

POL 462/2313: Comparative Political Parties and Elections

INSTRUCTOR: Prof. Lawrence LeDuc, SS 3065 (978-6675)
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TEXTS: Alan Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*

Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi & Pippa Norris, *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*

Paul Abramson, John Aldrich & David Rohde, *Change and Continuity in the 1996 & 1998 Elections*

Russell Dalton, *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Western Democracies* (2nd edition)

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

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.

Mark Kesselman & Joel Krieger, *European Politics in Transition* (2nd edition)

Russell Dalton, Scott Flanagan & Paul Allen Beck (eds.), *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*

Ian Budge & Kenneth Newton et al, *The Politics of the New Europe*

Warren Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter*

Peter Merkl, *Western European Party Systems*

Jan-Erik Lane & Svante Ersson, *Politics and Society in Western Europe* (3rd edition)

Paul Allen Beck, *Party Politics in America* (8th edition)

James Sundquist, *Dynamics of the Party System*

Leon Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*

David Farrell, *Comparing Electoral Systems*

Steven Wolinetz, *Parties and Party Systems in Liberal Democracies*

Kay Lawson & Peter Merkl (eds.), *When Parties Fail*

Peter Mair (ed.), *The West European Party System*

Jack Hayward, *The Crisis of Representation in Europe*

Simon Hix & Christopher Lord, *Political Parties in the European Union*

Cees van der Eijk & Mark Franklin, *Choosing Europe: the European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union*

Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc & Jon H. Pammett, *Absent Mandate: Canadian Electoral Politics in an Era of Restructuring* (3rd edition)

Herb Asher, *Presidential Elections and American Politics* (6th edition)

Michael Gallagher, Michael Laver & Peter Mair, *Representative Democracy in Western Europe*

Martin Harrop & William L. Miller, *Elections and Voters*

Mark Franklin, Thomas Mackie & Henry Valen, *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*
Richard G. Niemi & Herbert Weisberg, *Controversies in Voting Behavior* (all 3 editions)
Thomas Mackie & Richard Rose, *International Almanac of Electoral History*
Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Ian Budge & Richard Hofferbert, *Parties, Policies and Democracy*

A number of journals, particularly *Electoral Studies*, *Party Politics*, *Parliamentary Affairs*, *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.klipsan.com/research.htm> (Klipsan News Service)
<http://www.lgw.ac.uk/psa/elections.html> (UK Political Studies Association)
<http://www.agora.stm.it/elections/> (Derksen Archive)
<http://ssdc.uscd.edu/lij/> (University of California- San Diego)
<http://www.library.ubc.ca/poli/electoral.html> (University of British Columbia)
<http://www.ifes.org/newsletter/eltodind.htm> (International Electoral Systems Foundation)

Prof. LeDuc maintains a web site for *Comparing Democracies* which also contains many of the above links. It can be accessed at: <http://chass.utoronto.ca/~leduc/>

There are also a number of sites dealing with particular countries and/or specific elections which can generally be located through standard keyword search procedures. Many political parties throughout the world also now maintain their own web sites, and these can provide useful sources of information on their activities as well as links to other sites.

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 27th.

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 required 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

*Ware, pp. 1-13

*LeDuc, ch. 1

*Dalton, ch. 7

*Anthony King, "Political Parties in Western Democracies", *Polity* 2 (1969) [PKT]

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

+Kay Lawson, "Political Parties Inside and Out", *Comparative Politics* 23 (1990)

+Alan Ware, *Citizens, Parties and the State*

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)

Richard Katz, *Democracy and Elections*

Understanding and classifying party systems

*Ware, ch. 5, 6

*LeDuc, ch. 3, 5

*Dalton, ch. 2, 6

*Giovanni Sartori, "A Typology of Party Systems", in Peter Mair (ed.), *The West European Party System* [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

+Robert T. McKenzie, *British Political Parties*, ch. 6-8

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
Robert Alford, *Party and Society*

Parties as organizations

*Ware, ch. 2-4

*LeDuc, ch. 4

*Dalton, ch. 4

*Otto Kirscheimer, "The Catch-All Party", in Peter Mair (ed.), *The West European Party System* [PKT]

*Kaare Strøm, "A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties",
American Journal of Political Science 34 (1990) [PKT]

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

+Richard Katz, "Party as Linkage", *European Journal of Political Research* 18 (1990)

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)

