POL 462/2313: Comparative Political Parties and Elections

INSTRUCTOR: Professor Lawrence LeDuc, 329 Alumni Hall (416-9261300, x3232)  
e-mail: leduc@chass.utoronto.ca

TEXTS: Alan Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*


Paul Abramson, John Aldrich & David Rohde, *Change and Continuity in the 2000 and 2002 Elections* [CC]

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.

Steven Wolinetz, *Parties and Party Systems in Liberal Democracies*
Peter Mair (ed.), *The West European Party System*
Mark Kesselman & Joel Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*
Warren Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter*
Hans-Dieter Klingemann & Dieter Fuchs, *Citizens and the State*
Leon Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*
Paul Allen Beck, *Party Politics in America*
David Broughton & Mark Donovan, *Changing Party Systems in Western Europe*
Herbert Kitschelt, *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*
Simon Hix & Christopher Lord, *Political Parties in the European Union*
Herb Asher, *Presidential Elections and American Politics*
Michael Gallagher et al, *Representative Democracy in Western Europe*
David Farrell & Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (eds.), *Do Political Campaigns Matter?*
Thomas Mackie & Richard Rose, *International Almanac of Electoral History*
Matthew Shugart & Martin Wattenberg, *Mixed Member Electoral Systems*
Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc & Jon H. Pammett, *Absent Mandate: Canadian Electoral Politics in an Era of Restructuring*
Mark Franklin et al, *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*
Geoffrey Evans & Pippa Norris, *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-Term Perspective*
Russell Dalton, *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Western Democracies*
A number of journals, particularly Electoral Studies, Party Politics, Parliamentary Affairs, Representation, Government and Opposition, 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.electionresources.org (Manuel Álvarez Riviera)
- http://www.electionworld.org (Wilfried Derksen)
- http://www.dodgson.uscd.edu/lij/ (Arend Lijphart)
- http://psephos.adam-carr.net/ (Adam Carr)
- http://www.idea.int (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA))
- http://www.ipu.org/parline (Interparliamentary Union)
- 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/~cses (Comparative Study of Electoral Systems)

Many political parties throughout the world also maintain their own web sites, and these can provide useful sources of information on their activities as well as links to other sites. Most of these links can be found on the Derksen site under the appropriate country headings.

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 6th and March 28th.

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

Final oral exam (15%). A short oral exam based on the required readings, seminar presentations, and individual research will be scheduled at the end of the course.

*** Note: This class begins one week later than other Political Science courses. Students should therefore be prepared for a full class at the first session. ***
COURSE SYLLABUS:  (* denotes required reading for all students;  
+ denotes additional required reading for POL2313 students only)

Part I. Theories and Concepts

Introduction

*Ware, pp. 1-13
*LeDuc, Niemi & Norris, “Comparing Democratic Elections” [CD2]
*Anthony King, "Political Parties in Western Democracies" [PKT]
*Pippa Norris & Geoffrey Evans, “Understanding Electoral Change” [PKT]

+Kenneth Janda, “Comparative Political Parties: Research and Theory”, in Ada Finifter, 
   Political Science: the State of the Discipline II

Alan Ware, Citizens, Parties and the State
Richard Katz, Democracy and Elections
Jean Blondel, Political Parties, ch. 1-5
Kay Lawson, The Comparative Study of Political Parties, ch. 1, 4
APSA, "Towards a More Responsible Two Party System", American Political Science Review 44 (1950)

Understanding and classifying party systems

*Ware, ch. 5, 6
*Peter Mair, “Comparing Party Systems” [CD2]
*Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, ch. 9 [CC]
*Giovanni Sartori, “A Typology of Party Systems” [PKT]

+Giovanni Sartori, Parties and Party Systems
+Maurice Duverger, Political Parties, bk 1, ch 1-2; bk. 2, ch. 1
+Seymour Martin Lipset & Stein Rokkan, Party Systems and Voter Alignments, pp. 1-64

