheses (including how the hypotheses could be falsified). It can also contain some initial analysis of the data.

We will be working on a research proposal together as a group throughout the semester. Below, I have listed the class sessions in which each of you needs to make a short presentation about your work on the project. Everyone is also expected to hand in written work as appropriate. **(50%)**

### **January 29: Choosing a topic**

For this session, everyone needs to present a description of three research ideas about political parties. Please also circulate one page summary of each idea to the entire class **by noon on Monday January 28**. The summary should include answers to the following questions (and other pertinent info): What is the puzzle? What is the dependent variable? Why do you think this is an important puzzle? What is your initial explanation?

### **February 19: Literature review**

On January 29, we will choose three topics to pursue further from among the ones that you have submitted. In the Feb. 19 meeting, each one of you will present and submit (**by noon on Monday, February 18**) a literature review for one of these topics. Your literature review should include: What has been written on this puzzle before? What potential explanations have been provided? Why are these explanations inadequate? How is your explanation an improvement? Please also provide a full list of references. Your literature review should give us enough information about the topic to discuss and decide whether pursuing that given topic is worthwhile. At this end of this session, we will narrow our research topic down to only one (keeping the others on reserve).

### **March 19: Research design and theory**

For this assignment, we will break the class up into two groups, one of which will be working on elaborating on the theoretical argument and the other on research design. The theory group will prepare a document that describes the following: What is the theory? How is the independent variable linked to the dependent variable? What is the causal mechanism? Is there a plausible alternative argument? The research design group will prepare a document on the following: How to test our argument? Is it doable? What data are available? What is the exact testable hypothesis from our theory? What cases to use, what data, what methods? Justify all these choices! What are some of the alternative arguments that we can test? Even though there are separate theory and design groups, the two groups need to coordinate, so plan on meeting as a class before the March 19 class session. Please circulate the final documents to the entire class by **Monday, March 18 at noon**.

### **April 23: Data collection and preliminary results**

We will decide on the specific assignments for this meeting on March 19. In general, it involves some data collection work for everyone and perhaps some preliminary analysis. We will use this last session to discuss whether/how to proceed with the project.

## **Readings**

Many of the journal articles and book chapters listed in the course schedule are available to you electronically in a shared Dropbox folder “ps5262.”

We will be reading substantial portions of the following books. You may want (but are not required) to buy these.

Adams, James, Merrill and Grofman. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Aldrich, John. 1995. *Why Parties?* Chicago: Chicago UP  
 Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP  
 Laver, Michael J. and Norman Schofield. 1990. *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
 Morgenstern, Scott. 2004. *Patterns of Legislative Politics. Roll-Call Voting in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.  
 Mudde, Cas. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*Note: I reserve the right to make any changes to this syllabus throughout the semester as necessary.*

## Course Schedule

### 1. Why parties? And the state of party research (January 15)

Aldrich, John. 1995. *Why Parties?* Chicago: Chicago UP. Pp. 3-61.  
 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.) A. Finifter. Washington, D.C.: APSA. Pp. 163-191.  
 Mair *West European Party Systems*. Oxford: Oxford UP. Ch. 1 (Lapalombara and Weiner "The Origin of Political Parties")  
 Stokes, Susan. 1999. "Political Parties and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 243-267.

#### RECOMMENDED

Daalder, H. 2002. "Parties: Denied, Dismissed, or Redundant? A Critique." In *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges* (ed.) Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero, and Juan J. Linz. Oxford: Oxford UP. Pp. 39-57.  
 Downs, Anthony. 1957. *Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Brothers.  
 Montero, Jose Ramon and Richard Gunther. 2002. "Introduction: Reviewing and Reassessing Parties." In *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges* (ed.) Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero and Juan J. Linz. Oxford: Oxford UP. Pp. 1-35.

### 2. Cleavages and party systems (January 22)

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 *West European Party Systems*:  
     Chapter 9 (Lipset and Rokkan "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments")  
     Chapter 11 (Sartori "The Sociology of Parties: A Critical Review")  
 Wittenberg, Jason. 2006. *Sustaining Political Loyalties: Religion and Electoral Continuity in Hungary and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Ch.2, i.e., pp.1-19, 55-75.  
 Zielinski, Jakub. 2002. "Translating Social Cleavages into Party Systems: The Significance of New Democracies." *World Politics* 54: 184-211.

#### RECOMMENDED:

- Aldrich, John. 1995. *Why Parties?* Chicago: Chicago UP. 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.
- 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.

### 3. Choosing a topic (see assignment 3 above) (January 29)

The following readings may help with this assignment:

- Geddes, Barbara. 2003. *Paradigms and Sand Castles*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. (Geddes) Chapters 1, 2.
- King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry*. Princeton: Princeton UP. (KKV) Especially Ch 1.
- King, Gary. 2006. "Publication, Publication." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 39: 119-125.