Partisanship, Ideology and Party Identification

*Ware, ch. 1

*Abramson, ch. 5, 8

*LeDuc, ch. 13

*Dalton, ch. 8, 9

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

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

Klaus Von Beyme, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*, ch. 3

Ian Budge et al, *Party Identification and Beyond*

Lawrence LeDuc, "The Dynamic Properties of Party Identification: a Four Nation Comparison",
European Journal of Political Research 9 (1981)

- Helmut Norpoth, "Party Identification in West Germany: Tracing an Elusive Concept", *Comparative Political Studies* 11 (1978)
- Bruce Cain & John Ferejohn, "A Comparison of Party Identification in the United States and Great Britain", *Comparative Political Studies* 14 (1981)
- Oddbjørn Knutsen, "'Left-Right Location of Political Parties in Western Europe'", *West European Politics* 21 (1998)
- Warren Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter*, ch. 6, 7

Party systems and electoral systems

- *LeDuc, ch. 2, 7, 8
- *Ware, ch. 9
- *Abramson, ch. 1, 4
- *Dalton, ch. 3
- *Pippa Norris, "Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian and Mixed Systems", *International Political Science Review* 18 (1997) [PKT]
- *Jack Vowles, "The Politics of Electoral Reform in New Zealand", *International Political Science Review* 16 (1995) [PKT]
- +Arend Lijphart & Bernard Grofman, *Choosing an Electoral System*, ch. 1-4
- +Mogens Pedersen, "The Dynamics of European Party Systems", *European Journal of Political Research* 7 (1979)
- +Pippa Norris et al., "The Politics of Electoral Reform", special issue of the *International Political Science Review* 16 (1995)
- Ian Budge & Kenneth Newton, *The Politics of the New Europe*, ch. 10
- Arend Lijphart, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*
- G. Bingham Powell, "American Voting Turnout in Comparative Perspective", *American Political Science Review* 80 (1986)
- David Farrell, *Comparing Electoral Systems*
- Douglas Rae, *The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws*
- Enid Lakeman, *Power to Elect: the Case for Proportional Representation*
- Henry Milner (ed.), *Making Votes Count*

Elections of a "second order": electing a European parliament

- *Julie Smith, "The 1994 European Elections: Twelve Into One Won't Go", *West European Politics* 18 (1995) [PKT]
- *Cees van der Eijk et al, "What Voters Teach Us About Europe-Wide Elections: What Europe-Wide Elections Teach Us About Voters", *Electoral Studies* 14 (1995) [PKT]

*Oskar Niedermayer, "Turnout in the European Elections", *Electoral Studies* 9 (1989) [PKT]

+Cees van der Eijk & Mark Franklin, *Choosing Europe*, ch. 18-20

+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)

+Simon Hix & Christopher Lord, *Political Parties in the European Union*, ch. 1, 4, 5

Juliet Lodge, *The 1994 Elections to the European Parliament*, ch. 1, 12, 13

John Curtice, "The 1989 European Elections: Protest or Green Tide", *Electoral Studies* 8 (1989)

Alain Guyomarch, "The European Elections of 1994", *West European Politics* 18 (1995)

Julie Smith, "How European are European Elections?", in John Gaffney, *Political Parties in the European Community*

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

Britain

*David Sanders, "The New Electoral Battleground", in Anthony King, *New Labour Triumphs: Britain at the Polls 1997* [PKT]

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

+Dennis Kavanagh, "Changes in Electoral Behaviour and the Party System", *Parliamentary Affairs* 47 (1994)

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

David Butler & Dennis Kavanagh, *The British General Election of 1997*

Ivor Crewe & Bo Sarlvik, *Decade of Dealignment*

Pippa Norris, *Electoral Change in Britain Since 1945*

Pippa Norris & Neil Gavin (eds.), "Britain Votes: 1997" (special issue of *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 50 (1997))

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

United States

*Abramson, ch. 3, 10

+Calvin Jillson, "Patterns and Periodicity in American National Politics", in Lawrence Dodd & Calvin Jillson, *The Dynamics of American Politics*

+James Sundquist, *Dynamics of the Party System*, ch. 4-10, 14

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

Norman Nie et al., *The Changing American Voter*, ch. 2-5, 11-13

E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People*

Paul Abramson & John Aldrich, "The Decline of Electoral Participation in America", *American Political Science Review* 76 (1982)

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

L. Sandy Maisel (ed.), *The Parties Respond: Changes in the American Party System*, ch. 1, 4, 5

Gary Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*

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

Warren Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter*, ch. 2

Martin Wattenberg, *The Decline of American Political Parties*

Germany

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

+Mark Franklin et al, *Electoral Change*, ch. 9

+Russell Dalton, "The West German Party System Between Two Ages", in Russell Dalton, Scott Flanagan & Paul Allen Beck, *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*