Klaus von Beyme, Political Parties in Western Democracies, ch. 1-2
Joseph LaPalombara & Myron Weiner, Political Parties and Political Development, ch. 1
Simon Hix & Christopher Lord, Political Parties in the European Union
Martin Watttenberg, The Decline of American Political Parties
**Party systems and electoral systems**

* Ware, ch. 9  
* Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, ch. 1, 2 [CC]  
* André Blais & Louis Massicotte, “Electoral Systems” [CD2]  
* Reuven Hazan, “Candidate Selection” [CD2]  

+ Henry Milner (ed.), *Making Every Vote Count*  

Arend Lijphart & Bernard Grofman, *Choosing an Electoral System*  
Matthew Shugart & Martin Wattenberg, *Mixed Member Electoral Systems*  
Douglas Rae, *The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws*  

**Parties as organizations**

* Ware, ch. 2-4  
* Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, ch. 10 [CC]  
* Richard Katz, “Party Organization and Finance” [PKT]  
* Kaare Strøm, "A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties" [PKT]  

+ Angelo Pannebianco, *Political Parties: Organization and Power*  

Richard Katz & Peter Mair, *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies*  
Leon Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*, ch. 2-5  
Samuel Eldersveld, *Political Parties: a Behavioral Analysis*, ch. 3-5  
Wolfgang Müller & Kaare Strøm, *Policy, Office or Votes*
Partisanship and party identification

* Ware, ch. 1
* Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, ch. 8 [CC]
* Russell Dalton, “Partisanship and Electoral Behavior” [PKT]

+ Warren Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, The New American Voter, ch. 6, 7

Ian Budge et al, Party Identification and Beyond
Russell Dalton & Martin Wattenberg, Parties Without Partisans

Ideology and social cleavages

* Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, ch. 5 [CC]
* Detlef Jahn & Matt Henn, “The ‘New’ Rhetoric of New Labour” [PKT]

+ Russell Dalton, Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Western Democracies, ch. 2, 5, 6, 8

Herbert Kitschelt, The Radical Right in Western Europe
Oddbjorn Knutsen, “Left-Right Location of Political Parties in Western Europe”, West European Politics 21 (1998)
Klaus Von Beyme, Political Parties in Western Democracies
Herbert Kitschelt, The Transformation of European Social Democracy
Participation and voting turnout

*Mark Franklin, “The Dynamics of Electoral Participation” [CD2]
*Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, ch. 4 [CC]

+Russell Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, ch. 3, 4

Robert Jackman & Ross Miller, "Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies During the 1980s", *Comparative Political Studies* 27 (1995)
Richard Topf, “Electoral Participation” and “Beyond Electoral Participation”, both in Hans-Dieter Klingemann & Dieter Fuchs *Citizens and the State.*
Ruy Teixeira, *The Disappearing American Voter*

Referendums and “second order” elections

*Lawrence LeDuc, “Referendums and Initiatives: the Politics of Direct Democracy” [CD2]
*Karen Siune et al, "Why the Danes Said NO in 1992 but YES in 1993" [PKT]
*Cees van der Eijk et al, “What Voters Teach Us About Europe-Wide Elections: What Europe-Wide Elections Teach Us About Voters” [PKT]


Lawrence LeDuc, *The Politics of Direct Democracy*
Michael Gallagher & Pier Vincenzo Uleri, *The Referendum Experience in Europe*
Julie Smith, “How European are European Elections?”, in John Gaffney, *Political Parties in the European Community*
Cees van der Eijk & Mark Franklin, *Choosing Europe*, ch. 18-20
Part II. Comparative Case Studies

United States

* Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, ch. 3, 11 [CC]
* Calvin Jillson, “Patterns and Periodicity in American National Politics” [PKT]

+ James Sundquist, Dynamics of the Party System, ch. 4-10, 14
+ Warren Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, The New American Voter, ch. 2

