

POL 9760: Comparative Political Parties

University of Missouri

Fall 2020

M 8:30-11:00AM, Middlebush 13

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Office hours: Zoom office hours: M W 1:00 - 2:00 PM (Meeting ID: 938 1058 8488; Passcode: 644658)

Remote participation information: Meeting ID: 997 9034 8392; Passcode: 9760

Course Description

Political parties are central actors mediating voters' policy preferences and political outcomes. As Robertson (1976) states, "to talk, today, about democracy, is to talk about a system of competitive political parties."

In this graduate seminar, we will explore the vast literature on comparative political parties and more generally on comparative institutions. In the first part of the class (for about five weeks) we will discuss what parties are, where they come from, and how they form different party systems. We will then talk about parties as organizations with their own structures and examine party organizational and party system change. Next, we will talk about parties in the electorate: we will discuss parties' ideologies, their ideological change, and measurement issues with party ideologies.

Finally, we will talk about the challenges political parties face in both established and developing democracies. Some of the questions we will address are as follows: how does the establishment of new and ideologically extreme political parties threaten the more established parties in advanced democracies, and how do the mainstream parties respond to this threat? Are parties still important and strong in the age of globalization and communication as social capital is declining? How do parties organize in the legislatures and ensure cohesion? And, how does clientelism affect programmatic party competition in developing democracies?

Course Requirements

Class Participation and Attendance (20%)

This course is a seminar, not a lecture series. It is your responsibility, as well as mine, to come to class prepared to discuss the information and claims found in the readings and explore related research possibilities. If any of us shirk, we all lose. I expect no absences in the course, and I encourage you to discuss any circumstances with me that will preclude you from attending class. I also expect you to arrive on time. If you do need to miss class, please contact me ahead of time to let me know that you will not be able to attend and to make arrangements to complete an alternate assignment. A large portion of my overall evaluation of your performance in the course will depend on the quality of your seminar participation.

Keep in mind that the purpose of the seminar is to engage in informed group discussion: we are not interested in uninformed opinion. This means that students should closely and critically read each book or article on the reading list, and spend time thinking about what each contributes to the topic that week and to comparative

politics in general. Class discussion will focus on such issues as the theoretical arguments being made (both explicitly and implicitly), the empirical evidence that is marshaled to test these arguments, weaknesses of the work, and potential directions for future study.

Grades for participation (including participation in discussion and attendance) will be assigned at the end of the semester, but you may ask for feedback on your performance at any time. If you have concerns about the quality and quantity of your participation in the course, I hope you will speak to me. Remember, this is a seminar, so just showing up to class is not enough. You must come to class prepared to participate in an informed discussion of the issues raised by the week's readings. If you just show up to class every week, but never say a word, you can expect to receive a D or lower for class participation (20% of your grade).

The following general grading scale will be used for participation and preparation:

- A: The student made a very strong contribution to the course. Class discussion, comments, and presentations reflected understanding and analysis of the material, and were constructive. Constructive means that a student does not simply identify a weakness or problem. Rather, constructive comments identify a problem and offer suggestions for how to address the weakness or problem.
- B: The student contributed meaningfully to the course. Class participation and/or presentations went beyond repeating the assigned material, perhaps identifying weaknesses in the current literature, but did not make many constructive suggestions about how weaknesses might be overcome or how the literature might be usefully extended in the future.
- C: The student did not contribute meaningfully to the seminar. Class participation and/or presentations were limited to repeating the assigned material rather than making connections or extensions.
- D or lower: The student attended class, but did not participate in discussions or present meaningful questions for academic debate.

Finally, because we will engage in vigorous academic debate during class, classroom etiquette is vital. Please work to ensure that you make comments in ways that invite discussion. Our classroom contains members with various life experiences, divergent perspectives, varying levels of experience with political science research, and different strategies for defending their views. Please state your opinions constructively and respectfully, listen carefully when your colleagues are speaking, and speak to me if you are offended by something that is said in class. If you do not follow these guidelines, your participation grade will be adversely affected.