Kendall. Baker et al., *Germany Transformed*

Herbert Kitschelt, "The 1990 German Federal Election and the National Unification", *West European Politics* 14 (1991)

Peter Merkl, *Western European Party Systems*, ch. 2, 23

Mark Kesselman & Joel Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, ch. 14, 15

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

Klaus von Beyme, "A United Germany Preparing for the 1994 Elections", *Parliamentary Affairs* 29 (1994)

Michael Minkenberg, "The New Right in Germany", *European Journal of Political Research* 22 (1992)

France

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

*Paul Hainsworth, "The Return of the Left: the 1997 French Parliamentary Election",
Parliamentary Affairs 51 (1998) [PKT]

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

+Michael Lewis-Beck, "France: the Stalled Electorate", in Russell Dalton, Scott Flanagan & Paul Allen Beck,
Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies

Mark Franklin et al, *Electoral Change*, ch. 8

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

John Gaffney, *The French Presidential Elections of 1988: Ideology and Leadership in Contemporary France*

Mark Kesselman & Joel Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, ch. 9, 10

Alan Guyomarch, "The 1993 Parliamentary Election in France", *Parliamentary Affairs* 46 (1994)

Peter Merkl, *Western European Party Systems*, ch. 4

Jonathan Macrae, "Advance or Consolidation?: the National Front and the 1995 Elections",
West European Politics 19 (1996)

N. Mayer & P. Perrineau, "Why Do They Vote For Le Pen?",
European Journal of Political Research 22 (1992)

Italy

*Roberto d'Alimonte & Stefano Bartolini, "Electoral Transition and Party System Change in Italy",
West European Politics 20 (1997)

+James Newell & Martin Bull, "The Italian General Election of 1996", *Parliamentary Affairs* 49 (1996)

+D. Woods, "The Centre No Longer Holds: The Rise of Regional Leagues in Italian Politics",
West European Politics 15 (1992)

Mark Franklin et al, *Electoral Change*, ch. 12

D. Hine, *Governing Italy*

Stephen Gundle & Simon Porter (eds.), *The New Italian Republic*

Mark Kesselman & Joel Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, ch. 19-20

Roberto d'Alimonte & David Nelken, *Italian Politics: the Centre-Left in Power* Barnes,

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*

S. Waters, "'Togentopoli' and the Emergence of a New Political Order in Italy",

West European Politics 17 (1994)

M. Calise, "Remaking the Italian Party System: How Lijphart Got It Wrong By Saying It Right", *West European Politics* 16 (1993)

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

Japan

*T. Inoguchi, "A Step Towards One Party Dominance: Japan's General Election of 20 October 1996", *Government and Opposition* 32 (1997) [PKT]

+T. Inoguchi, "Japanese Politics in Transition: a Theoretical Review", *Government and Opposition* 28 (1993)

+Scott Flanagan, "Electoral Change in Japan: a Study of Secular Realignment", in Russell Dalton, Scott Flanagan & Paul Allen Beck, *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*

R. Hrebentar, *The Japanese Party System: From One Party Rule to Coalition Government*
Bradley Richardson, "Japan's Habitual Voters: Partisanship on the Emotional Periphery", *Comparative Political Studies* 19 (1986)

Michael Donnelly, "No Great Reversal in Japan", *Pacific Affairs* 63 (1991)

Gerald Curtis, *Election Campaigning Japanese Style*

H. Baerwald, *Party Politics in Japan*

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

Ireland

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

+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, "Social Change and Political Culture in the Republic of Ireland", *Parliamentary Affairs* 46 (1993)

Peter Merkl, *Western European Party Systems*, ch. 10

Mark Franklin et al, *Electoral Change*, ch. 11

R. K. Carty, "Ireland: From Predominance to Competition", in Steven Wolinetz, *Parties and Party Systems in Liberal Democracies*

Howard Penniman, *Ireland at the Polls*, ch. 1-4

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

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

Brendan O'Duffy, "The Irish General Election of 1997", *West European Politics* 21 (1998)

The Netherlands

*Galen Irwin & Joop van Holsteyn, "Revamping Electoral Politics in the Netherlands"
West European Politics 20 (1997) [PKT]

+Peter Mair, "The Correlates of Consensus Democracy and the Puzzle of Dutch Politics",
West European Politics 17 (1994)