Herb Asher, Presidential Elections and American Politics
L. Sandy Maisel (ed.), The Parties Respond (3rd edition)
E. E. Schattschneider, The Semisovereign People
Paul Allen Beck, Party Politics in America (8th edition), ch. 2, 6-8
Gary Jacobson, The Politics of Congressional Elections
Walter Dean Burnham, Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics

Britain

* Pippa Norris, “Apathetic Landslide: the 2001 British General Election” [PKT]
* Ivor Crewe, “A New Political Hegemony?” [PKT]

+ Geoffrey Evans & Pippa Norris, Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-Term Perspective, ch. 1, 2, 7, 11

Anthony King, New Labour Triumphs: Britain at the Polls 1997
Harold Clarke, David Sanders, Marianne Stewart & Paul Whiteley, Political Choice in Britain
Pippa Norris, Electoral Change in Britain Since 1945
Germany

*Peter Pulzer, “The German Federal Election of 2002” [PKT]


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

*Michael Lewis-Beck, “The Enduring French Voter” [PKT]
*Gerard Grunberg, “The 2002 French Elections: The Reestablishment of the Primacy of the President” [PKT]

+Michael Lewis Beck (ed.), How France Votes, ch. 1, 4, 6, 7, 11

R. Elgie & S. Griggs, French Politics: Debates and Controversies
David Hanley, “France: Living with Instability” in David Broughton & Mark Donovan, Changing Party Systems in Western Europe
Italy

* Stefano Bartolini et al, “The Italian Party System Between Parties and Coalitions” [PKT]

+ Roberto d’Alimonte & Stefano Bartolini, “Electoral Transition and Party System Change in Italy”, *West European Politics* 20 (1997)
+ 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*
E. Spencer Welhofer, “Party Realignment and Voter Transition in Italy”, *Comparative Political Studies* 34 (2001)
S. Waters, "'Togentopoli' and the Emergence of a New Political Order in Italy", *West European Politics* 17 (1994)

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*
Scott Flanagan, et al., *The Japanese Voter*
Gerald Curtis, *Election Campaigning Japanese Style*
Russia

*Larry Diamond, “Consolidating Democracies” [CD2]
*Stephen White, “Russia, Elections, Democracy” [PKT]

+Christopher Marsh, *Russia at the Polls: Voters, Elections and Democratization*

Stephen White et al., *The Politics of Transition: Shaping a Post-Soviet Future*
Steven Fish, *Democracy from Scratch: Opposition and Regime in the New Russian Revolution*
Timothy Colton, *Transitional Citizens: Votes and What Influences Them in the New Russia*

Ireland


John Coakley & Michael Gallagher (eds.), *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*

Switzerland

*Andreas Ladner, “Swiss Political Parties: Between Persistence and Change” [PKT]*

+Jan-Erik Lane (ed.), *The Swiss Labyrinth* (special issue of *West European Politics* 24 (2001))

Kris Kobach, *The Referendum: Direct Democracy in Switzerland*

Alexander Treschel & Hanspeter Kriesi, “Switzerland: the Referendum and Initiative as a Centerpiece of the Political System”, in Michael Gallagher & Pier Vincenzo Uleri, *The Referendum Experience in Europe*

**New Zealand**

*Andrew Geddis, “The General Election in New Zealand, July 2002” [PKT]*
*Jack Vowles, “Introducing Proportional Representation: the New Zealand Experience” [PKT]*


Raymond Miller (ed.), *New Zealand Politics in Transition*
Helena Catt et al, *Voters’ Choice: Electoral Change in New Zealand*
Jack Vowles et al, *Towards Consensus?: The 1993 Election in New Zealand and the Transition to Proportional Representation*

**Israel**

*Abraham Diskin, “The New Political System of Israel” [PKT]*


Asher Arian, *The Second Republic: Politics in Israel*
Abraham Diskin, *Elections and Voters in Israel*
Michael Barnett (ed.), *Israel in Comparative Perspective*
Ehud Sprinzak & Larry Diamond (eds.), *Israeli Democracy Under Stress*
Part III. Dynamics of the Electoral Process

