

## **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*

Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi & Pippa Norris (eds.) *Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting* [CD2]

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.

David Farrell, *Electoral Systems: a Comparative Introduction*

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.ifes.org/> (International Electoral Systems Foundation)  
<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 6<sup>th</sup> and March 28<sup>th</sup>.

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

Gerald Pomper, "Concepts of Political Parties", *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 4 (1992)

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

+Charles Merriam, *The American Party System*, ch. 12-14

Alan Ware, "The Party Systems of the Established Liberal Democracies: Is This a Decade of Transformation?", *Government and Opposition* 30 (1995)

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 Watttemberg, *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*

+Mogens Pedersen, "The Dynamics of European Party Systems", *European Journal of Political Research* 7 (1979)

+Carles Boix, "Setting the Rules of the Game: the Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies", *American Political Science Review* 93 (1999).

David Farrell, *Electoral Systems: a Comparative Introduction*

Arend Lijphart & Bernard Grofman, *Choosing an Electoral System*

Matthew Shugart & Martin Wattenberg, *Mixed Member Electoral Systems*

Douglas Rae, *The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws*

Pippa Norris, "Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian and Mixed Systems", *International Political Science Review* 18 (1997)

## **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]

\* Patrick Seyd, "Labour Government-Party Relationships" [PKT]

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

+Otto Kirscheimer, "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems", in LaPalombara & Weiner, *Political Parties and Political Development*

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

Robert Harmel & Kenneth Janda, "An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change", *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 6 (1994)

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]

+Bradley Richardson, "European Party Loyalties Revisited", *American Political Science Review* 85 (1991)

+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*

Ian McAllister & Stephen White, "Democracy, Parties and Party Formation in Post-Communist Russia", *Party Politics* 1 (1995)

Samuel Barnes, et al., "The Development of Partisanship in New Democracies: the Case of Spain" *American Journal of Political Science* 29 (1985)

Herbert Kitschelt, "The Formation of Party Systems in East Central Europe", *Politics and Society* 20 (1992)

### **Ideology and social cleavages**

\*Russell Dalton, "Political Cleavages, Issues and Electoral Change" [CD2]

\*Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, ch. 5 [CC]

\*Detlef Jahn & Matt Henn, "The 'New' Rhetoric of New Labour" [PKT]

+Ola Listhaug et al, "Ideology and Party Support in Comparative Perspective", *European Journal of Political Research* 25 (1994)

+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*

Oddbjørn Knutsen, "Left-Right Location of Political Parties in Western Europe", *West European Politics* 21 (1998)

Paolo Ignaci & Colette Ysmal, "New and Old Extreme Right Parties: the French FN and the Italian MSI", *European Journal of Political Research*, 22 (1992)

Eric Shaw & David S. Bell (eds.), *What's Left? The Left in Europe Today* (special issue of *Parliamentary Affairs* 56 (2003))

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]

\*Martin Wattenberg, "Electoral Turnout: the New Generation Gap?" [PKT]

+André Blais & Agnieszka Dobrzynska.. "Turnout in Electoral Democracies", *European Journal of Political Research*, 33 (1998)

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

William Lyons & Robert Alexander, "A Tale of Two Electorates: Generational Replacement and the Decline of Voting in Presidential Elections", *Journal of Politics* 62 (2000)

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]

+Mark Franklin et al, "Referendum Outcomes and Trust in Government: Public Support for Europe in the Wake of Maastricht", *West European Politics* 18 (1995)

+Karlheinz Reif & Hermann Schmitt, "Nine Second-Order Elections: a Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results", *European Journal of Political Research* 8 (1980)

Lawrence LeDuc, *The Politics of Direct Democracy*

Michael Gallagher & Pier Vincenzo Uleri, *The Referendum Experience in Europe*

Richard Johnston et al, *The Challenge of Direct Democracy: the 1992 Canadian Referendum*

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

Galen Irwin, "Second Order or Third Rate?: Issues in the Campaign for the European Parliament — 1994", *Electoral Studies* 14 (1995)

Michael Marsh, Pippa Norris, et al, "Political Representation in the European Parliament" (special issue of the *European Journal of Political Research* vol. 32, no. 2 (October 1997))

*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* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition)

E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People*

Alan Ware, "The 1896 and 1996 U. S. Elections: a Re-emerging Problem of South and West", *Government and Opposition* 32 (1997)

Paul Allen Beck, *Party Politics in America* (8<sup>th</sup> edition), ch. 2, 6-8

Gary Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*

Walter Dean Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*

Gerald Pomper, "The Presidential Election" and Wilson Carey McWilliams, "The Meaning of the Election", both in Gerald Pomper (ed.), *The Election of 2000*

