POL 462/2313: Comparative Political Parties and Elections

INSTRUCTOR: Professor Lawrence LeDuc, 329 Alumni Hall  (416 926-1300, x3232)  
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TEXTS: Peter Mair, Wolfgang C. Müller & Fritz Plasser (eds.), Political Parties and Electoral Change


+Gary Cox, Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World’s Electoral Systems – required for graduate students only

Readings packet incorporating articles not included in the above texts [PKT]

The following books also contain material on the party systems and/or electoral systems of the countries covered in this course, and are recommended as additional reference sources.

Geoffrey Evans & Pippa Norris, Critical Elections  
David Farrell, Electoral Systems  
Alan Ware, Political Parties and Party Systems  
Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi & Pippa Norris, Comparing Democracies  
Peter Mair, The West European Party System  
International IDEA, Electoral System Design Handbook  
Mark Franklin et al, Electoral Change  
John Bartle & Anthony King, Britain at the Polls: 2005  
Mark Kesselman & Joel Krieger, European Politics in Transition  
Warren Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, The New American Voter  
Paul Allen Beck, Party Politics in America  
Pippa Norris, Electoral Engineering  
R. Kenneth Carty et al, Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics  
André Blais et al, Anatomy of a Liberal Victory  
Herbert Kitschelt, The Transformation of European Social Democracy  
Herb Asher, Presidential Elections and American Politics  
Michael Gallagher et al, Representative Democracy in Western Europe  
Richard Katz & Wiliam Crotty, Handbook of Party Politics  
Matthew Shugart & Martin Wattenberg, Mixed Member Electoral Systems  
Harold D. Clarke et al, Making Political Choices
A number of journals, particularly Electoral Studies, Party Politics, Parliamentary Affairs, Representation, Government and Opposition, the Journal of Elections, Parties and Public Opinion, and West European Politics regularly publish articles on recent elections in selected countries. The Economist and the Financial Times provide good current coverage of electoral politics in a number of countries, particularly in Europe and Asia, as does the New York Times. Some useful web sites for information on recent elections are:

http://www.idea.int (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA))
http://www.ifes.org/ (International Electoral Systems Foundation)
http://www.ipu.org/parline (Interparliamentary Union)
http://www.electionworld.org (Wilfried Derksen – links to Wikipedia)
http://www.dodgson.uscd.edu/lij/ (Arend Lijphart)
http://www.electionresources.org (Manuel Alvarez Riviera)
http://psephos.adam-carr.net/ (Adam Carr)
http://www.elections.ca (Elections: Canada)
http://www.parties-and-elections.de (Europe)
http://politics1.com (USA)
http://www.umich.edu/~nes (U.S. National Election Study)
http://www.umich.edu/~ceses (Comparative Study of Electoral Systems)

See also Appendix A in Dalton, Citizen Politics

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Essays (35% each). Two major essays of approximately 5000 words each are required of each student. Each essay will deal with the party system and electoral politics of a particular country. Essays are due December 1st and March 23rd.

Participation/seminar (15%). Each student will be expected to contribute to and participate in class discussions, and to lead discussion on selected reading assignments. in at least two classes.

Final oral exam (15%). A short oral exam based on the required readings, class discussions, and individual research will be scheduled at the end of the course.
COURSE SYLLABUS:  
* denotes required reading for all students;  
+ denotes additional required reading for POL2313 students only

Part I. Theories and Concepts

Introduction

*Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, ch. 1
*Mair, Müller & Plasser, Political Parties & Electoral Change*, ch. 1
*Pamment & Dornan, Canadian Federal Election of 2008*, pp. 7-15
*Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi & Pippa Norris, “Comparing Democratic Elections” [PKT]

+Richard Katz, “Party in Democratic Theory” [PKT]
+Marjorie Randon Hershey, “Political Parties as Mechanisms of Social Choice” [PKT]

Alan Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*
Richard Katz, *Democracy and Elections*
Jean Blondel, *Political Parties*
Kay Lawson, *The Comparative Study of Political Parties*
Michael Nelson (ed.), *The Elections of 2008*

Understanding and classifying party systems

*Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, ch. 7
*Peter Mair, “Comparing Party Systems” [PKT]
*Steven Wolinetz, “Party Systems and Party System Types” [PKT]
*William Crotty, “Party Origins and Evolution in the United States” [PKT]

+Giovanni Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems*
+Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties*

Klaus von Beyme, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*
Martin Wattenberg, *The Decline of American Political Parties*
Simon Hix & Christopher Lord, *Political Parties in the European Union*
APSA, “Towards a More Responsible Two Party System”, *American Political Science Review* 44 (1950)
Party systems and electoral systems

*André Blais & Louis Massicotte, “Electoral Systems” [PKT]
*Gerald M. Pomper, “The Presidential Election: Change Comes to America” [PKT]

