

Comparative Parties and Elections
PS 2312
University of Pittsburgh • Spring 2024
Thursday 9am-12pm

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Office Hours: Tues. 1-2:30pm and by appointment

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 (and what we still don't know).

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.

An excellent resource with chapters by leading scholars on the major questions in the study of political parties--*The Routledge Handbook of Political Parties*, Neil Carter, Daniel Keith, Gyda M. Sindre, and Sofia Vasilopoulou, eds. (2023)--is available on-line through ULS.

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 15% of your grade, which includes leading discussion once (5% of your participation grade). Please post your questions on Canvas by Weds. at 5pm. 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 should coordinate the day you sign-up to lead discussion with one of the days you plan to write a response paper.
- **Research Design/Paper and Presentation.** (15-18 double-spaced pages)—(Paper—35%; Presentation/Discussant—10%). You may choose to do a research design or conduct an empirical analysis on a question/gap in the literature you've identified. For both, the paper will take the form of an empirical journal article or conference paper and have a research question, literature review, hypotheses, discussion of the research method and data. If you choose to conduct an empirical analysis, I expect you to use publicly available secondary data (or primary data that you have collected/can collect in a timely manner). If you choose to do a research design, I expect to see a thorough outline of the analysis you would do once you have the quantitative data and/or methodological skills, the plan for qualitative research (including sample and questions), or something akin to a pre-analysis plan for an experiment with the sample, questions, etc. On the last day of class (April 18th), you will present your projects using presentation software. 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 send a written copy of your comments to your partner and me. Your presentation grade will be based on both 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 15th at noon. The paper will be due April 21st at 9pm.
- **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 3 questions. The exam will be open book/article and open note. It is scheduled for April 25th from 9am-5pm. Please plan accordingly and let me know as soon as possible if you have a conflict.

Evaluation

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

2 Response Papers (10% each)	20%
Paper	35%
Presentation	10%
Final Exam	20%
Participation	15%

Grades will be calculated on a scale of A-B, etc. broken down as follows: 97-100=A+; 93-96=A; 90-92=A-; 87-89=B+; 83-86=B; 80-82=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.

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.

Disability Services. 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/>

Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion. The University of Pittsburgh does not tolerate any form of discrimination, harassment, or retaliation based on disability, race, color, religion, national origin, ancestry, genetic information, marital status, familial status, sex, age, sexual orientation, veteran status or gender identity or other factors as stated in the University's Title IX policy. The University is committed to taking prompt action to end a hostile environment that interferes with the University's mission. For more information about policies, procedures, and practices, please visit <https://www.diversity.pitt.edu/civil-rights-title-ix-compliance>.

I ask that everyone in the class strive to help ensure that other members of this class can learn in a supportive and respectful environment. If there are instances of the aforementioned issues, please contact the Title IX Coordinator, by calling 412-648-7860, or e-mailing titleixcoordinator@pitt.edu. Reports can also be [filed online](#). You may also choose to report this to a faculty/staff member; they are required to communicate this to the University's Office of Diversity and Inclusion. If you wish to maintain complete confidentiality, you may also contact the University Counseling Center (412-648-7930).

Syllabus

Week 1. Introduction and Preliminaries (Jan. 11): 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]

Week 2. Party Formation : Societal and Cultural Explanations v. Institutional and Organizational (Jan. 18)

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]

Week 3. Parties as Organizations (Jan. 25)

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.

Week 4. Parties and Institutions: Electoral Systems (Feb. 1)

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.

Week 5. Parties and Institutions: Parliamentary and Presidential Systems (Feb. 8)

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.

Week 6. Strategic Politicians (Feb. 15)

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*. Ch. 4. [C]

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

Chapter 4. [C]

Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count*: Cambridge: Cambridge UP. Ch. 8. [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.

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.

Week 7. Clientelism and Clientalistic Linkages (Feb. 22)

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

Hidalgo, F. Daniel and Simeon Nichter. 2016. "Voter Buying: Shaping the Electorate through Clientelism." *American Journal of Political Science*. 60.2: 436-455.