+Mark Franklin et al, *Electoral Change*, ch. 13

Galen Irwin, "And the Walls Came Tumbling Down", in Russell Dalton, Scott Flanagan & Paul
Allen Beck, *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, ch. 9

Hans Daalder, "The Dutch Party System: From Segmentation to Polarization, and Then?",
in H. Daalder, *Party Systems in Denmark, Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Belgium*
Peter Merkl, *Western European Party Systems*, ch. 6

Steven Wolinetz, "The Netherlands: Continuity and Change in a Fragmented Party System",
in S. Wolinetz, *Parties and Party Systems in Liberal Democracies*

Warren Miller & Phillip Stouthard, "Confessional Attachment and Electoral Behaviour in the
Netherlands", *European Journal of Political Research* 3 (1975)

Rudy Andweg & Galen Irwin, *Dutch Government and Politics*

Norway, Sweden & Denmark

*Ole Borre, "Critical Electoral Change in Scandanavia", in Russell Dalton, Scott Flanagan &
Paul Allen Beck, *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies* [PKT]

+David Arter, *Scandinavian Politics Today*, ch. 4-6

+Diane Sainsbury, "The 1991 Swedish Elections: Protest, Fragmentation and a Shift to the
Right", *West European Politics* 15 (1992)

Ole Borre, "Old and New Politics in Denmark", *Scandinavian Political Studies* 18 (1995)

Mark Franklin et al, *Electoral Change*, ch. 7, 15, 17

Palle Svensson & Lise Togeby, "The Political Mobilization of the New Middle Class in
Denmark", *West European Politics* 14 (1991)

Sten Berglund & Ulf Lindström, *The Scandinavian Party Systems*

Kaare Strøm & Lars Svåsand (eds.), *Challenges to Political Parties: the Case of Norway*

Ole Borre, "Electoral Instability in Four Nordic Countries",
Comparative Political Studies 13 (1980)

Nicholas Aylott, "Between Europe and Unity: the Case of the Swedish Social Democrats",
West European Politics 20 (1997)

Mogens Pedersen, "The Defeat of All Parties: the Danish Folketing Elections of 1973",
in Kay Lawson & Peter Merkl, *When Parties Fail*

Mark Kesselman & Joel Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, ch. 24, 25

Israel

*Henri Stellman, "Electing a Prime Minister and Parliament: The Israeli Election of 1996", *Parliamentary Affairs* 49 (1996) [PKT]

+Abraham Diskin & Hanna Diskin, "The Politics of Electoral Reform in Israel", *International Political Science Review* 16 (1995)

Asher Arian, *The Second Republic: Politics in Israel*

Abraham Diskin, *Elections and Voters in Israel*

Ehud Sprinzak & Larry Diamond (eds.), *Israeli Democracy Under Stress*

Asher Arian & Michael Shamir (eds.), *The Elections in Israel: 1992*

Henri Stellman, "Israel, the 1992 Election and After", *Parliamentary Affairs* 46 (1993)

Australia & New Zealand

*Ian McAllister, "The End of a Labor Era in Australian Politics", *Government and Opposition* 31 (1996) [PKT]

*Stephen Levine & Nigel Roberts, "The New Zealand Electoral Referendum and General Election of 1993", *Electoral Studies* 13 (1994) [PKT]

+Mark Franklin et al, *Electoral Change*, ch. 3, 14

+Jack Vowles et al, *Voters Victory?: New Zealand's First Election Under Proportional Representation*, ch. 3-4

Jack Vowles & Peter Aimer (eds.), *Double Decision: the 1993 Election and Referendum in New Zealand*

Jack Vowles & Peter Aimer, *Voters Vengeance: the 1990 Election in New Zealand and the Fate of the Fourth Labour Government*

Raymond Miller (ed.), *New Zealand Politics in Transition*.

Don Aitkin, *Stability and Change in Australian Politics*

Ian McAllister, "Tax Reform, Not Race Debate: the 1998 Australian Federal Election", *Government and Opposition* 34 (1999)

Clive Bean et al, "The 1993 Australian Federal Election", (special issue of the *Australian Journal of Political Science* 29 (1994))

Howard Penniman (ed.), *Australia at the Polls: 1980-83*, ch. 2-5

Leon Epstein, "A Comparative Study of Australian Parties", *British Journal of Political Science* 7 (1977)

Spain

*Sebastian Balfour, "Bitter Victory - Sweet Defeat: The March Elections in Spain", *Government and Opposition* 31 (1996) [PKT]

