GOV 390L / LAS 384L Political Parties and Party Systems

(Spring 2011)

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Course meets: W 7:00-10:00 BAT 5.102

Unique: GOV 39125

Office hours: W 2-5 and by appt.

This is an advanced introduction to the study of political parties and party systems for graduate students. The literature on these subjects is vast and we will not be able to cover all of the important themes. I have decided to highlight four main themes: party formation, organization, strategy, and institutionalization. These get at four subsequent themes: the number of parties, competitiveness, representativeness, and party system stability.

In giving a course like this, there is a tension between a focus on theory and on cases. Too much theory and you lose grounding in real world politics, but too much focus on cases and you end up without the essential tools to think about parties comparatively and synthetically. I have chosen to make this a course on theory; however, since it is important for you to get case material, I expect that you will read some of the recommended works each week or other supplemental materials on country cases.

Grading. Your responsibilities include the following main components.

- 1. Active participation in seminar discussion.
- 2. Each week, write a one-page reaction to the readings. This may be an analytic summary, a critique, or a combination of the two. E-mail me the summary by Monday at noon.
- 3. Option 1 is a concept paper, a data paper, and a book review.
 - a. <u>Book review</u>: Decide on a book and tell me by February 7. Then, by February 21 (or sooner), hand in a 5-page paper (no longer!) that is modeled on a professional book review like one would find in a leading political science journals. For examples, consult *Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Perspectives on Politics, Political Science Quarterly,* among others. Please choose one of the substantive books from the syllabus, not a technical one and not an edited volume. You may substitute a book not on the syllabus with permission, but I would prefer that you use one from the course.
 - b. <u>Concept paper</u>: Decide on a concept and hand in a one-page prospectus by March 7. Then, by April 4, hand in a 8-10-page paper that analyzes a particular concept in the parties literature, including how it is used and measured by key authors, any problems with conceptualization and measurement, and ways that the concept could be improved. Some possibilities include party system institutionalization, social/political cleavage, ideology, and clientelism. For a good example, see Steven Levitsky "Levitsky, S. 1998. Institutionalization and Peronism: The Case, the Concept, and the Case for Unpacking the Concept" *Party Politics* 4(1):77-92 available at http://scholar.harvard.edu/levitsky/publications?sort=title&order=asc.
 - c. <u>Data paper</u>: Decide on a topic and e-mail me a one-page prospectus by April 13. Then, by May 9 hand in a 8-10-page paper that tests a hypothesis found in the parties literature using qualitative or quantitative data. You might take a hypothesis that has been tested before and test it on a broader or different set of cases (i.e., a hypothesis that has been tested on Latin American cases that you instead test on Asian cases), a hypothesis with a dubious test that you want to replicate, or a hypothesis that has not been tested adequately or at all.
- 4. Option 2 is a book review (see above) and a 20-25-page research paper centered on an important issue in the parties literature. For the research paper, hand in a 2-3-page prospectus by March 7 that includes a statement of the question to be answered, why we should care about having an answer to this question, some plausible explanations, a research plan, and a preliminary bibliography of at least the main sources. I may ask you to re-write this prospectus as we fine-tune your topic. The final research paper is due May 9 and should include an explicit treatment of some aspect of party theory and the use of primary data. These data may be qualitative or quantitative. The paper may be broadly comparative or it may be grounded in a particular region or country. This option may be better suited to advanced students working on their dissertations or those who already have an idea for a conference paper or article manuscript that could be submitted to a journal.

<u>Readings</u>: Required readings are listed first along with recommended readings for each week. Some of the recommended readings are quite central; others are included as a sort of extended bibliography that you may want to consult if you have a particular interest in that theme. Required readings include downloadable articles,

book chapters (I can supply one copy of these to be passed around and copied), and the following books that are available for purchase at the Coop or elsewhere.

- Chandra, Kanchan. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. ISBN: 0-521-81452-9.
- Cox, Gary. Making Votes Count. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. ISBN: 0-521-58527-9
- Greene, Kenneth F. Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. ISBN: 0-521-877190.
- Hale, Henry Why Not Parties in Russia: Democracy, Federalism, and the State. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. ISBN: 0-521-844096.
- Hinich, Melvin, and Michael Munger, *Analytical Politics*. New York: Cambridge Univ Press 1997.ISBN: 0-521-56567-7
- Kalyvas, Stathis. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ Press, 1996. ISBN: 0-8014-8320-4
- Kitschelt, Herbert *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994. ISBN: 0-521-45715-7

Course Outline by Week:

- 1. Introduction (January 24)
- 2. Why Parties (January 31)
- 3. Spatial Competition (February 7)
- 4. Programmatic Competition and Clientelism (February 14)
- 5. Institutions: Opportunities and Constraints on Party Formation and Competition (February 21)
- 6. From Local to National: How Party Systems Aggregate (February 28)
- 7. Social Cleavages with and without Strategic Politicians (March 7)
- 8. Political Recruitment and Intra-Party Politics (March 21)
- 9. Party Institutionalization (March 28)
- 10. Perspectives on Party Formation (April 4)
- 11. Party System Change: Dealignment, Realignment, and Cleavage Mobilization (April 11)
- 12. Dominant Party Systems (April 18)
- 13. Post-Communist Party Systems (April 25)
- 14. Ethnic Parties (May 2)

1. Introduction and Overview (January 24)

Recommended: Kitschelt, Herbert "Party Systems" in Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxoford: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 522-554.

2. Why Parties? (January 31)

Themes:

- What is a party and what is a party system?
- Why are parties generated? What purposes/functions do they serve?
- What is distinctive about parties vs. social movements and interest groups?
- What are the differences between internally and externally generated parties?
- Does the role and origin of parties differ between perfectly democratic and imperfectly democratic systems?
- Consider the disconnect between Aldrich and Shefter's relatively parsimonious theories about party origins and the large array of empirical party types documents by Gunther and Diamond.