### 4. Electoral systems and party systems (February 5)

- Boix, Charles. 2007. "The Emergence of Parties and Party Systems." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* (eds.) Charles Boix and Susan Stokes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. Chapters 1-7, 10-11.
- Moser, Robert. 1999. "Electoral Systems and the Number of Parties in Postcommunist States." *World Politics* 51(3): 359-384.

#### RECOMMENDED

- 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 UP.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1994. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1991. "Politicians, Parties, and Electoral Systems. Brazil in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 24(1): 21-43.
- Moser, Robert. 1999. "Electoral Systems and the Number of Parties in Postcommunist States." *World Politics* 51(3): 359-384.
- 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 UP.
- Shugart, Matthew S. and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2001. *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* New York: Oxford UP.

- Taagepera, Rein and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1989. *Seats and Votes*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 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): 455-464.
- Taagepera, Rein. 2007. *Predicting Party Sizes: The Logic of Simple Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## 5. Parties and mobilization of voters (February 12)

- Adams, James, Merrill and Grofman. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. Chapters 1 and 6, skim the rest.
- 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.
- Adams, James et al. 2011. "Is Anybody Listening? Evidence That Voters Do Not Respond to European Parties' Policy Statements During Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 370-382.
- Miller, Gary and Norman Schofield. 2003. "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 97(2): 245-260.
- Schofield, Norman and Itai Sened. 2006. *Multiparty Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 7.
- Pepinski, Thimas B. et al. 2012. "Testing Islam's Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3): 584-600.

### RECOMMENDED

- Adams, James and Samuel Merrill III. 1999. "Modeling Party Strategies and Policy Representation in Multiparty Elections: Why Are Strategies So Extreme?" *American Journal of Political Science* 43(3): 765-791.
- Bawn, Kathleen and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2012. "Government versus Opposition at the Polls." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(2): 433-446.
- 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.
- 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. Pp. 267-306.
- Clark, Michael. 2008. "Valence and Electoral Outcomes in Western Europe, 1976-1998." *Electoral Studies* 28(1): 111-122.
- Cox, Gary. 1990. "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 34(4): 903-35.
- Duch, Raymond M. et al. 2010. "Coalition-directed Voting in Multiparty Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 104(4): 698-719.
- Fowler, James H. and Michael Laver. 2008. "A Tournament of Party Decision Rules." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(1): 68-92.
- Gerber, Alan S. et al. 2010. "Party Affiliation, Partisanship, and Political Beliefs: A Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 104(4): 720-744.

- 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. "Political Leadership and Representation in Western European Democracies: A Test of the Three Models of Voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 38:46-74.
- Iversen, Torben. 1994. "The Logics of Electoral Politics. Spatial, Directional, and Mobilizational Effects." *Comparative Political Studies* 27: 155-89.
- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara, Ian Budge, and Michael D. McDonald. 2006. *Mapping Policy Preferences II: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments in Eastern Europe, European Union, and OECD 1990-2003*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, Jeffrey B. and Gary King. 2000. "No Evidence on Directional vs. Proximity Voting." *Political Analysis* 8(1): 21-33.
- 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.
- Rabinowitz, George, and Stuart Elaine Macdonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Voting." *American Political Science Review* 83:93-121.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems. A Frameworks for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Schofeld, Norman. 1993. "Political Competition and Multiparty Coalition Governments." *European Journal of Political Research* 23: 1-33.
- Tavits, Margit. 2007. "Principle vs. Pragmatism: Policy Shifts and Political Competition." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1): 151-65.

## 6. Literature review (see assignment 3 above) (February 19)

## 7. Other linkage types: Clientelism and charisma (February 26)

- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities." *Comparative Political Studies* 33(6/7): 845-879.

### Clientelistic linkage

- Ames, B. 1995. "Electoral Strategies under Open-List Proportional Representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 39(2): 406-433.
- Brusco, Valeria, Marcelo Nazareno and Susan C. Stokes. 2004. "Vote Buying in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* 39(2): 66-88.
- Carey, John M. and Matthew Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14(4): 417-439.
- Kitschelt, Herbert and Steve Wilkinson (Eds). 2007. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies*. Cambridge: 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.

### Charismatic linkage

- Madsen, Douglas and Peter Snow. 1991. *The Charismatic Bond: Political Behavior in Time of Crisis*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Introduction and Conclusion.

Van der Brug, Wouter and Anthony Mughan. 2007. "Charisma, Leader Effects and Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties." *Party Politics* 13(1): 29-51.