Talking Points (30%)

For each class (excluding the Mini-Conference) each student will produce three "talking points" about the readings. The talking points should be in the form of a short paragraph outlining the question or argument. Students will email me these talking points by noon on the Sunday before the class.

These questions are intended to improve understanding of the material and inspire discussion, so they should be the most interesting questions or arguments that the student has identified based on the week's readings. Questions can relate to a single reading, a set of readings, or the week's selections as a whole. Each talking point should refer to a different chapter or article from the weekly readings. You may also include questions of clarification if there are areas in the reading that you find difficult to understand. However, keep in mind that I will evaluate the quality of your questions as a critical part of this grade component. Given the size of the class, and the amount of material covered, not everybody gets an opportunity to ask every question they have. Consider this your opportunity to get your questions on record. The talking points will be graded on a 4-point scale.

This is an example of an effective talking point:

McClosky believes that economics should be more literary in its writings so that it tells a story to its readers. This argument fits with Kuhn's point that scientists write to an audience of other scientists. Obviously, audience is important, but how important? Has the field of political science suffered from the same use of scientific jargon in the same manner as economics? Has the language that political scientists use hindered the field in accomplishing its goals of explanation and prediction of social phenomenon?

This example highlights the main argument of the author (*economics should be more literary*) and relates it to readings from previous weeks (*Thomas Kuhn*). The talking point then presents a question that pits the two arguments against one another, thereby creating points for discussion. Note that this is only one of the many ways to produce a quality talking point. I will provide examples of others early in the semester.

Short Papers (20%)

At four points throughout the semester students will write a 2-3 page analysis of the week's readings. The primary goal of the papers is not to earn grades but to provide you with an opportunity to reflect on the readings and develop critical thinking and writing skills. Feel free to use these papers as an aid in class discussion. Students will email me these papers by noon on the Sunday before the class. **Late papers will not be accepted.**

Students have an option of submitting a *critical response or analysis paper*, or a *research ideas* paper. You can choose any combination of the two paper types for your four required papers. If you select a *critical analysis* paper, keep the following questions in mind:

- *Theory*: Does the work make original contributions to the current state of theory on the topic being addressed? Are the assumptions and causal mechanisms elaborated clearly? Are the assumptions plausible? Is the theory internally consistent? Do the hypotheses follow logically from the theory?
- *Empirical Design*: Is the research design used by the author(s) suitable for testing the theoretical hypotheses? If not, how might this problem be resolved? Are there other relevant empirical issues the work has failed to consider?
- *Data*: Do the measures of the dependent and independent variables adequately correspond to the theoretical concepts of interest? Are better measures possible? Are more reliable data available to test the hypotheses? Are the data and construction of measures described in sufficient detail so as to permit replication?
- *Findings*: Have the results been interpreted correctly? Are the interpretations substantively interesting? How well do the findings fit with theoretical expectations? Are there other possible explanations of the phenomenon of interest that need to be considered? Are there other testable implications arising from the theory that might give us greater leverage on the posited relationships?

Be sure that your analysis is a coherent whole. In other words, you should not haphazardly offer answers to all of these questions, but use them as a guide to develop an original argument for your paper. You should have an introduction that sets out the thesis or primary argument of your analysis paper, a body that develops your thesis/argument citing the readings as needed to support your points, and a conclusion that rounds out your analysis paper. This is an opportunity to go beyond restating key points from the readings and think intelligently and originally about what they mean, what they tell us about comparative politics, and what concerns you about them. The best papers will be those that take up a single point or small issue and develop a thoughtful analysis of that point. Do not try to cover too much in the paper.

If you choose to submit a *research ideas* paper, then identify a gap or puzzle in the literature, introduce your theory and how your research would address that puzzle, and offer a preliminary research design. There is

no need for any empirical results or analysis. The purpose of this type of research paper is to generate a variety of ideas for future research. Feel free to ask me questions if you need any help with this.