**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

+William Field, "Electoral Volatility and the Structure of Competition: a Reassessment of Voting Patterns in Britain: 1959-92", *West European Politics* 17 (1994)

Anthony King, *New Labour Triumphs: Britain at the Polls 1997*

Harold Clarke, David Sanders, Marianne Stewart & Paul Whiteley, *Political Choice in Britain*

Ivor Crewe, "The Thatcher Legacy", and Philip Norton, "The Conservative Party from Thatcher to Major", both in Anthony King, *Britain at the Polls: 1992*

Pippa Norris, *Electoral Change in Britain Since 1945*

Hugh Berrington (ed.), "Britain in the 1990's: the Politics of Paradox", special issue of *West European Politics*, vol. 21 (1998)

F. F. Ridley & Michael Rush (eds.), *UK 2003: More Change, Less Trust* (special issue of *Parliamentary Affairs* 57 (2004))

## Germany

\*Peter Pulzer, "The German Federal Election of 2002" [PKT]

+Herbert Kitschelt & Wolfgang Streek, "From Stability to Stagnation: Germany at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century", *West European Politics* 26 (2003)

Christopher Allen, *Transformation of the German Party System*

Ferdinand Muller-Rommel, "The Beginning of a New Germany: the GDR Elections of March 1990", *West European Politics* 14 (1991)

Herbert Kitschelt & Wolfgang Streek (eds.) "Germany: Beyond the Stable State", special issue of *West European Politics* 26 (2003)

Simon Green, "The 1998 German Bundestag Election: the End of an Era", *Parliamentary Affairs* 52 (1999)

David Patton, "The Rise of Germany's Party of Democratic Socialism", *West European Politics* 23 (2000)

Ludger Helms, "Is There Life After Kohl? The CDU Crisis and the Future of Party Democracy in Germany", *Government and Opposition* 35 (2000)

## 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

+Joseph Schlesinger & Mildred Schlesinger, "The Reaffirmation of a Multi-party System in France", *American Political Science Review* 84 (1990)

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*

Alastair Cole, "The Presidential Party and the Fifth Republic", *West European Politics* 16 (1993)

Joseph Szarka, "The Winning of the 1995 French Presidential Elections", *West European Politics* 19 (1996)

George Ross, "Party Decline and Changing Party Systems: France and the French Communist Party", *Comparative Politics*, 25 (1992)

David S. Bell, "Presidentialism Restored: the French Elections of April-May and June 2002", *Parliamentary Affairs* 55 (2002)

## 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*

Richard S. Katz, “Reforming the Italian Electoral Law”, in Shugart & Wattenberg, *Mixed Member Electoral Systems*

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)

M. Bull & M. Rhodes (eds.), “Crisis and Transition in Italian Politics”, special issue of *West European Politics* 20 (1997)

## Japan

\*Lawrence LeDuc, “Something Old, Something New: Electoral Reform in Japan” [PKT]

+Takashi Inoguchi, “Japanese Politics in Transition: a Theoretical Review”, *Government and Opposition* 28 (1993)

+Steven Reed and Michael F. Thies, “The Consequences of Electoral Reform in Japan”, in Shugart & Wattenberg, *Mixed Member Electoral Systems*

Ronald Hrebemar, *Japan’s New Party System*

Scott Flanagan, et al., *The Japanese Voter*

Gerald Curtis, *Election Campaigning Japanese Style*

Takashi Inoguchi, “The Japanese General Election of 25 June 2000”, *Government and Opposition* 35 (2000)

Steven Reed, “Strategic Voting in the 1996 Japanese General Election”, *Comparative Political Studies* 32 (1999)

Bradley Richardson, “Japan’s Habitual Voters: Partisanship on the Emotional Periphery”, *Comparative Political Studies* 19 (1986)

## **Russia**

\*Larry Diamond, "Consolidating Democracies" [CD2]

\*Stephen White, "Russia, Elections, Democracy" [PKT]

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

T. Remington & S. Smith, "The Development of Parliamentary Parties in Russia", *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22 (1995)

Richard Rose, "Mobilizing Demobilized Voters in Post Communist Societies", *Party Politics* 1 (1995)

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*

Arthur Miller et al, "Emerging Party Systems in Post-Soviet Societies", *Journal of Politics* 62 (2000)

## **Ireland**

\*Michael Marsh, "The Irish Election of 2002: A New Hegemony for Fianna Fail?" [PKT]