Hicken, Allen, Edward Aspinall, Meredith L. Weiss, and Burhanuddin Muhtadi. 2022. "Buying Brokers: Electoral Handouts beyond Clientelism in a Weak-Party State." *World Politics*. 74.1: 77-120.

Holland, Alisha C. and Brian Palmer-Rubin. 2015. "Beyond the Machine: Clientalist Brokers and Interest Organizations in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies*. 48.9: 1186-1223.

Ichino, Nahomi and Noah L. Nathan. 2013. "Do Primaries Improve Electoral Performance? Clientalism and Intra-Party Conflict in Ghana." *American Journal of Political Science*. 57.2: 428-441.

Thachil, Tariq. 2014. "Elite Parties, Poor Voters: Theory and Evidence from India." *APSR*. 108.2: 454-477.

Week 8. Issue Positioning and Issue Ownership (Feb. 29)

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.

Week 9. Party Responsiveness and Policy Shifts (March 7)

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.

O'Grady, Tom and Tarik Abou-Chadi. 2019. "Not So Responsive after All: European Parties Do Not Respond to Public Opinion Shifts across Multiple Issue Dimensions." *Research & Politics*. (October). 1-7.

Week 10. Spring Break (March 14)

Week 11. New Parties (March 21)

Hug, Simon. 1996. "The Emergence of New Political Parties from a Game-theoretic Perspective." *European Journal of Political Research*. 29.2: 169-190.

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

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. 2005. "Competition between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy and Niche Party Success." *APSR*. 50.3: 513-529.

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

Jolly, Seth. 2015. "Regionalist Party Success." In *The European Union and the Rise of Regionalist Parties*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Ch. 3. Pgs. 54-86. [C]

Week 12. Ethnic Parties (March 28)

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.

Huber, John D. and Suryanarayan, Pavithra. 2016. "Ethnic Inequality and the Ethnification of Political Parties." *World Politics*. 68.1:149-188.

Week 13. Gender and Party Politics (April 4)

Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2010. "If Only They'd Ask: Gender, Recruitment, and Political Ambition." *Journal of Politics*. 72.2: 310-326.

Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2001. "Political Parties and the Adoption of Candidate Gender Quotas: A Cross-National Analysis." *Journal of Politics*. 63.4: 1214-1229.

Krook, Mona L. and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2012. "All the President's Men? The Appointment of Female Cabinet Ministers Worldwide." *Journal of Politics*. 74.3: 840-855.

O'Brien, Diana Z. 2015. "Rising to the Top: Gender, Political Performance, and Party Leadership in Parliamentary Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science*. 59.4: 1022-1039.

Weeks, Ana Catalano, Bonnie M. Meguid, Miki Caul Kittilson, and Hilda Coffé. 2023. "When Do Männerparteien Elect Women? Radical Right Populist Parties and Strategic Descriptive Representation." *American Political Science Review*. 117.2: 421-438.

Week 14. No class—MA Prep (April 11)

Week 15. Paper Presentations (April 18)

***PAPERS DUE—APRIL 21st @ 9PM**

***FINAL EXAM—APRIL 25th—9AM-5PM**

APPENDIX

Supplementary Readings

Week 1: What are parties? What roles do they play? Are parties necessary for democracy?

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

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

Ascencio, Sergio and Yann P. Kerevel. 2021. "Party Strategy, Candidate Selection, and Legislative Behavior in Mexico." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 46.3: 713-743.

Bischof, Daniel and Markus Wagner. 2020. "What Makes Parties Adapt to Voter Preferences? The Role of Party Organization, Goals and Ideology." *British Journal of Political Science*. 50.1: 391-401.

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.

Kölln, Ann-Kristin. 2016. "Party Membership in Europe: Testing Party-Level Explanations of Decline." *Party Politics*. 22.4: 465-477.

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

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.

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