Research Paper (30%)

Another requirement is the development of an original research paper, involving the development and empirical testing of one or more hypotheses on one of the broad substantive topics that we cover in the seminar. This paper may be quantitative or qualitative in nature, depending on the nature of the question and the student's methodological training, but in any case it must be analytical and theoretical in nature rather than descriptive.

The research paper should discuss the theoretical motivation for the proposed research, citing the relevant literature (at least 20 sources) to which the research seeks to contribute. It should clearly explain the original theoretical argument made and explicitly posit the key testable hypotheses derived from this theory. The paper should also discuss the dependent variable(s) and central explanatory variables that would be employed in an empirical investigation of these hypotheses. In addition to submitting a written version, students will make an 12-15 minute presentation of their research paper to the class at the mini-conference.

The final paper must be 25-30 pages in length, and should be comparable to an academic journal article in style. Please note that this must be an original paper for this course, and can not overlap in any substantial way with a paper written for another course; if there is any question please talk to me about it and bring me a copy of the other paper. I strongly encourage students to use L^AT_EX. More information will be provided later in the semester.

There will be four components of the research paper:

1. A two page proposal that is due by the beginning of class on Monday, October 26 (worth 5% of the course grade). An effective proposal will include the following sections: Background/literature in which the student identifies gaps in the literature and introduces the research question, Theory and Hypothesis where the student identifies the credible mechanism, develops the theory and derives testable hypotheses, Research Design where the student discusses possible data sources and potential methods, and finally Potential Problems/Obstacles where the student can discuss areas in which he/she needs help.
2. A first draft of the paper submitted via email by the beginning of class on Monday, November 16 (worth 5% of the course grade). I will distribute the drafts to the rest of the class.
3. Participation in the Mini-Conference on November 30. Each student will make a presentation and serve as a discussant/reviewer for one or two other student presentations (worth 10% of the course grade). An effective presentation will include the following elements:
 - introduce research question
 - place your research in the context of the literature
 - derive hypotheses
 - describe your research design
 - present your empirical results
 - list major conclusions and implications.

I will provide more in-depth description of the requirements for the Reviews at a later date, but they should include an overall summary and then comments/criticisms arranged into three topics: aesthetics, empirical and theoretical.

4. A revised final version of the research paper submitted via email by 8:30am, December 7. Additionally, if quantitative methods were used, the student must email me the data set and replication materials by the due date (altogether, this component is worth 20% of the course grade).

The paper will be graded on the clarity and contribution of the theory as an addition to the literature on comparative political behavior, as well as on the appropriateness of the empirical analysis proposed to test the theory. These papers will be expected to conform to the submission standards of the *American Journal of Political Science*.

Grammatical mistakes in the weekly analysis papers or in the research paper will NOT be tolerated. Any student turning in an assignment with grammatical mistakes will have the assignment returned without a grade. The student will have one opportunity to improve and resubmit the work with a grade penalty in a time frame decided by me.

Final class grades will be assigned with the following grading scale:

A+ = 97.0 - 100
A = 90.0 - 96.99
B+ = 87.0 - 89.99
B = 80.0 - 86.99
C+ = 77.0 - 79.99
C = 70.0 - 76.99
D+ = 67.0 - 69.99
D = 60.0 - 66.99
F = 0 - 59.99

The following books are required for this course.

- Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mair, Peter. 2013. *Ruling the Void*. Verso Publishing.

All required readings will be available on Canvas or through jstor.

Decreasing the Risk of COVID-19 in Classrooms and Labs

MU cares about the health and safety of its students, faculty, and staff. To provide safe, high-quality education amid COVID-19, we will follow several specific campus policies in accordance with the advice of the Center for Disease Control and Boone County health authorities. This statement will be updated as information changes.