Readings:

- Ware, Alan. Political Parties and Party Systems. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 1-13.
- Aldrich, John. *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995, pp. 3-61; remainder of book optional, conclusion encouraged.
- Shefter, Martin. Political Parties and the State. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. 3-18.
- Gunther, Richard and Larry Diamond "Types and Functions of Parties" in Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther (eds.) *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 3-39.
- You could also read now or save for week 7, Stokes, Susan "Political Parties and Democracy" *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 2, 1999: 243-267. http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/toc/polisci/2/1

Recommended:

- Janda, Kenneth. "Comparative Political Parties: Research and Theory." Ada Finifter (ed.) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II.* Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association, 1993: 163-191.
- Sartori, Giovanni. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Lapolombara, Joseph and Myron Weiner, "The Origin of Political Parties" in Peter Mair (ed.) *The West European Party System.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 25-30.
- Gibson, Edward L. *Class and Conservative Parties: Argentina in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, pp. 1-28.
- Mair, Peter "Comparing Party Systems" in Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi, and Pippa Norris (eds.) Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenged in the Study of Elections and Voting Behavior. London: Sage, 2002.
- Schattschneider, E.E. The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist View of Democracy. 1941.
- Pomper, Gerald M. *Passions and Interests: Political Party Concepts of American Democracy*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992.
- Schmitter, Philippe "Parties are Not What they Once Were" in Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther (eds.) *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 67-89.
- Thomas, Clive. "Studying the Political Party-Interest Group Relationship" in Clive Thomas (ed.) *Political Parties and Interest Groups*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

3. Spatial Competition (February 7)

Themes:

- How does the basic spatial model of competition work? What are its moving parts? What are its assumptions about parties, about intra-party politics, and about voters?
- How do expectations change if we alter a) the number of competing parties; b) the number of salient dimensions of competition; c) the sequence of party entry; or d) voters' decision functions?
- Note that the recommended readings contain many approaches to explaining the spatial model. Thus, if you have trouble with Hinich and Munger, you may especially want to consult Downs, Shepsle and Cohen, and Grofman.

Readings:

Hinich, Melvin, and Michael Munger, *Analytical Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 1-72, 117-135, 157-211, skim 73-89, remainder of book recommended.

Robertson, David. A Theory of Party Competition. New York: Wiley, 1976, pp. 23-54.

Sartori, Giovanni. "A Typology of Party Systems" in Peter Mair (ed.) *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp 316-350.

Recommended:

Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row, 1967, especially pp. 1-14, 21-35, 114-141.

- Shepsle, Kenneth and Ronald Cohen. "Multiparty Competition, Entry, and Entry Deterrence in Spatial Models of Elections." James Enelow and Melvin Hinich (eds.) *Advances in the Spatial Theory of Voting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 12-45.
- Adams, James and Samuel Merrill III "Why Small, Centrist Third Parties Motivate Policy Divergence by Major Parties" *American Political Science Review* 100: 3, 2006:403-417.
- Adams, James, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2009. "Do parties adjust their policies in re- sponse to rival parties' policy shifts? Spatial theory and the dynamics of party competition in twenty-five democracies." British Journal of Political Science 39(4): 825-846.
- Hinich, Melvin, and Michael Munger. *Ideology and the Theory of Political Choice*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1994, pp. 1-165. Or "A Spatial Theory of Ideology" *Journal of Politics* 4, 1 (1992), pp. 5-30.
- Enelow, James, and Melvin Hinich "Nonspatial Candidate Characteristics and Electoral Competition." *Journal of Politics* 44 (1982), pp. 115-30.
- Feddersen Timothy, Itai Sened, and Stephen Wright "Rational Voting and Candidate Entry Under Plurality Rule." American Journal of Political Science 34, 4 (1990), pp. 1005-1016.
- Groseclose, Tim "A Model of Candidate Location When One Candidate has a Valence Advantage" American Journal of Political Science 45, 4 (2001), pp. 862-886.
- Grofman, Bernard. "Downs and Two-Party Convergence" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2004, 7: 25-46. Hunter, Wendy. *The Transformation of the Workers' Party in Brazil, 1989-2009.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- McKelvey, Richard D. "Intransitivities in Multidimensional Voting Models and Some Implications for Agenda Control." *Journal of Economic Theory* 12 (1976), pp. 472-482.
- McKelvey, Richard D. "Covering, Dominance, and Institution-free Properties of Social Choice." *American Journal of Political Science* 30, 2 (1986), pp. 283-314.
- Ordeshook, Peter C. "The Spatial Analysis of Elections and Committees: Four Decades of Research" in Dennis Mueller (Ed). *Perspectives on Public Choice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Persson, Torsten, and Guido Tabellini. *Political Economics: Explaining Economic Policy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000.
- Palfrey, Thomas "Spatial Equilibrium with Entry" Review of Economic Studies 51 (1984), pp. 139-156.
- Riker, William H. and Peter Ordeshook "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting." *American Political Science Review* 62 (1968), 25-43.
- Roemer, John E. (2001) *Political Competition: Theory and Application*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Schofield, Norman (1997) "Multiparty Electoral Politics" in Dennis C. Mueller (ed.) *Perspectives on Public Choice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wittman, Donald (1990) "Spatial Strategies When Candidates Have Policy Preferences" in James Enelow and Melvin Hinich (eds.) *Advances in the Spatial Theory of Voting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stokes, Donald "Spatial Models of Party Competition" in Angus Campbell (ed.) *Elections and the Political Order.* New York: Wiley, 1966.

4. Programmatic Competition and Clientelism (February 14)

Themes:

- What is the difference between programmatic and clientelistic competition for a) party organization, b) voter representation, c) winning electoral strategies.
- Is patronage politics more the result of voters' demands or politicians' supply?
- How do electoral institutions affect the degree of clientelism in partisan competition?