#### RECOMMENDED

- 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 UP.
- 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): 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 UP. Pp. 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 UP.
- Kang, David. 2002. *Crony Capitalism. Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Piattoni, Simona, ed. 2001. *Clientelism, Interests, and Democratic Representation. The European Experience In Historical and Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge UP.
- 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 UP.

### 8. Parties in the legislature (March 5)

#### Party unity

- Bowler, Shaun. 2002. "Parties in Legislatures: Two Competing Explanations." In *Parties without Partisans* (eds.) Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Carey, John M. 2007. "Political Institutions, Competing Principals, and Party Unity in Legislative Voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1): 92-107.
- Morgenstern, Scott. 2004. *Patterns of Legislative Politics. Roll-Call Voting in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. Chapters 1, 4, 5.
- Proksch, Sven-Oliver and Jonathan B. Slapin. 2012. "Institutional Foundations of Legislative Speech." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3): 520-537.

#### Party switching

- Desposato, Scott, W. 2006. "Parties for Rent? Ambition, Ideology, and Party Switching in Brazil's Chamber of Deputies." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(1): 62-80.
- Heller, William B. and Carol Mershon. 2008. "Dealing with Discipline: Party Switching and Legislative Voting in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, 1988-2000." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 910-925.
- Mershon, Carol and Olga Shvetsova. 2008. "Parliamentary Cycles and Party Switching in Legislatures." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(1): 99-127.

## RECOMMENDED

- Dewan, Torun and Arthur Spirling. 2011. "Strategic Opposition and Government Cohesion in Westminster Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 105(2): 337-358.
- Diermeier, Daniel and Razvan Vlaicu. 2011. "Parties, Coalitions, and the Internal Organization of Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 105(2): 359-380.
- Olivella, Santiago and Margit Tavits. Forthcoming. "Legislative Effects of Electoral Mandates." *British Journal of Political Science*.
- Tavits, Margit. 2009. "The Making of Mavericks: Local Loyalties and Party Defections." *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(6): 793-815.
- Tavits, Margit. 2010. "The Effect of Local Ties on Electoral Success and Parliamentary Behavior: The Case of Estonia." *Party Politics*, 16(2): 215-235.
- Tavits, Margit. 2011. "Power Within Parties: The Strength of the Local Party and MP Independence in Postcommunist Europe." *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(4): 923-936.

## 9. Theory and research design (see assignment 3) (March 19)

The following readings may help prepare for this assignment:

### Theory

Geddes, Chapter 5.

KKV, Chapter 3.

Rogowski, Ronald. 2004. "How Inference in the Social (but Not the Physical) Sciences Neglects Theoretical Anomaly." In Henry E. Brady and David Collier (eds.) *Rethinking Social Inquiry*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

### Case selection

Geddes, Chapter 3

KKV, Chapters 4, 6

Ebbinghausen, B. 2005. "When Less Is More." *International Sociology* 20(2): 133-152.

Mahoney, J. and G. Goertz. 2004. "The Possibility Principle." *American Political Science Review* 98(4): 653-669.

Seawright, Jason and John Gerring. 2008. "Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(2): 294-308.

### Case studies and "mixed methods"

Gerring, J. 2004. "What Is a Case Study and What is It Good For?" *American Political Science Review* 98(2): 341-354.

Lieberman, E. 2005. "Nested Analysis as a Mixed-Method Strategy for Comparative Research." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 435-452.

Bates, Robert H., Anver Greif, Margaret Lavi, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, and Barry R. Weingast. 1998. *Analytic Narratives*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Dion, D. 1998. "Evidence and Inference in the Comparative Case Study." *Comparative Politics* 30(2): 127-145.

George, Alexander and Andrew Bennett. 2005. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Gerring, John and Rose McDermott, 2007. "An Experimental Template for Case Study Research." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(3): 688-701.



Sekhon, Jaseet. 2004. "Quality Meets Quantity: Case Studies, Conditional Probability and Counterfactuals." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(2): 281-293.

#### Conceptualization and measurement

Geddes, Chapter 4

Collier, D. and J. E. Mahon. 1993. "Conceptual Stretching Revisited: Adapting Categories to Comparative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 87: 845-55.

Sartori, G. 1970. "Concept Misinformation in Comparative Politics." *American Political Science Review* 64: 1033-53.

### **10. Parties in government (March 26)**

Diermeier, Daniel and Randolph T. Stevenson. 1999. "Cabinet Survival and Competing Risks." *American Journal of Political Science* 43: 1051-1068.

Laver, Michael J. and Norman Schofield. 1990. *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8.

Martin, Lanny W. and Randolph T. Stevenson. 2001. "Government Formation in Parliamentary Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 33-50.

Volden, Craig and Clifford J. Carrubba. 2004. "The Formation of Oversized Coalitions in Parliamentary Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 521-537.

