Social Science Building 104

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# **COMPARATIVE POLITICS: INSTITUTIONS**

# **Objectives**

This seminar is designed to help students prepare for the institutional part of the Ph.D. comprehensive examination in comparative politics and for comparative political research, including doctoral dissertations. Though it covers a wide range of subjects, the seminar only tangentially treats subjects such as political development, mass behavior, interest groups and social movements, and public policy. Students preparing for the Ph.D. comprehensive exam should therefore seek other opportunities to study these topics.

The seminar is organized around ten themes:

- 1. Introduction: Institutions and Institutional Analysis
- 2. Democracy and Autocracy
- 3. Federalism, Consociationalism, and Power-sharing
- 4. Presidentialism and Executives
- 5. Parliamentary Democracy and Legislatures
- 6. Coalitions and Coalition Bargaining
- 7. Elections and Political Parties
- 8. Bureaucracy, Delegation, Markets, and Law
- 9. The Social Effects of Political Institutions

#### **Format**

The seminar will meet on a weekly basis, except on legal holidays (Nov 11). Each week will introduce a new theme in the comparative study of political institutions and provide a list of required and recommended readings. *Required* readings will form the basis of the general seminar discussions, and all students should read them carefully and critically before class. *Recommended* readings are additional readings of theoretical and empirical importance. Students preparing for the comprehensive exam should gain familiarity at least with those that most closely match their own areas of specialization. These readings are also suitable for seminar presentations and literature review papers.

#### **Assignments**

All students must do the assigned readings, write two discussion papers (6-8 pages in length), participate actively in the seminar discussions, and give regular presentations on the readings. Each week, students will be assigned specific readings to review. These presentations (approx. 15 minutes) should summarize a set of readings assigned for that session and relate them to other literature on that topic. The presentations should review and critique the arguments and tests made in these pieces and comment critically on their assumptions, arguments, research designs, measures, results, and implications. Finally, presentations should raise questions for discussion and future research. Students giving presentations should prepare brief outlines (electronic or hard copy) for distribution to the other seminar participants. NOTE: Students are expected to do *all* of the required reading and to be prepared to discuss it, not just their particular presentation assignment.

The discussion papers will be on your choice among a set of topics provided by the instructor. The papers should *make an argument*. The argument should be stated clearly and concisely and the rest of the paper should tie into this argument. Writing style matters! Be focused and succinct and avoid long quotations. The first of the discussion papers will be due in class on **November 4** and the second one on **December 9**. Grades will be based on course assignments in the following way: discussion papers 40% each, presentations and class participation 20%. Extensions, incompletes, etc. will be given in accordance with UCSD policy. Except under **very pressing circumstances**, however, I discourage you from requesting such options.

# Readings

This seminar covers a large literature, much of which you may want to have at your disposal, but I expect your purchasing decisions to be guided by your professional judgment as well as by your budget constraint. Therefore, no books have been ordered by the UCSD Bookstore for this course, but I will be happy to provide suggestions.

# 1. **INTRODUCTION: INSTITUTIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS** (October 7).

# Required:

- John M. Carey, "Parchment, Equilibria, and Institutions." *Comparative Political Studies* 33, 6-7 (August-September 2000), 735-61.
- Kenneth A. Shepsle, "Studying Institutions: Some Lessons from the Rational Choice Approach," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1, 2 (April 1989), 131-147.
- Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth, eds., *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, ch. 1.