Readings:

- Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven Wilkinson (2007) "Citizen-Politician Linkages: An Introduction" in H. Kitschelt and S. Wilkinson (eds.) *Patrons, Clients, and Policies* (New York: Cambridge University Press), pp. 1-46.
- Stokes, Susan (2007) "Political Clientelism." In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, eds. *Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 604-627.
- Carey, John and Mathew Soberg Shugart, "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas" *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 417-439.

Lawson, Chappell and Kenneth F Greene "Self-Enforcing Clientelism" University of Texas at Austin, manuscript, 2011.

Note that because we only meet 14 rather than the usual 15 weeks this semester, I cut the week on models of voting behavior. At the beginning of class, I will present the basic ideological theory of voting behavior and talk about one fairly easy way to add clientelist payoffs to this model. This is not the only way to think about clientelism, of course. If you have extra time this week, read Adams, James, Samuel Merrill III, and Bernard Grofman. A Unified Theory of Party Competition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, Chs. 1-5, 11 and Conclusion. Recommended readings on policy-based models of voting behavior follow.

Recommended on clientelism:

- Stokes, Susan "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina" American Political Science Review 93, 3: 315-327.
- Ames, Barry. (1995). Electoral strategy under open-list proportional representation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 39(2), 406-433.
- Auyero, Javier (1999) "From the client's point(s) of view': How poor people perceive and evaluate political clientelism", *Theory and Society*, 28 (2): 297-334.
- Auyero, Javier (2000) "The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account", *Latin American Research Review*, 35 (3): 55-82.
- Auyero, Javier (2001) *Poor People's Politics: Peronist Survival Networks and the Legacy of Evita*. Durham: North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Brusco, Valeria, Marcelo Nazareno, and Susan Stokes (2004) "Vote Buying in Argentina" *Latin American Research Review*, 39(2):66-88.
- Cain, Bruce, Ferejohn, John, and Fiorina, Morris. (1987). *The personal vote. Constituency service and electoral independence*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Calvo, Ernesto and María Victoria Murillo (2004) "Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market", *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(4):742-757.
- Calvo, Ernesto and María Victoria Murillo (2010) "When Parties Meet Voters: Partisan Networks and Distributive Expectations in Argentina and Chile" Manuscript.
- Chubb, Judith (1982) *Patronage, Power, and Poverty in Southern Italy.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Cox, Gary and McCubbins, Matthew (1986) "Electoral politics as a redistributive game" *The Journal of Politics* 48(2), 370–389.
- Dal Bó, Ernesto (2007) "Bribing Voters", *American Journal of Political Science*, 51 (4), 789–803. de Dados do Centro de Estudos de Opinião Pública CESOP UNICAMP. See
- Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto, Federico Estevez, and Beatriz Magaloni (2010) *Strategies of Vote-Buying: Poverty, Democracy, and Social Transfers in Mexico*. Manuscript. http://www.stanford.edu/~albertod/conference/papers.
- Dixit, A. and Londregan, John (1996) "The determinants of success of special interests in redistributive politics" *Journal of Politics* 58(4), 1132–1155.
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. and Roniger, Luis. (1984). *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structures of Trust in Society*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel N., and Lémarchand, René. (Eds.). (1981). *Political clientelism, patronage, and development*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Erie, Steven P (1988) *Rainbow's End: Irish-Americans and the Dilemmas of Urban Machine Politics*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Finan, Federico and Laura Schechter (2009) "Vote-Buying and Reciprocity". Typescript, accessed online at http://www.econ.ucla.edu/ffinan/Finan_Votebuying.pdf, March 9, 2009.
- Gay, Robert (1998) "Rethinking Clientelism: Demands, Discourses, and Practices in Contemporary Brazil", European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, 65: 7-24.
- Gay, Robert (2006) "The Even More Difficult Transition from Clientelism to Citizenship: Lessons from Brazil", in Patricia Fernández-Kelly and Jon Shefner, eds., *Out of the Shadows: Political Action and the Informal Economy in Latin America*. State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 195-217.
- Gosnell, Harold F. 1937. Machine Politics: The Chicago Model. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert "Linkages Between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities" *Comparative Political Studies* 33 No. 6/7, August/September 2000 845-879.
- Lemarchand, René and Keith Legg (1972) "Political Clientelism and Development: A Preliminary Analysis",

- Comparative Politics, 4 (2): 149-178.
- Levitsky, Steven (2003) "From Labor Politics to Machine Politics: The Transformation of Party-Union Linkages in Argentine Peronism, 1983-1999", *Latin American Research Review*, 38 (3): 3-36.
- Lindbeck, Assar and Jorgen Weibull "Balanced-Budget Redistribution as the Outcome of Political Competition" *Public Choice* 52 (1987), pp. 272-297.
- Lizzeri, Alessandro and Nicola Persico "The Provision of Public Goods Under Alternative Electoral Incentives" American Economic Review, 91 (2001), pp. 225-245.
- Lomnitz, Larissa Adler (1988) "Informal Exchange Networks in Formal Systems: A Theoretical Model", *American Anthropologist*, 90: 42-55.
- Mainwaring, Scott. *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999, pp. 175-280 and skim pp. 136-174.
- Myerson, Roger (1993) "Incentives to Cultivate Favored Minorities under Alternative Electoral Systems" American Political Science Review, 1993, 87(4): 856-69.
- Nichter, Simeon "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot" *American Political Science Review* 102 (February 2008): 19–31.
- Ostrogorski, Moisei (1910) Democracy and the Party System in the United States: A Study in Extra-Constitutional Government. New York: Macmillan.
- Piattoni, Simona. *Clientelism, Interests, and Democratic Representation: The European Experience in Historical and Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Robinson, James and Thierry Verdier "The Political Economy of Clientelism" mimeo.
- Roniger, Luis and Ayse Günes-Ayata (eds.) *Democracy, Clientelism, and Civil Society*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994.
- Samuels, David "Incentives To Cultivate A Party Vote In Candidate-Centric Electoral Systems: Evidence From Brazil" *Comparative Political Studies* 32, 4 (June 1999), pp. 487-518.
- Schaffer, Frederic Charles, ed. (2007) *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Scott, James C (1972) "Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia," *American Political Science Review*, 66: 91-113.
- Shefter, Martin (1977) *Patronage and its Opponents: A Theory and Some European Cases.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Wantchekon, Leonard. "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin" *World Politics* 55, 3 (2003): 399-422.