- If you are experiencing any COVID-related symptoms, or are otherwise feeling unwell, do not attend in-person classes and contact your health care provider and/or student health immediately. COVID symptoms include: fever greater than 100.4 or chills; cough, shortness of breath or difficulty breathing; fatigue; unexplained muscle or body aches; headache; new loss of taste or smell; sore throat; congestion or runny nose; nausea or vomiting; diarrhea.
- We will all wear face coverings while in the classroom, unless you have a documented exemption due to a disability or medical condition.

- We will maintain a 6-foot distance from each other at all times (except in specific lab/studio courses with other specific guidelines for social distancing).
- We will enter the classroom and fill the room starting at the front, filing all the way across a row. When class ends, we will exit the row nearest to the door first; the instructor or TA will give the signal for the next row to exit, in the same manner.
- In any small section or lab class that requires them, additional measures will be listed in the syllabus and be mandatory for class participation.
- Online office hours will be available for all students.
- This course may be recorded by the instructor for the sole purpose of sharing the recording with students who can't attend class. The instructor will take care not to disclose personally identifiable information from the student education records during the recorded lesson.

Compliance with these guidelines is required for all; anyone who fails to comply will be subject to the accountability process, as stated in the University's Collected Rules and Regulations, Chapter 200 Student Code of Conduct.

If an instructor has concerns about how a student is following COVID-19 policies and protocols, please report those concerns to the Office of the Dean of Students. You can fill out a COVID Safety Measures Reporting Form here:

https://cm.maxient.com/reportingform.php?UnivofMissouriSystem&layout_id=38

By taking the above measures, we are supporting your health and that of the whole Mizzou community. Thank you in advance for joining me and your peers in adhering to these safety measures.

Other Considerations

- Out of respect for fellow students, each person will refrain from talking, whispering, eating, making offensive remarks, newspaper reading, and other disruptive behavior during lecture. Cell phones and laptops must be turned off and may not be used during class time. Inappropriate classroom behavior may result in the student being requested to leave the classroom. **I will discuss my electronics policy in-depth the first day of class.**
- The University of Missouri is committed to supporting student well-being through an integrated network of care, with a wide range of services to help students succeed. The MU Counseling Center offers professional mental health care, and can help you find the best approach to treatment based on your needs. Call to make an appointment at 573-882-6601. Any student in crisis may call or go to the MU Counseling Center between 8:00 – 5:00 M-F. After hours phone support is available at 573-882-6601.

Visit our website at <https://wellbeing.missouri.edu> to take an online mental health screening, find out about workshops and resources that can help you thrive, or learn how to support a friend. Download Sanvello, a phone app that teaches skills and strategies to help you maintain good mental health. Log in with your Mizzou e-mail to unlock all the tools available through Sanvello at no cost to you.

- Academic integrity is fundamental to the activities and principles of a university. All members of the academic community must be confident that each person's work has been responsibly and honorably acquired, developed, and presented. Any effort to gain an advantage not given to all students is dishonest whether or not the effort is successful. The academic community regards breaches of the academic

integrity rules as extremely serious matters. Sanctions for such a breach may include academic sanctions from the instructor, including failing the course for any violation, to disciplinary sanctions ranging from probation to expulsion. When in doubt about plagiarism, paraphrasing, quoting, collaboration, or any other form of cheating, consult the course instructor.

Plagiarism will not be tolerated. Any student plagiarizing (or cheating on tests) will receive an automatic grade of 0 for that assignment.

- Teaching Assistant: The role of the Teaching Assistant is to serve as an assistant to me. When a student needs help or clarification, the first step is to consult their lecture notes or readings. If that doesn't clear up the misunderstanding, then the student should contact the TA.
- The Writing Center, normally located in the Student Success Center, will still offer writing support to all students at the University of Missouri during fall 2020. With socially-distant class space at a premium, we have moved all of our tutoring services online, both via synchronous Zoom sessions and the ever-present Online Writery for asynchronous submissions. Our tutors come from all majors and are familiar with a variety of writing styles and formats. Although tutors are not editors and therefore will not "fix" a student's writing, they will provide detailed feedback and revision options for any writing project at any stage of the writing process, including initial brainstorming, early drafting, major (and minor) structural revisions, and/or finishing touches on a final draft. To make an appointment, submit your work to the Online Writery, or learn what else the Writing Center has to offer, visit their website at writingcenter.missouri.edu.