John Coakley & Michael Gallagher (eds.), *Politics in the Republic of Ireland*

Michael Gallagher et al, *How Ireland Voted 2002*

David Farrell, "Ireland: a Party System Transformed" in David Broughton & Mark Donovan, *Changing Party Systems in Western Europe*

Richard Sinnott, *Irish Voters Decide: Voting Behaviour in Elections and Referendums*

Richard Breen & Chris Whelen, "Social Class, Class Origins, and Political Partisanship in the Republic of Ireland", *European Journal of Political Research* 26 (1994)

Brian Girvin, "Consensus and Political Competition in the Irish Republic", *Parliamentary Affairs* 51 (1998)

## **Switzerland**

\*Andreas Ladner, "Swiss Political Parties: Between Persistence and Change" [PKT]

\*Lawrence LeDuc, "Switzerland: Government By Referendum?" [PKT]

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

Clive Church, "The Swiss Elections of October 1999: Learning to Live in More Interesting Times", *West European Politics* 23 (2000)

A. Ladner & M. Brändle, "Does Direct Democracy Matter for Political Parties?", *Party Politics* 5 (1999)

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]

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

Raymond Miller (ed.), *New Zealand Politics in Transition*  
Jonathan Boston et al, *New Zealand Under MMP: a New Politics?*  
Helena Catt et al, *Voters' Choice: Electoral Change in New Zealand*  
Stephen Levine & Nigel Roberts, "The New Zealand Electoral Referendum and General Election of 1993", *Electoral Studies* 13 (1994)  
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]

+Reuven Hazan & Gideon Rahat, "Representation, Electoral Reform and Democracy: Theoretical Lessons From the 1996 Elections in Israel", *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (2000)

Asher Arian, *The Second Republic: Politics in Israel*  
Abraham Diskin, *Elections and Voters in Israel*  
Henri Stellman, "Electing a Prime Minister and Parliament: The Israeli Election of 1996", *Parliamentary Affairs* 49 (1996)  
Gideon Rahat, "The Politics of Reform in Israel", in Shugart & Wattenberg, *Mixed Member Electoral Systems*  
Michael Barnett (ed.), *Israel in Comparative Perspective*  
Ehud Sprinzak & Larry Diamond (eds.), *Israeli Democracy Under Stress*  
A. Diskin & H. Diskin, "The Politics of Electoral Reform in Israel", *International Political Science Review* 16 (1995)  
Reuven Hazan, "Presidential Parliamentarism: Direct Popular Election of the Prime Minister, Israel's New Electoral and Political System", *Electoral Studies* 15 (1996)

*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]

+Warren Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter*, ch. 12-14

+Richard Johnston et al, *Letting the People Decide: the Dynamics of a Canadian Election*, ch. 5

+Ian Budge, "Strategies, Issues, and Voters in British General Elections: 1950-79",  
*Comparative Political Studies* 15 (1982)

Marjorie Randon Hershey, "The Campaign and the Media", in Gerald Pomper,  
*The Election of 2000*

Diane Sainsbury, "Party Strategies and Party-Voter Linkages", *European Journal of Political Research* 18 (1990)

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

\*Richard Niemi & William Miller, "Voting Choice, Conditioning and Constraint" [CD2]

+Russell Dalton & Martin Wattenberg. "The Not So Simple Act of Voting", in Ada Finifter,  
*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*

Arthur Miller, "Throwing the Rascals Out: Policy and Performance Evaluations of Presidential  
Candidates", *American Political Science Review* 79 (1985)

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]

+Warren Miller & J. M. Shanks, "Policy Directions and Presidential Leadership: Alternative Interpretations of the 1980 Presidential Election", *British Journal of Political Science* 12 (1982)

+Harold D. Clarke et al, *Absent Mandate* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition), ch. 5, 6

Stanley Kelley, *Interpreting Elections*

Ian Budge & Dennis Farlie, *Explaining and Predicting Elections*

Peter Kellner, "Why the Tories Were Trounced"; Neil Gavin, "The Economy and Voting"; 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*

Arend Lijphart, "Democratic Political Systems: Types, Cases, Causes, Consequences", *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1 (1989)

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]

+Mark Franklin, "How the Decline of Class Voting Opened the Way to Radical Change in British Politics", *British Journal of Political Science* 14 (1984)

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

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

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*.

+Joseph Schlesinger, "The New American Political Party", *American Political Science Review* 79 (1985)

Kenneth Carty et al, *Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics*

Martin Wattenberg, *The Decline of American Political Parties*

L. Sandy Maisel, *The Parties Respond* (3<sup>rd</sup> 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*.

Klaus von Beyme, "Party Leadership and Change in Party Systems: Towards a Postmodern Party System", *Government and Opposition* 31 (1996)