Recommended on policy-based models of voting behavior:

- Merrill, Samuel III and Bernard Grofman. *A Unified Theory of Voting: Directional and Proximity Spatial Models*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. See biblio for a long list of recommended readings.
- Rabinowitz, George and Stuart Elaine Macdonald "A Directional Theory of Voting" *American Political Science Review* 83, 1 (March 1989), pp. 93-121.
- Lewis, Jeff and Gary King "No Evidence of Directional vs. Proximity Voting" *Political Analysis* 8, 1 (1999), pp. 21-33.
- Kedar, Orit. "When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections" American Political Science Review 99, 2 (May 2005), pp. 185-199.
- Iversen, Torben "The Logics of Electoral Politics: Spatial, Directional, and Mobilizational Effects." *Comparative Political Studies* 27, 2 (1994).
- Iversen, Torben "Political Leadership and Representation in European Democracies: A Test of Three Models of Voting" *American Journal of Political Science* 38, 1 (February 1994), pp. 45-74.
- Adams, James. *Party Competition and Responsible Party Government*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2001, Chapters 1 and 2.
- Shanks, Merrill. "Unresolved Issues in Electoral Decisions: Alternative Perspective on the Explanation of Individual Choice" in M. Kent Jennings and Thomas Mann (eds.) Elections at Home and Abroad. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.

5. Institutions: Opportunities and Constraints on Party Formation and Competition (February 21)

Themes:

- How do electoral institutions affect the number of parties? Do they tell us anything about the minimum number of entrants?

- How do electoral institutions affect the type and organization of political parties, the mode of competition?
- How does government format (presidentialism vs. parliamentarism) affect these same issues?
- What other institutions might matter?
- Are electoral institutions exogenous or endogenous to partisan competition? (read Boix in recommended readings if you have time).

Readings:

- Cox, Gary. *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 3-148, 181-202, remainder of the book recommended.
- Samuels, David and Matthew Soberg Shugart (2010) *Presidents, Parties, and Prime Ministers*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-55.

Recommended:

- Boix, Carles, "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies" American Political Science Review 93, 3 (September, 1999) pp. 609-624.
- Benoit, Kenneth, "Models of Electoral System Change" Electoral Studies (forthcoming), 2003.
- Cox, Gary (1990) "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems" *American Journal of Political Science* 34.
- Jones, Mark P. "Electoral institutions, social cleavages, and candidate competition in presidential elections" *Electoral Studies*, 2003.
- Kostadinova, Tatiana "Do mixed electoral systems matter? A crossnational analysis of their effects in Eastern Europe" *Electoral Studies* 21 (2002) 23–34.
- Lijphart, Arend. Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990. Oxford University Press, 1994, pp.1-138.
- Moser, Robert. *Unexpected Outcomes: Electoral Systems, Political Parties, and Representation in Russia.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001.
- Samuels, David and Matthew Shugart, "Presidentialism, Elections, and Representation" *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 15, 1 (January, 2003): 33–60.
- Shugart, Matthew and John Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 206-225.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg and Ben Wattenberg (eds.) *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg and John Carey. *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Designs and Electoral Dynamics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Taagapera, Rein and Matthew Soberg Shugart. Seats and Votes. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989. Taagepera, Rein and Matthew Soberg Shugart, Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 77-91, 112-125.

6. From Local to National: How Party Systems Aggregate (February 28)

- Chhibber, Pradeep and Kenneth Kollman, "Party Aggregation and the Number of Parties in India and the United States" *American Political Science Review* 92, 2 (June 1998), pp. 329-342.
- Hicken, Allen. *Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 1-85.
- Moser, Robert (1999) "Electoral Systems and the Number of Parties in Postcommunist States" *World Politics* 51, 3, April 1999, pp. 359-384.

Recommended:

Bochsler, Daniel (2010) "Measuring party nationalisation: A new Gini-based indicator that corrects for the number of units" *Electoral Studies* Volume 29, Issue 1, March 2010, Pages 155-168

- Bochsler, Daniel (2010) "The nationalisation of post-communist party systems" Manuscript, www.bochsler.eu/publi/bochsler nationalisation-eas10.pdf
- Caramani, Daniele (2004) The Nationalization of Politics: The Formation of National Electorates and Party Systems in Western Europe New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Harbers, Imke (2010) "Decentralization and the Development of Nationalized Party Systems in New Democracies: Evidence From Latin America" *Comparative Political Studies May 2010 vol. 43 no. 5 606-627*
- Jones, Mark P. and Scott Mainwaring (2003) "The Nationalization of Parties and Party Systems An Empirical Measure and an Application to the Americas" *Party Politics March 2003 vol. 9 no. 2 139-166*
- Kasuyaa, Yuko, and Johannes Moenius (2008) "The nationalization of party systems: Conceptual issues and alternative district-focused measures" *Electoral Studies* Volume 27, Issue 1, March 2008, Pages 126-135.

7. Social Cleavages with and without Strategic Politicians (March 7)

Themes:

- What constitutes a social cleavage? Are there different modal patterns of cleavages in Western Europe and the developing world, either historically or contemporarily?
- What do we know about how social cleavages are translated into political cleavages?
- How does change in social cleavages affect political competition?
- How does the presence/absence of salient social cleavages affect political competition, party organization, and political representation?

Readings:

- Kitschelt, Herbert (1994) *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Emphasis on Introduction and Chapters 1-5.
- Chhibber, Pradeep and Mariano Torcal "Elite Strategy, Social Cleavages, and Party Systems in New Democracies: Spain" *Comparative Political Studies* 30, 1 (1997): 27-54.