#### RECOMMENDED

Laver, Michael J. 1998. "Models of Government Formation." *Annual Reviews of Political Science* 1: 1-25.

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

Laver, Michael J. and Kenneth A. Shepsle. 1996. *Making and Breaking Governments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Martin, Lanny W. and Georg Vanberg. 2011. *Parliaments and Coalitions*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Ono, Yoshikuni. 2012. "Portfolio Allocation as Leadership Strategy: Intraparty Bargaining in Japan." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3): 553-567.

Tavits, Margit. 2008. "The Role of Parties' Past Behavior in Coalition Formation." *American Political Science Review*, 102(4): 495-507.

### **11. Partisan government and policy (April 2)**

Blais, Andre, Donald Blake, and Stephanie Dion. 1993. "Do Parties Make A Difference? Parties and the Size of Government in Liberal Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(1): 40-62.

Hibbs, Douglas A. 1977. "Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy." *American Political Science Review* 71(4): 1467-1487.

King, Gary, Michael Laver, Richard I. Hofferbert, Ian Budge, and Michael D. McDonald. 1993. "Party Platforms, Mandates, and Government Spending." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 744-750.

Amat, Francesc and Erik Wibbels. 2009. "Electoral Incentives, Group Identity and Preferences for Redistribution." Juan March Research Institute Working Paper 2009/246.

- De La O, Ana L. and Jonathan A. Rodden. 2008. "Does Religion Distract the Poor?: Income and Issue Voting Around the World." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(4/5): 437-476.
- Huber, John D. and Piero Stanig. 2006. "Voting Polarization on Redistribution Across Democracies." Unpublished manuscript. Columbia University.
- Scheve, Kenneth and David Stasavage. 2006. "Religion and Preferences for Social Insurance." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 1(3): 255-286.

#### RECOMMENDED

- Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Richard I. Hofferbert, Ian Budge, Hans Keman. 1994. *Parties, Politics and Democracy*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Huber, Evelyne, Thomas Mustillo, and John D. Stevens. 2008. "Politics and Social Spending in Latin America." *Journal of Politics* 70(2): 420-436.
- Imbeau, Louise M., Francois Petry, and Moktar Lamari. 2001. "Left-Right Ideology and Government Policies: A Meta-Analysis." *European Journal of Political Research* 40(1): 1-29.
- Tavits, Margit and Natalia Letki. 2009. "When Left Is Right: Party Ideology and Policy in Post-Communist Europe." *American Political Science Review* 103(4): 555-569.
- Thomson, Robert. 2001. "The Programme to Policy Linkage: The Fulfilment of Election Pledges on Socio-Economic Policy in the Netherlands, 1986-1998." *European Journal of Political Research* 40: 171-197.

## 12. Parties in developing democracies (April 9)

- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2002. *Redeeming the Communist Past*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Conclusion.
- LeBas, Adrienne. 2011. *From Protest to Parties: Party Building and Democratization in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1, 2, Conclusion.
- Hicken, Allen. 2009. *Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Conclusion.

#### RECOMMENDED

- Tavits, Margit. 2013. *Postcommunist Democracies and Party Organization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

#### On Party system change

- Bartolini, Stefano. 2000. *The Class Cleavage. The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pedersen, M. 1979. "The dynamics of European party systems: Changing patterns of electoral volatility." *European Journal of Political Research* 7: 1-26.
- Dalton, Russell, Ian McAllister and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2002. "The Consequences of Partisan Dealignment." Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.) *Parties without Partisans*. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2004. "Diversification and Reconfiguration of Party Systems in Postindustrial Democracies." *Europäische Politik* 3: 1-23.
- Mayhew, David. 2000. "Electoral Realignment." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 449-474.
- Tavits, Margit. 2005. "The Development of Stable Party Support: Electoral Dynamics in Post-Communist Europe." *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(2): 283-298.

- Tavits, Margit. 2006. "Party System Change: Testing a Model of New Party Entry." *Party Politics*, 12(1): 99-119.
- Tavits, Margit. 2008. "On the Linkage between Electoral Volatility and Party System Instability in Central and Eastern Europe." *European Journal of Political Research*, 47(5): 537-555.
- Tavits, Margit. 2008. "Party Systems in the Making: The Emergence and Success of New Parties in New Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science*, 38(1): 113-133.

#### On Party change

- Enyedi, Zsolt. 2005. "The Role of Agency in Cleavage Formation." *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 1-25.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell UP.
- Muller, Wolfgang C. and Kaare Strom, eds. 1999. *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*. New York: Cambridge UP.
- Przeworski, Adam and John Sprague. 1986. *Paper Stones*. New York: Cambridge UP.

### **13. Niche and extremist parties (April 16)**

- 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.
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#### **14. Data and preliminary results (see assignment 3) (April 23)**