+Gary Cox, Making Votes Count, ch. 1-4

David Farrell, Electoral Systems: a Comparative Introduction
Henry Milner, Making Every Vote Count
Law Commission of Canada, Voting Counts: Electoral Reform for Canada
Matthew Shugart & Martin Wattenberg, Mixed Member Electoral Systems
Douglas Rae, The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws
International IDEA, Electoral System Design Handbook
Gary Jacobson, The Politics of Congressional Elections

Parties as institutions

*Mair, Müller & Plasser, Political Parties & Electoral Change, ch. 2
*Pammett & Dornan, Canadian Federal Election of 2008, ch. 3, 4, 6
*Kaare Strøm, “A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties” [PKT]

+Cox, Making Votes Count, ch. 10, 11
+Angelo Pannebianco, Political Parties: Organization and Power
+Charles Merriam, The American Party System

Richard Katz & Peter Mair, How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies
Otto Kirscheimer, “The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems”, in Joseph LaPalombara & Myron Weiner, Political Parties and Political Development
Samuel Eldersveld, Political Parties: a Behavioral Analysis
Susan Scarrow, Parties and their Members
Wolfgang Müller & Kaare Strøm, Policy, Office or Votes
Partisanship and party identification

*Dalton, Citizen Politics, ch. 8, 9
*Ivor Crewe and Katarina Thomson, “Party Loyalties: Dealignment or Realignment?” [PKT]
*Zsolt Enyedi, “Party Politics in Post Communist Transition” [PKT]

+Warren Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, The New American Voter
+Geoffrey Evans & Pippa Norris, Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-Term Perspective

Russell Dalton & Martin Wattenberg, Parties Without Partisans
Michael S. Lewis-Beck, et al. The American Voter Revisited

Ideology and social cleavages

*Dalton, Citizen Politics, ch. 2, 6
*Pammett & Dornan, Canadian Federal Election of 2008, ch. 5
*Detlef Jahn & Matt Henn, “The ‘New’ Rhetoric of New Labour” [PKT]

+Seymour Martin Lipset & Stein Rokkan, Party Systems and Voter Alignments, pp. 1-64
+Herbert Kitschelt, The Transformation of European Social Democracy

Herbert Kitschelt, The Radical Right in Western Europe
Klaus Von Beyme, Political Parties in Western Democracies
Adam Przeworski & John Sprague, Paper Stones
Oddbjorn Knutsen, “Left-Right Location of Political Parties in Western Europe”, West European Politics 21 (1998)
Participation and voting turnout

*Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, ch. 3, 4
*Lawrence LeDuc & Jon H. Pammett, “Voter Turnout” [PKT]


Ruy Teixeira, *The Disappearing American Voter*
Mark Franklin, *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies Since 1945*

**Part II. Comparative Case Studies**

**Germany**

*Mair, Müller & Plasser, *Political Parties & Electoral Change*, ch. 4


Christopher Allen, *Transformation of the German Party System*
Herbert Kitschelt & Wolfgang Streek (eds.) “Germany: Beyond the Stable State”, special issue of *West European Politics* 26 (2003)
France

*Mair, Müller & Plasser, Political Parties & Electoral Change, ch. 3

+Michael Lewis-Beck, How France Votes

Alastair Cole & Gino Raymond, Redefining the French Republic
David Hanley, “France: Living with Instability” in David Broughton & Mark Donovan, Changing Party Systems in Western Europe

Italy

*Mair, Müller & Plasser, Political Parties & Electoral Change, ch. 5

+Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy, ch. 5

Philip Daniels, “Italy: Rupture and Regeneration”, in David Broughton & Mark Donovan, Changing Party Systems in Western Europe
Roberto d’Alimonte & Stefano Bartolini, “Electoral Transition and Party System Change in Italy”, West European Politics 20 (1997)
Martin Bull & James Newell, Italian Politics: Adjustment Under Duress
E. Spencer Welhofer, “Party Realignment and Voter Transition in Italy”, Comparative Political Studies 34 (2001)

Japan

*Lawrence LeDuc, “Something Old, Something New: Electoral Reform in Japan” [PKT]
+Steven Reed and Michael F. Thies, “The Consequences of Electoral Reform in Japan”, in Shugart & Wattenberg, Mixed Member Electoral Systems

Ronald Hrebenar, Japan’s New Party System
Gerald Curtis, Election Campaigning Japanese Style

Austria

*Mair, Müller & Plasser, Political Parties & Electoral Change, ch. 6
*Wolfgang Müller, “The Snap Election in Austria: September 2008” [PKT]

+Herbert Kitschelt, The Radical Right in Western Europe, ch. 5
Kurt Luther & Wolfgang Müller, Politics in Austria: Still a Case of Consociationalism?
Kurt Luther, “Austria: From Moderate to Polarized Pluralism”, in David Broughton & Mark Donovan, Changing Party Systems in Western Europe
Peter Gerlich, “Consociationalism and Competition: The Austrian Party System Since 1945”, in Hans Daalder, Party Systems in Denmark, Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Belgium
Melanie Sully, Political Parties and Elections in Austria