Recommended:

- Lispet, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan (1967) "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction" in P. Mair (ed.) *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Zielinski, Jakub. "Translating Social Cleavages into Party Systems: The Significance of New Democracies" *World Politics* 54 (January 2002), pp. 184–211.
- Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier (1991) Shaping the Political Arena. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Middlebrook, Kevin "Introduction: Conservative Parties, Elite Representation, and Democracy in Latin America" in Kevin Middlebrook (ed.) Conservative Parties, The Right, and Democracy in Latin America.

 Baltimore MD: Johns Hopking University Press, 2000.
- Bartolini, Stefano and Peter Mair. *Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability: The Stabilization of European Electorates 1885-1985.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Kitschelt, Herbert (1995) The Radical Right in Western Europe. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Chhibber, Pradeep, Democracy without Associations. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Przeworski, Adam and John Sprague (1986) *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Scully, Timothy. *Rethinking the center: party politics in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Chile.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992
- Lipset, Seymour Martin "Political Cleavages in Developed and Emerging Polities" in Erik Allardt and Yrjo Littunen (eds.) Cleavages, Ideologies, and Party Systems. Helsinki: The Academic Bookstore, 1964, pp. 21-55.
- Inglehart, Ronald. *Modernization and postmodernization: cultural, economic, and political change in 43 societies.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997.

8. Political Recruitment and Intra-Party Politics (March 21)

Themes:

- Why do activists and candidates join political parties and why do they switch parties?
- How can their various motivations help us understand party formation and party decline?
- What do their various goals tell us about intra-party conflict, party organization, and party strategy?

Readings:

Review section in Aldrich from week 1 on participation (i.e. R=PB+D-C).

Stokes, Susan "Political Parties and Democracy" *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 2, 1999: 243-267. http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/toc/polisci/2/1

Kitschelt, Herbert (1989) *The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 41-74.

Desposato, Scott "Parties for Rent? Careerism, Ideology, and Party Switching in Brazil's Chamber of Deputies" *American Journal of Political Science* 50, 1 (January) 2006: 62–80.

Likely one more reading, TBD

Recommended:

Aldrich John (1993) "Rational Choice and Turnout." American Journal of Political Science 37, 1: 246-278.

Aldrich, John (1983) "A Downsian Spatial Model with Party Activism." *American Political Science Review* 77, 4: 974-990.

Aldrich, John (1995) Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 163-193.

Aldrich, John and William Bianco "A Game Theoretic Model of Party Affiliation of Candidates and Office-Holders" *Mathematical and Computer Modeling* 16, 8-9: 103-116.

Barry, Brian (1970) Sociologists, Economists, and Democracy. London: Collier-MacMillan.

Chong, Dennis. *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, pp. 73-89.

Cox, Gary. Making Votes Count. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, Ch. 8: pp. 151-172.

Eldersveld, Samuel J. (1964) *Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Hechter, Michael (1987) Principles of Group Solidarity. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Herrera, R. and M. Taylor (1994) "The Structure of Opinions in American Political Parties" *Political Studies* 42: 676-689.

Hirschman, Albert O. (1970) *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Declines of Firms, Organizations, and States.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Kitschelt, Herbert (1989) "The Internal Politics of Parties: The Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited." *Political Studies* 37, 3:400-421.

Kitschelt, Herbert (1990) Beyond the European Left: Ideology and Political Action in the Belgian Ecology Parties.

Durham: Duke University Press.

Lichbach, Mark Irving (1996) The Cooperator's Dilemma. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Michels, Roberto. *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York: Free Press, 1966.

Narud, H and A. Skare (1999) "Are Party Activists the Party Extremists? The Structure of Opinion in Political Parties. Scandinavian Political Studies 22, 1: 45-65.

Olson, Mancur (1965) *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.

Panebianco, Angelo (1988) *Political Parties: Organization and Power.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pippa Norris (1995) "May's Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited: Leaders, Officers, Members and Voters in British Political Parties," *Party Politics* 1: 29-47.

Scarrow, Susan E. (1995) *Parties and Their Members: Organizing for Victory in Britain and Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Schlesinger, Joseph A. (1991) *Political Parties and the Winning of Office*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

- Verba, Sidney, Kay Schlozman, and Henry Brady. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Whitely, Paul and Patrick Seyd. *High-Intensity Participation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002, pp. 1-5, 35-91.
- Wilson, James Q. (1962) *The Amateur Democrat: Club Politics in Three Cities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

9. Party Institutionalization (March 28)

Themes:

- What is institutionalization?
- How does low institutionalization affect the mode or style of competition? How does it affect political representation and social choice?
- Do all developing democracies have low levels of party institutionalization?
- What are the possible fixes for low institutionalization?
- Note that the concept of institutionalization encompasses various component measures and there is a literature on each – see recommended readings below for a few examples.
- Levitsky, Steven "Organization and Labor-Based Party Adaptation: The Transformation of Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective" *World Politics* 54, 1(October): 2001: 27-56.
- Mainwaring, Scott. Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999, pp. 21-60.
- Riedl, Rachel Beatty (2011) *Institutions in New Democracies: African Political Party System Development and Endurance*, book manuscript in preparation. Pages to be determined.