Party Strategies, Candidates and Issues

*Ware, ch. 9-10
*Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, ch. 6, 7 [CC]
*Pippa Norris, “Campaign Communications” [CD2]
*Harold D. Clarke et al, “Leading the Campaign” [PKT]

+Richard Johnston et al, Letting the People Decide: the Dynamics of a Canadian Election, ch. 5
Comparative Political Studies 15 (1982)

Marjorie Randon Hershey, “The Campaign and the Media”, in Gerald Pomper,
The Election of 2000
Lawrence LeDuc, "Party Strategies and the Use of Televised Campaign Debates",
European Journal of Political Research 18 (1990)
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

Partisanship and Voting Behaviour

*Ware: ch. 11

Political Science: the State of the Discipline II
+Samuel H. Barnes, “Electoral Behavior and Comparative Politics”, in Mark Lichbach & Alan Zukerman, Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture and Structure

Michael Lewis-Beck, "Comparative Economic Voting: Britain, France, Germany, Italy",
American Journal of Political Science 10 (1986)
Hilda Himmelweit, et al., How Voters Decide
V. O. Key, The Responsible Electorate
Morris Fiorina, Retrospective Voting in American Elections
Richard Rose & Ian McAllister, Voters Begin to Choose
Explaining and Interpreting Elections

*Wilson Carey McWilliams, “The Meaning of the Election” [PKT]
*Anthony King, “Why Labour Won... At Last” [PKT]

+Harold D. Clarke et al, Absent Mandate (3rd edition), ch. 5, 6

Stanley Kelley, Interpreting Elections
Ian Budge & Dennis Farlie, Explaining and Predicting Elections
and Joni Lovenduski, “Gender Politics: a Breakthrough for Women?”, all in Parliamentary Affairs 51 (1998)
Anthony Heath et al., How Britain Votes
Michael Lewis-Beck, Economics and Elections
Gerald Pomper, Voters’ Choice
Warren Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, The New American Voter, ch. 17, 18

Parties, Elections and Government

*Ware, ch. 11, 12
*Lawrence LeDuc, “Elections and Democratic Governance” [PKT]

+Hans-Dieter Klingemann et al, Parties, Policy and Democracy, ch. 1, 2, 14
+Caesar Cansino et al., "Party Government: the Search for a Theory" (special issue of International Political Science Review 16 (1995))

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
Maureen Covell, " Parties as Institutions of National Governance", in Herman Bakvis, Representation, Integration, and Political Parties in Canada
Richard Katz, Party Government: European and American Experience
Part IV. Stability and Change in Electoral Politics

Processes of Partisan Change: Realignment and Dealignment

*Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, ch. 12 [CC]
*Pippa Norris & Geoffrey Evans, “Was 1997 a Critical Election?” [PKT]
*Ronald Inglehart, “From Class Based to Value Based Politics” [PKT]

+Byron Shafer et al, The End of Realignment?, ch. 1, 3, 5

Walter Dean Burnham, Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics
Paul Abramson, Generational Change in American Politics
Seymour Martin Lipset (ed.), Party Coalitions of the 1980's
Neil Nevitte, The Decline of Deference
Ronald Inglehart, Modernization and Postmodernization
Geoffrey Evans & Pippa Norris, Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-Term Perspective

The Future of Party Politics

*Patrick Seyd, “In Praise of Party” [PKT]
*Peter Mair, "Myths of Electoral Change and the Survival of Traditional Parties" [PKT]
*John Meisel & Matthew Mendelsohn, "The Decline and Transformation of Party in Canada" [PKT]

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

Kenneth Carty et al, Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics
Martin Wattenberg, The Decline of American Political Parties
L. Sandy Maisel, The Parties Respond (3rd edition)
Kay Lawson & Peter Merkl, When Parties Fail, ch. 1, 2
Russell Dalton & Martin Wattenberg, Parties Without Partisans
Hermann Schmitt & Sören Holmberg, “Political Parties in Decline”, in Hans-Dieter Klingemann & Dieter Fuchs Citizens and the State.