Ireland

*Mair, Müller & Plasser, Political Parties & Electoral Change, ch. 9

+Michael Marsh et al, The Irish Voter, ch. 2-4, 8-10
John Coakley & Michael Gallagher, Politics in the Republic of Ireland
Michael Gallagher et al, How Ireland Voted 2002
Richard Sinnott, Irish Voters Decide: Voting Behaviour in Elections and Referendums
Denmark, Norway, Sweden & Finland

*Mair, Müller & Plasser, Political Parties & Electoral Change, ch. 8
*David Arter, “Sweden: a Mild Case of Electoral Instability Syndrome?” [PKT]


Sten Berglund & Ulf Lindström, The Scandinavian Party Systems
David Arter, Scandinavian Politics Today
Kaare Strom & Lars Svåsand, Challenges to Political Parties: the Case of Norway

Australia & New Zealand

*Matt Qvortrup, “Howard’s End: The Australian Federal Election of November 2007” [PKT]
*Jack Vowles, “The 2008 General Election in New Zealand” [PKT]

+Fiona Barker et al, “An Initial Assessment of the Consequences of MMP in New Zealand”, in Shugart & Wattenberg, Mixed Member Electoral Systems

Raymond Miller, New Zealand Politics in Transition.
Ian McAllister, Political Behaviour: Citizens, Parties and Elites in Australia.
Jonathan Boston et al, New Zealand Under MMP: a New Politics?
Helena Catt et al, Voters’ Choice: Electoral Change in New Zealand
Part III. Dynamics of the Electoral Process

Election Campaigns and Party Strategies

*Dalton, Citizen Politics, ch. 12
*Pammett & Dornan, Canadian Federal Election of 2008, ch. 1, 2, 7
*David Farrell, “Political Parties in a Changing Campaign Environment” [PKT]

+Thomas Holbrook, Do Campaigns Matter?

Shaun Bowler & David Farrell, Electoral Strategies and Political Marketing
Pippa Norris et al, On Message: Communicating the Campaign
Doris Graber, Mass Media and American Politics
Darrell M. West, Air Wars: Television Advertising in Election Campaigns

Voting Behaviour and Election Outcomes

*Dalton, Citizen Politics, ch. 10
*Pammett & Dornan, Canadian Federal Election of 2008, ch. 8
*Nicole Mellow, “Voting Behavior: a Blue Nation? [PKT]

+Harold D. Clarke et al, Political Choice in Britain
+Paul Abramson, John Aldrich & David Rohde, Continuity and Change in the 2004 and 2006 Elections, ch. 4-9

V. O. Key, The Responsible Electorate
Morris Fiorina, Retrospective Voting in American Elections
Richard Rose & Ian McAllister, Voters Begin to Choose
Michael Lewis-Beck, Economics and Elections
Stanley Kelley, Interpreting Elections
Warren E. Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, The New American Voter
André Blais et al, Anatomy of a Liberal Victory
Parties, Elections and Government

*Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, ch. 11
*G. Bingham Powell, “The Consequences of Elections” [PKT]

+Hans-Dieter Klingemann et al, *Parties, Policy and Democracy*, ch. 1, 2, 14

Richard Rose, *Do Parties Make a Difference?*
E. E. Schattschneider, *Party Government*
Francis Castles, *The Impact of Parties*
Francis Castles & Rudolph Wildemann, *Visions and Realities of Party Government*

Part IV. Stability and Change in Electoral Politics

Processes of Partisan Change: Realignment and Dealignment

*Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, ch. 5
*Mair, Müller & Plasser, ch. 10
*Pammett & Dornan, *Canadian Federal Election of 2008*, ch. 9
*Pippa Norris & Geoffrey Evans, “Was 1997 a Critical Election?” [PKT]

+V. O. Key, "A Theory of Critical Elections", *Journal of Politics* 17 (1955)

Byron Shafer et al, *The End of Realignment?*
Walter Dean Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*
Ronald Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization*
Geoffrey Evans & Pippa Norris, *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-Term Perspective*
Lawrence LeDuc, Jon H. Pammett, Judith I. McKenzie & André Turcotte, *Dynasties and Interludes: Past and Present in Canadian Electoral Politics*
The Future of Party Politics

*Peter Mair, "Myths of Electoral Change and the Survival of Traditional Parties" [PKT]
*Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi & Pippa Norris, “Building and Sustaining Democracy” [PKT]

+Hermann Schmitt & Sören Holmberg, “Political Parties in Decline”, in Hans-Dieter Klingemann & Dieter Fuchs, *Citizens and the State*.

Martin Wattenberg, *The Decline of American Political Parties*
Kay Lawson & Peter Merkl, *When Parties Fail*
Russell Dalton & Martin Wattenberg, *Parties Without Partisans*
Catherine Needham (ed.), *Do Parties Have a Future?* (special issue of *Parliamentary Affairs* July, 2005)