- Duverger, Maurice (1954) *Political Parties, Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State.* New York: Wiley.
- Eldersveld, Samuel J. (1964) Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Huntington, Samuel. Political Order in Changing Societies. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.
- Kirchheimer, Otto (1966) "The Transformation of West European Party Systems" in Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner (eds.) *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Kirk Hawkins, Juan Pablo Luna, Guillermo Rosas, and Elizabeth Zechmeister (2010) *Latin American Party Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Especially pp. 1-58 and 169-235.
- Levitsky, Steven. *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America: Argentina in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Edurne Zoco "Historical Sequences and the Stabilization of Interparty Competition: Electoral Volatility in Old and New Democracies" *Party Politics* 13, 2 (March) 2007: 155-178.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully (eds.) *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Mair, Peter (ed.) *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. Chapters by LaPolombara and Weiner; Weber; Duverger; Neumann; Kirchheimer; Pizzorno.
- Michels, Roberto. *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York: Free Press, 1966.
- O'Dwyer, Conor and Branislav Kovalčík "And the Last Shall be First: Party System Institutionalization and Second-Generation Economic Reform in Postcommunist Europe" *Studies in Comparative International Development* 41 (March 2007): 3-26.
- Panebianco, Angelo. *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Powell, Eleanor and Joshua Tucker (2009) "New Approaches to Electoral Volatility: Evidence from Postcommunist Countries" New York University, Manuscript.
- Roberts, Kenneth Changing Course: Party System Change in Latin America's Neoliberal Era. Book manuscript in preparation, 2009, chs. 1-5.
- Schedler, Andreas "Under- and Overinstitutionalization: Some Ideal Typical Propositions Concerning New and Old Party Systems." Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, Working Paper 213, March 1995.

Wright, William (1971) "Comparative Party Models: Rational-Efficient and Party Democracy" in Wright (ed.) *A Comparative Study of Party Organization*. Columbus: Merrill.

10. Perspectives on Party Formation (April 4)

Themes:

- Why do new parties from?
- What are the constraints on their formation and what constitutes an opportunity (think of institutions, social cleavages, and the spatial model)?
- What is the role of the established parties and other established organizations in helping/hindering new party formation?
- What does the institutional and political environment tell us about the organizational form of new parties?

Readings:

- Kalyvas, Stathis. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996. Emphasis on Introduction, Chs. 1-2, 5, and Conclusion.
- Hug, Simon. Altering Party Systems: Strategic Behavior and the Emergence of New Political Parties in Western Europe. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001, pp. 37-64; recommended pp. 79-123.
- Meguid, Bonnie. "Competition Between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success" *American Political Science Review* 99, 2 (August 2005), pp. 347-59.

Recommended:

Boix, Carles (2007) "The Emergence of Parties and Party Systems" in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 499-521.

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

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

Cox, Gary. Making Votes Count. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, Ch. 8-9

Feddersen Timothy, Itai Sened, and Stephen Wright "Rational Voting and Candidate Entry Under Plurality Rule." American Journal of Political Science 34, 4 (1990), pp. 1005-1016.

Shepsle, Kenneth. *Models of Multiparty Electoral Competition*. New York: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991.

11. Party System Change: Dealignment, Realignment, and Cleavage Mobilization (April 11)

Themes:

- How do realignments come about and who/what causes them?
- Is cleavage change exogenous or endogenous to political competition?
- How much flexibility do strategic politicians have in manipulating cleavages (create, selectively mobilize)?
- Who manipulates cleavages (social movements, political entrepreneurs, party leaders, party activists, winners, losers)? How do the strategies of winners and losers differ?

Readings:

Sundquist, James. *Dynamics of the Party System: Alignment and Realignment of the Parties in the United States.* Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1983, pp. 1-49. Recommend pp. 298-321.

Miller, Warren and Norman Schofield "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States" *American Political Science Review* 97, 2 (May 2003), pp. 245-260.

Book manuscript or article on party system collapse by Jason Seawright or Jana Morgan, TBD.

- Andersen, Kristi. "Generation, Partisan Shift, and Realignment: A Glance Back at the New Deal" in Norman Nie, Sydney Verba, and John Petrocik (eds.) *The Changing American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Boix, Carles. Political Parties, Growth and Equality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Burnham, Walter Dean. *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1970.
- Cantillon, Estelle. 2001. "Electoral Rules and the Emergence of New Issue Dimensions." Cowles Foundation Discussion Paper No. 1291. Yale University.
- Carmines, Edward and James Stimson. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, pp. 3-26 and pp. 138-183. HIGHLY RECOMMENDED.
- Chandra, Kanchan. "The Transformation of Ethnic Politics in India: The Decline of Congress and the Rise of the Bahujan Samaj Party in Hoshiarpur." Journal of Asian Studies, Vol 59, No. 1: 26: 61.
- Coppedge, Michael "Political Darwinism in Latin America's Lost Decade" in Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther (eds.) *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 173-205.
- Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist and Eric Schickler, *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Johnston, Richard, André Blais, Henry Brady, and Jean Crête (1992) Letting the People Decide: Dynamics of a Canadian Election. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Especially Ch. 8.
- Key, V.O. "A Theory of Critical Elections" *Journal of Politics* 17 (February 1955), pp. 3-18.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. *The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Mair, Peter (ed.) *The West European Party System.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. Chapters by Rose and Unwin; Pederen; Wolinetz; Flanagan and Dalton; Inglehart; and Lijphart.
- Mayhew, David, "Electoral Realignments" Annual Review of Political Science 2000, 3: 449-474.
- McLean, Iain. 2002. "Review Article: William H. Riker and the Invention of Heresthetic(s)" *British Journal of Political Science* 32: 535-558.
- Riker, William H. *The Strategy of Rhetoric: Campaigning for the American Constitution*. Edited by Randall Calvert, John Mueller and Rick Wilson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Riker, William H. Liberalism against Populism: A Confrontation between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1982).
- Riker, William H. The Art of Political Manipulation. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Sartori, Giovanni (1968) "The Sociology of Parties: A Critical Review" in Peter Mair (ed.) *The West European Party System.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Schattschneider, E.E. *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.
- Shepsle, Kenneth "Losers in Politics (and How They Sometimes Become Winners): William Riker's Heresthetic" in *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (2003), pp. 7-22.
- Torcal, Mariano and Scott Mainwaring, "The Political Recrafting of Social Bases of Party Competition: Chile, 1973–95" *British Journal of Political Science* 33, 2003: 55–84.
- Zaller, John. The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Especially Ch. 2.

12. Dominant Party Systems (April 18)

Themes:

- What is a dominant party system in relation to a fully competitive democracy and a one-party regime?
- How do parties maintain dominance once established?
- How do opposition parties form and grow in these systems?
- Can we make generalizations across dominant party systems or do social cleavages and institutional features better account for the variance?