Though there may be specific times where we will request that a student meets with a Writing Center tutor before submitting an assignment, we encourage all students to use this excellent resource.

- If you anticipate barriers related to the format or requirements of this course, if you have emergency medical information to share with me, or if you need to make arrangements in case the building must be evacuated, please let me know as soon as possible.

If disability related accommodations are necessary (for example, a note taker, extended time on exams, captioning), please establish an accommodation plan with the MU Disability Center, S5 Memorial Union, 573-882-4696, and then notify me of your eligibility for reasonable accommodations. For other MU resources for persons with disabilities, click on "Disability Resources" on the MU homepage.

- The University community welcomes intellectual diversity and respects student rights. Students who have questions or concerns regarding the atmosphere in this class (including respect for diverse opinions) may contact the departmental chair or divisional director; the Office of Academic Integrity; the MU Equity Office, or equity@missouri.edu. All students will have the opportunity to submit an anonymous evaluation of the instructor(s) at the end of the course.
- University of Missouri System Executive Order No. 38 lays out principles regarding the sanctity of classroom discussions at the university. The policy is described fully in section 200.015 of the Collected Rules and Regulations. In this class, students may not make audio or video recordings of course activity, except students permitted to record as an accommodation under section 240.040 of the Collected Rules. All other students who record and/or distribute audio or video recordings of class activity are subject to discipline in accordance with provisions of section 200.020 of the Collected Rules and Regulations of the University of Missouri pertaining to student conduct matters.

Those students who are permitted to record are not permitted to redistribute audio or video recordings of statements or comments from the course to individuals who are not students in the course without the express permission of the faculty member and of any students who are recorded. Students found to have violated this policy are subject to discipline in accordance with provisions of section 200.020

of the Collected Rules and Regulations of the University of Missouri pertaining to student conduct matters.

Late Assignments/Missed Class

If you miss class or turn in an assignment late because of illness, send me an email. Stay home if you're not feeling well. It is preferable if students who are sick stay home and that students not take unnecessary visits to a health care provider just to get documentation for missing class.

Class Schedule:

We will spend as much time as necessary on each topic for this course. Because I am unable to predict in advance how long each topic will take, the schedule below is only a rough guideline.

August 31: What are political parties and party systems?

- Ware, Alan. 1996. *Political Parties and Party Systems*. Oxford University Press. pp: 1-13.
- Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Harper and Row. Ch. 2.
- Ware, Alan. 1996. *Political Parties and Party Systems*. Oxford University Press. Ch 5.
- Bardi, Luciano and Peter Mair. 2008. "The Parameters of Party Systems". *Party Politics* 14(2): 147-166.

September 7: NO CLASS

September 14: Where do parties come from? Sociological explanations

- Lipset, Seymour M. and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction." In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*, Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan eds. New York: MacMillan.
- Manning, Carrie. 2005. "Assessing African Party Systems after the Third Wave." *Party Politics* 11(6): 707-727.
- Bertoa, Fernando Casal. 2014. "Party systems and cleavage structures revisited: A sociological explanation of party system institutionalization in East Central Europe." *Party Politics* 20(1): 16-36.
- Mair, Peter. 1997. *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*. Clarendon Press. Chapters 3-4
- Bargsted, Matias A. and Nicolas M. Somma. 2016. "Social cleavages and political dealignment in contemporary Chile, 1995–2009." *Party Politics* 22(1): 105-124.

September 21: Where do parties come from? Rational choice explanations

- Aldrich, John. 1995. *Why Parties?* University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-2.