+Richard Gunther et al, *Spain After Franco: the Making of a Competitive Party System*, ch. 4, 7

Thomas Lancaster, "A New Phase for Spanish Democracy: the General Election of June 1993", *West European Politics* 17 (1994)

Richard Gillespie, "The Continuing Debate on Democratization in Spain", *Parliamentary Affairs* 46 (1993)

Juan Linz, "The New Spanish Party System", in Richard Rose, *Electoral Participation*

Thomas Lancaster & Michael Lewis-Beck, "The Spanish Voter: Tradition, Economics, Ideology", *Journal of Politics* 48 (1986)

Mark Franklin et al, *Electoral Change*, ch. 16

Peter McDonough & Antonio Lopez Piña, "Continuity and Change in Spanish Politics", in Russell Dalton, Scott Flanagan & Paul Allen Beck, *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*

Russia

*Robert Cottrell, "Russia's Parliamentary and Presidential Elections", *Government and Opposition* 31 (1996)

+Stephen White et al, *How Russia Votes*, ch. 1, 4, 9, 10

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)

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

B. Szajkowski, *New Political Parties of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*

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*

M. Wyman et al., "The Russian Elections of December 1993", *Electoral Studies* 13 (1994)

Part III. Dynamics of the Electoral Process

Party Strategies, Candidates and Issues

*Ware, ch. 9-10

*LeDuc, ch. 6, 9-12

*Abramson, ch. 2

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

+William Miller et al, *How Voters Change: the 1987 British Election Campaign in Perspective*,
ch. 2, 3

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

Harold D. Clarke et al, *Absent Mandate* (3rd edition), ch. 4, 5

Shaun Bowler & David Farrell, *Electoral Strategies and Political Marketing*

David Farrell & Martin Wortman, "Party Strategies in the Electoral Market: Political Marketing in Germany, Britain and Ireland", *European Journal of Political Research* 15 (1987)

Lawrence LeDuc, "Voting for Free Trade?: the Canadian Voter in the 1988 Federal Election"
in P. Fox, & G. White, *Politics: Canada* (7th ed.)

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

Pippa Norris, "The Battle for the Campaign Agenda", in Anthony King, *New Labour Triumphs: Britain at the Polls 1997*

Kenneth Newton, "Caring and Competence: the Long, Long Campaign", in Anthony King,
Britain at the Polls: 1992

David Butler & Dennis Kavanagh, *The British General Election of 19--* (Nuffield series)

Lawrence LeDuc, "Party Strategies and the Use of Televised Campaign Debates",
European Journal of Political Research 18 (1990)

Michael Lewis-Beck & Paolo Belucci, "Economic Influences on Elections in Multi-Party Systems", *Political Behavior* 4 (1982)

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

Edward Tufte, *Political Control of the Economy*

Partisanship and Voting Behaviour

*Ware: ch. 11

*Abramson: ch. 6-7

*Dalton, ch. 10

*Lawrence LeDuc, "Citizens' Revenge: the Canadian Voter and the 1993 Federal Election",
in Paul Fox & Graham White, *Politics: Canada* (8th ed.) [PKT]

- +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)

Elinor Scarborough, "The British Electorate Twenty Years On",
British Journal of Political Science 17 (1987)

Ulf Lindstrøm, "The Changing Scandinavian Voter", *European Journal of Political Research* 10 (1982)

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*

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

Richard Rose & Ian McAllister, *Voters Begin to Choose*

B. Hayes, "The Impact of Class on Political Attitudes: a Comparative Study of Great Britain, West Germany, Australia and the United States", *European Journal of Political Research* 27 (1995)

Clive Bean & Anthony Mughan, "Leadership Effects in Parliamentary Elections in Australia and Britain", *American Political Science Review* 83 (1989)

Explaining and Interpreting Elections

*Abramson: ch. 9, 11

*Anthony King, "Why Labour Won... At Last", in Anthony King, *New Labour Triumphs: Britain at the Polls 1997* [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)

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)

David Sanders, "Why the Conservatives Won... Again", in Anthony King, *Britain at the Polls: 1992*

Anthony Heath et al., *How Britain Votes*

Gerald Pomper, *Voters' Choice*

Stanley Kelley, *Interpreting Elections*

- William Schneider, "The November 4th Vote for President: What Did It Mean?", in Austin Ranney, *The American Elections of 1980*
- Raymond Wolfinger, "Dealignment, Realignment and Mandates in the 1984 Election", in Austin Ranney, *The American Elections of 1984*
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