Readings:

- Greene, Kenneth F. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. [you can skim/skip chs. 7-8 if you are pressed for time]
- Magaloni, Beatriz and Ruth Kricheli (2010) "Political Order and One-Party Rule" *Annual Review Of Political Science* 13, pp. 123-143.

- Aldrich, John, Beatriz Magaloni, and Elizabeth Zechmeister "Electoral Considerations and Party Change in Mexico and Taiwan" Paper prepared for presentation at the APSA, 2001.
- Bienen, Henry. Kenya: The Politics of Participation and Control. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1974.
- Brooker, Paul (2000) *Non-Democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Cheng, Tun-jen (2001) "One Party Hegemony and Democratic Transition: Comparing Mexico, Taiwan and Turkey." Paper prepared for presentation at the Conference on The Rise of the DPP and PAN in Taiwan and Mexico, Duke University, January 26-27.
- Chhibber, Pradeep and John Petrocik "The Puzzle of Indian Politics: Social Cleavages and the Indian Party System" *British Journal of Political Science* 19, 2, April 1989, pp. 191-210.
- Chu, Yun-han. "The Legacy of One-Party Hegemony in Taiwan" in Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther (eds.) *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 266-298.
- Collier, Ruth Berins. Regimes in Tropical Africa: Changing Forms of Supremacy, 1945-1975. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Dominguez, Jorge and Alejandro Poire (eds.) *Toward Mexico's Democratization*. New York: Routledge, 1999. Chapters by Dominguez, Poire, Cinta, and Magaloni.
- Dominguez, Jorge and James McCann. *Democratizing Mexico*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
 - Electoral System." International Political Science Review 13, 1: 59-79.
- Giliomee, Hermann and Charles Simkins (eds.) *The Awkward Embrace: One-Party Domination and Democracy.* Australia: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999.
- Huntington, Samuel P. (1970) "Social and Institutional Dynamics of One-Party Systems" in Samuel P. Huntington and Clement Moore (eds.) *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society*. New York: Basic Books. Magaloni, Beatriz. *Voting for Autocracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Matthijs Bogaards and Françoise Boucek (eds.) Dominant Parties: Concepts, Measures, Cases and Comparisons. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Niou, Emerson, and Peter Ordeshook (1992) "A Game Theoretic Analysis of the Republic of China's Emerging Pempel, T.J. (1990) *Uncommon Democracies: The One-Party Dominant Regimes*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Rigger, Shelley. From Opposition to Power: Taiwan's Democratic Progressive Party. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001.
- Riker, William H. (1976) "The Number of Political Parties: A Reexamination of Duverger's Law." *Comparative Politics* 9: 1, 93-106.
- Rimanelli, Marco (ed.) *Comparative Democratization and Peaceful Change in Single-Party-Dominant Countries*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Sartori, Giovanni (1976) *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schedler, Andreas "The Nested Game of Democratization by Elections" *International Political Science Review* 23, 1 (January 2002), pp. 103-122.
- Scheiner, Ethan. *Democracy without Competition: Opposition Failure in One-Party Dominant Japan*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Smith, Benjamin, "Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single-Party Rule," *World Politics* 57:3 (Spring 2005), pp. 421-451.
- Solinger, Debra (2001) "Ending One-Party Dominance: Korea, Taiwan, Mexico. *Journal of Democracy* 12, 1:30-42.
- Tsang, Steve and Hung-mao Tien (eds.) *Democratization in Taiwan: Implications for China*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Weiner, Myron. *Party Building in a New Nation: The Indian National Congress*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

- Wiatr, Jerzy "One-Party" Systems The Concept and Issue for Comparative Studies" in Erik Allardt and Yrjo Littunen (eds.) Cleavages, Ideologies, and Party Systems. Helsinki: The Academic Bookstore, 1964, pp. 21-55
- Wong, Joseph and Edward Friedman (eds.) (2008) *Learning to Lose: Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems*. New York: Routledge.
- Zolberg, Aristide (1966) Creating Political Order: The Party-States of West Africa. Chicago: Rand McNally.

13. Post-Communist Party Systems (April 25)

Themes:

- How do postcommunist party systems differ from party systems in the established democracies or in other post-authoritarian systems?
- What is the relative importance of pre-communist legacies, communist legacies, social cleavages, and post-transition institutions in determining the characteristics of party systems?
- How does the post-communist experience compare to other new democracies?

Required:

Hale, Henry *Why Not Parties in Russia: Democracy, Federalism, and the State.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

- Barany, Zoltan and Robert Moser (eds.) *Russian Politics: Challenges of Democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Bozóki, András and John Ishiyama (eds.) *The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2002.
- Brader, Ted and Joshua Tucker "The Emergence of Mass Partisanship in Russia, 1993-1996" *American Journal of Political Science* 45, 1 (January 2001), pp. 69-83.
- Elster, Jon, Claus Offe, and Ulrich Preuss, *Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies: Rebuilding the Ship at Sea.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002
- Fish, M. Steven. *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Golosov, Grigori "Electoral Systems and Party Formation in Russia: A Cross-Regional Analysis" *Comparative Political Studies* 36, 8 (October 2003), pp. 912-935.
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party Competition and State Exploitation in Post-Communist Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East-Central Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Howard, Marc Morjé. *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe*. Cmabridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Ishiyama, John and R. Kennedy "Superpresidentialism and Political Party Development in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and Kyrgyzstan" *Europe-Asia Studies* 53, 8 (December 2001), pp. 1177-1191.
- Ishiyama, John, "Candidate Recruitment and the Development of Russian Political Parties, 1993-99" *Party Politics* 7, 4 (July 2001), pp. 387-411.
- Kalyvas, Stathis "The Decay and Breakdown of Communist One-Party Systems" *Annual Review of Political Science*. Volume 2, 1999, pp. 323-343.
- Kitschelt, Herbert "Accounting for Outcomes in Post-Communist Regime Change: Causal Depth or Shallowness in Rival Explanations." Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 1-5, 1999.
- Kitschelt, Herbert "The Formation of Party Systems in East-Central Europe," *Politics and Society* 20 (1992).
- Kitschelt, Herbert and Regina Smyth "Programmatic Party Cohesion In Emerging Postcommunist Democracies: Russia in Comparative Context" *Comparative Political Studies* 35, 10 (December 2002), pp, 1228-1256.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radoslaw Markowsi, and Gabor Toka (1999) *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 19-92, pp. 95-132 and pp. 157-220.
- Kostelecky, Tomas. *Political Parties After Communism: Development in East-Central Europe*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