- Kitschelt, Herbert and Regina Smyth. “Programmatic Party Cohesion in Emerging Postcommunist Democracies: Russia in Comparative Context.” *Comparative Political Studies*. 35(10): 1228-1256.
- Cox, Gary and Mathew McCubbins. 2005. *Setting the Agenda*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.
- Mozaffer, Shaheen and James R. Scarritt. 2005. “The Puzzle of African Party Systems.” *Party Politics* 11(4): 399-421.

September 28: Where do parties come from? Electoral institutions

- Gary Cox, 1997. *Making Votes Count*. Chapters 1-5, 7, 8, 10
- Spoon, Jae-Jae and Karleen Jones West. 2015. “Alone or together? How institutions affect party entry in presidential elections in Europe and South America.” *Party Politics* 21(3): 393-403.
- Boix, Carles. 1999. “Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies.” *the American Political Science Review* 93(3): 609-624.

October 5: Parties as organizations I

Adapting party organizations

- Duverger, Maurice. 1990. “Caucus and Branch, Cadre Parties and Mass Parties” in *The West European Party System*, Peter Mair, ed. Pgs. 37-45.
- Kirchheimer, Otto. 1990. “The Catch-All Party” in *The West European Party System*, Peter Mair, ed. Pgs. 50-60.
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair. 1995. “Changing Models of Party Organization.” *Party Politics* 1: 5-28.
- Van Biezen, Ingrid and Petr Kopecky. 2014. “The cartel party and the state: Party–state linkages in European democracies.” *Party Politics* 20(2): 170-182.

Electoral consequences

- Tavits, Margit. 2012. “Organizing for Success: Party Organizational Strength and Electoral Performance in Postcommunist Europe.” *Journal of Politics* 74(1): 83-97.
- Karreth, Johannes, Jonathan T. Polk, and Christopher S. Allen. 2013. “Catchall or Catch and Release? The Electoral Consequences of Social Democratic Parties’ March to the Middle in Western Europe.” *Comparative Political Studies* 46(7): 791-822.

October 12: Parties as organizations II: Members

- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1989. “The Internal Politics of Parties: The Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited.” *Political Studies* 37 (3):400-421.
- Van Holsteyn, Joop JM, Josie M. Den Ridder, and Ruud A. Koole. 2017. “From May’s Laws to May’s legacy: On the opinion structure within political parties.” *Party Politics* 23(5): 471-486.

- Van Biezen, Ingrid and Thomas Poguntke. 2014. “The Decline of Membership-Based Politics.” *Party Politics* 20(2): 205-216.
- Kölln, Ann-Kristin. 2016. “Party membership in Europe: Testing party-level explanations of decline.” *Party Politics* 22(4): 465-477.
- Samuels, David. 2004. “From Socialism to Social Democracy? The Evolution of the Workers’ Party in Brazil.” *Comparative Political Studies* 37: 999-1024.

October 19: Parties in the electorate: party goals and ideological change

- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chapters 7 and 8.
- Cox, Gary. 1990. “Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems.” *American Journal of Political Science* 34(4):905-35.
- Strøm, Kaare. 1990. “A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Parties.” *American Journal of Political Science* 34(2): 565-598.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. “Internal Politics in Socialist Parties: Preference Formation, Aggregation, and Strategic Choice.” In *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5.
- Bawn, Kathleen, Martin Cohen, David Carol, Seth Masket, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. 2012. “A Theory of Political Parties.” *Perspectives on Politics* 10(3): 571-597.

October 26: Parties in the electorate: spatial competition and its electoral consequences

- **Assignment:** Two-page research proposal is due
- Budge, Ian. 1994. “A New Spatial Theory of Party Competition: Uncertainty, Ideology, and Policy Equilibria Viewed Comparatively and Temporally.” *British Journal of Political Science* 24(4): 443-467.
- Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2004. “Understanding Change and Stability in Party Ideologies: Do Parties Respond to Public Opinion or to Past Election Results?” *British Journal of Political Science* 34(4): 589-610.
- Fowler, James H. and Michael Laver. 2008. “A Tournament of Party Decision Rules.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(1): 68-92.
- Tavits, Margit. 2007. “Principle vs. Pragmatism: Policy Shifts and Political Competition.” *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1): 151-165.
- Somer-Topcu, Zeynep. 2015. “Everything to Everyone: The Electoral Consequences of the Broad-Appeal Strategy in Europe.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4): 841-854.
- Ezrow, Lawrence, Jonathan Homola and Margit Tavits. 2014. “When Extremism Pays: Policy Positions, Voter Certainty, and Party Support in Postcommunist Europe.” *Journal of Politics* 76(2): 535-547.