- Kreuzer, Marcus and Vello Pettai "Patterns of Political Instability: Affiliation Patterns of Politicians and Voters in Post-Communist Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania" *Studies in Comparative International Development* 38, 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 76-98.
- Lewis Paul G. Party Structure and Organization in East-Central Europe. Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar, 1996.
- Lewis, Paul. *Political Parties in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*. New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 1-60 and pp. 94-163
- Mcfaul, Michael. "Explaining Party Formation and Nonformation in Russia: Actors, Institutions, and Chance" *Comparative Political Studies* 34, 10 (December 2001), pp. 1159-1187.
- Moser, Robert and Ethan Scheiner "Mixed Electoral Systems and Electoral System Effects: Controlled Comparison and Crossnational Analysis" *Electoral Studies* 2003.
- Moser, Robert. *Unexpected Outcomes: Electoral Systems, Political Parties, and Representation in Russia.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001.
- O'Dwyer, Conor. *Runaway State-Building: Patronage Politics and Democratic Development*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- Prindham, Geoffrey and Paul G. Lewis (eds.) Stabilising Fragile Democracies: Comparing New Party Systems in Southern and Eastern Europe. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Smyth, Regina. Candidate Strategies and Electoral Competition in the Russian Federation: Democracy without Foundation. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Tucker, Joshua. "The First Decade of Post-Communist Elections and Voting: What Have We Studies and How Have We Studied It?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 5 (2002), pp. 271–304.
- Twozecki, Hubert. *Learning to Choose: Electoral Politics in East-Central Europe*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- Way, Lucan "Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave: The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine" *World Politics* 57, 2 (January 2005): 231-261.
- White, Stephen, Richard Rose, and Ian McAllister. *How Russia Votes*. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House Publishers, 1997.
- Whitefield, Stephen and Geoffrey Evans "Class, markets and partisanship in post-Soviet Russia: 1993-96" *Electoral Studies* 18, 2 (June 1999), pp. 155-178.
- Whitefield, Stephen and Geoffrey Evans "The Structuring of Political Cleavages in Post-Communist Societies: the Case of the Czech Republic and Slovakia" *Political Studies* 46, 1 (March 1998), pp. 115-139.
- Whitefield, Stephen, "Political Cleavages and Post-Communist Politics" Annual Review of Political Science, 2002. 5:181–200. http://polisci.annualreviews.org.
- Wightman, Gordon (ed.) Party Formation in East-Central Europe. Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar, 1995.

14. Ethnic Parties (May 2)

Themes:

- How did new parties form and enter competition in established party systems?
- What is the effect of established parties' strategies, electoral systems, social cleavages?
- Who votes for ethnic parties?

Required:

Chandra, Kanchan. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, Chapters 1-5 and 8-11.

Madrid, Raul "The Rise of Ethnopopulism in Latin America" World Politics 60, 3 (April) 2008: 475-508.

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London, UK: Verso, 1983.
- Barany, Zoltan and Robert Moser. Ethnic Politics After Communism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Barry, Brian. "Review Article: Political Accommodation and Consociational Democracy." *British Journal of Political Science* 5 (October 1975): 477-505.
- Bates, Robert. "Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* (January 1974): 457-483.

- Biziouras, Nikolaos "Ethnic Parties, Collective Action and Resource Mobilization: Evidence from the Balkans and Central Europe" Working Paper, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Feb 2005. http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/GSW7/Biziouras%20 paper .pdf
- Brass, Paul. "Ethnic Conflict in Multiethnic Societies: The Consociational Solution and its Critics." In *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1991, pp. 333-348.
- Grofman, Bernard, Lisa Handley, and Richard G. Niemi. 1992. *Minority Representation and the Quest for Equality*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Horowitz, Donald. Ethnic Conflict. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Laitin, David. Hegemony and Culture. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Leff, Carol Skalnik and Susan B. Mikula. 2002. "Institutionalizing Party Systems in Multiethnic States: Integration and Ethnic Segmentation in Czechoslovakia, 1918-1992." *Slavic Review* 61(2): 292-314
- Lijphart, Arend. 1980. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Madrid, Raul. "Indigenous Parties and Democracy in Latin America" Comparative Politics, forthcoming.
- Ordeshook, Peter, and Olga Shvetsova. "Ethnic Heterogeneity, District Magnitude, and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 38, no. 1 (February 1994): 100-123.
- Ordeshook. Peter C. and Olga V, Shvetsova. 1994. "Ethnic Heterogeneity, District Magnitude, and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science*. 38(1):100-23.
- Posner, Daniel. Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Rabushka, Alvin, and Kenneth Shepsle. *Politics in Plural Societies*. Columbus: Charles E Merrill, 1972, pp. 23-105.
- Sniderman, Paul, Pierangelo Peri, Rui J.P. de Figueiredo, Jr., and Thomas Piazza. *The Outsider: Prejudice and Politics in Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Tepe, Sultan. 2005. "Religious Parties and Democracy: A Comparative Assessment of Israel and Turkey." Democratization 12(3): 283-307.
- Tsebelis, George. "A Rational Choice Approach to Consociationalism." In *Nested Games: Rational Choice in Comparative Politics.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990, pp. 159-186.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Wilkinson, Steve. *Votes and Violence Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Yashar, Deborah. Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.