November 2: Issue ownership and valence characteristics

- Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science*. 40: 825-50.
- Belanger, Eric and Bonnie Meguid. 2008. "Issue salience, issue ownership, and issue-based vote choice." *Electoral Studies* 27: 477-491.
- Seeberg, Henrik Bech. 2017. "How Stable is Political Parties' Issue Ownership? A Cross-Time Cross-National Analysis." *Political Studies* 65(2): 475-492.
- Green, Jane and Sara B. Hobolt. 2008. "Owning the Issue Agenda: Party Strategies and Vote Choices in British Elections." *Electoral Studies* 27: 460-476.
- Stone, Walter and Elizabeth Simas. 2010. "Candidate Valence and Ideological Positions in U.S. House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(2): 371-388.
- Clark, Michael and Debra Leiter. 2014. "Does the Ideological Dispersion of Parties Mediate the Electoral Impact of Valence? A Cross-National Study of Party Support in Nine Western European Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(2): 171-202.

November 9: Challenges to established parties: the rise of niche parties

- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1988. "Left-Libertarian Parties: Explaining Innovation in Competitive Party Systems." *World Politics*. 40.2: 194-234.
- van der Brug, Wouter, Meindert Fennema and Jean Tillie. 2005. "Why Some Anti-Immigrant Parties Fail and Others Succeed: A Two-Step Model of Aggregate Electoral Support." *Comparative Political Studies* 38:537.
- Rice, Roberta and Donna Lee Van Cott. 2006. "The Emergence and Performance of Indigenous Peoples' Parties in South America: A Sub-national Statistical Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 39.6: 709-32.
- March, Luke and Charlotte Rommerskirchen. 2015. "Out of left field? Explaining the variable electoral success of European radical left parties." *Party Politics* 21(1): 40-53.
- Meyer, Thomas M. and Bernhard Miller. 2015. "The niche party concept and its measurement." *Party Politics* 21(2): 259-271.
- Bischof, Daniel. 2017. "Towards a renewal of the niche party concept: Parties, market shares and condensed offers." *Party Politics* 23(3): 220-235.

November 16: Challenges to established parties: responses

- **Assignment:** First draft of the research paper is due
- Adams, James and Samuel Merrill. 2006. "Why Small, Centrist Third Parties Motivate Policy Divergence by Major Parties." *American Political Science Review* 100(3): 403-417.
- Meguid, Bonnie. 2005. "Competition between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy and Niche Party Success." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 347-360.
- Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Werner Krause. 2020. "The Causal Effect of Radical Right Success on Mainstream Parties' Policy Positions: A Regression Discontinuity Approach." *British Journal of Political Science*.

- van Spanje, Joost. 2010. "Contagious Parties: Anti-Immigrant Parties and Their Impact on Other Parties' Immigration Stances in Contemporary Western Europe." *Party Politics* 16(5): 563-586.
- Rooduijn, Matthijs, Sarah L. de Lange, and Wouter van der Brug. 2014. "A populist Zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in Western Europe." *Party Politics* 20(4): 563-575.
- Mudde, Cas. 2014. "Fighting the System? Populist Radical Right Parties and Party System Change." *Party Politics* 20(2): 217-226.

November 23: NO CLASS

November 30

- **Assignment:** Participate in Mini-Conference and submit reviews

December 7

- **Assignment:** Final draft and replication materials are due by 8:30am on Monday