#### **Recommended:**

- David Austen-Smith and Jeffrey S. Banks, "Social Choice Theory, Game Theory, and Positive Political Theory," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1 (1998): 259-287.
- Robert Bates, Avner Greif, Margaret Levy, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, and Barry Weingast. *Analytic Narratives*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Randall Calvert, "The rational choice theory of social institutions: cooperation, coordination, and communication." In Jeffrey Banks and Eric Hanushek (eds.). *Modern Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press.1995.
- Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell, eds., *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Thráinn Eggertsson, Economic Behavior and Institutions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Avner Greif. Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Jack Knight, Institutions and Social Conflict. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- David D. Laitin, "The Perestroikan Challenge to Social Science," Politics & Society, 31 (2003): 163-184.
- James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, Democratic Governance. New York: Free Press, 1995.
- James G. March and Johan P. Olsen,"Institutional Perspectives on Political Institutions." *Governance* 9, 3 (July 1996), 247-64.
- Gary Miller, "Rational Choice and Dysfunctional Institutions," Governance 13 (2000): 535-547.
- Terry M. Moe, "Political Institutions: The Neglected Side of the Story," *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization*, 6 (1990), Special Issue: pp. 213-253 (and comments by Oliver Williamson, pp. 263-266).
- Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Douglass C. North, "Institutions," Journal of Economic Perspectives, 5 (1991): 97-112.
- Peter C. Ordeshook and Kenneth A. Shepsle (eds.), *Political Equilibrium*. Boston: Kluwer, 1982.
- Scott Page, "Path Dependence," Quarterly Journal of Political Science, 1 (2006): 87-115.
- Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics." *American Political Science Review* 94 (June 2000), 251-67.
- Kathleen Thelen, "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 369-404.
- George Tsebelis. Nested Games. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Barry R. Weingast, "Rational Choice Institutionalism," in Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, (eds.). *Political Science Discipline as Discipline: Reconsidering Power, Choice, and the State*. New York: Norton, 2002.
- Oliver E. Williamson. "Transaction Cost Economics," in Richard Schmalensee and Robert Willig (eds.). *Handbook of Industrial Organization*. New York: North Holland, 1989.

### 2. **DEMOCRACY AND AUTOCRACY** (October 14)

# Required:

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow, *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003, ch. 2.
- Barbara Geddes, "What do we know about democratization after twenty years?," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 115-144.
- Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012, chs. 1-3. Mancur Olson, *Power and Prosperity*. New York: Basic Books, 2000, chs. 1-2.
- Adam Przeworski et al., *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, ch. 1.
- Milan Svolik, *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, chs. 1-3.
- Robert Woodberry, "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 106 (May 2012): 244-74.

#### **Recommended:**

- Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Barry Ames, *Political Survival: Politicians and Public Policy in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Carles Boix. Democracy and Redistribution. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Samuel Decalo, Coups and Army Rule in Africa. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- James DeNardo, *Power in Numbers:The Political Strategy of Protest and Rebellion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy. New York: Praeger, 1956.
- Stephan Haggard and Steven B. Webb, eds., *Voting for Reform: Democracy, Political Liberalization and Economic Adjustment.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Albert O. Hirschman, Exit, Voice and Loyalty. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.
- Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, *Personal Rule in Black Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- John B. Londregan and Keith T. Poole, "Does High Income Promote Democracy?," World Politics, 49: 1-30.
- Roger Myerson, "The Autocrat's Credibility Problem and Foundations of the Constitutional State," *American Political Science Review*, 102: 125-139.
- Guillermo O'Donnell. "Reflections on the Patterns of Change in the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian State." *Latin American Research Review*, 13(1), 1978: 3-38.
- Amos Perlmutter, The Military and Politics in Modern Times. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Adam Przeworski, "Democracy as an Equilibrium," Public Choice, 123: 253-273.
- Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, and Bernard Manin. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Peter H. Smith, *Argentina and the Failure of Democracy: Conflict Among Political Elites, 1904-1955.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974.
- Gordon Tullock, Autocracy. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1987.
- Barry R. Weingast, "Political foundations of democracy and the rule of law," *American Political Science Review*, 91 (2), June 1997: 245-263.
- Ronald Wintrobe, The Tinpot and the Totalitarian: An Economic Theory of Dictatorship. *American Political Science Review* 84, 3 (September 1990), 850-72.

# 3. **FEDERALISM, CONSOCIATIONALISM, AND POWER-SHARING** (October 21) **Required:**

Jenna Bednar, *The Robust Federation: Principles of Design*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, chs. 3-4 (excl.appendices).

Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, ch. 10.

Jonathan Rodden, *Hamilton's Paradox*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, chs. 1, 3-4, and 11.

Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild, eds. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005, chs. 2-3.

Richard Rose, "The End of Consensus in Austria and Switzerland." Journal of Democracy 11,2 (April 2000), 26-40.

Alfred Stepan, Juan J. Linz, and Yogendra Yadav, *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multinational Democracies*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011, ch. 2.

#### **Recommended:**

- David R. Beam et al., "Federalism: The Challenge of Conflicting Theories and Contemporary Practice," in Ada Finifter, ed., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association, 1983, ch. 9.
- Pablo Beramendi, "Federalism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, ed. Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Albert Breton, Competitive Governments. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Hongbin Cai and Daniel Triesman. "State Corroding Federalism." *Journal of Public Economics*, 88, 3-4 (March 2004): 819-843.

William M. Chandler, "Federalism and Political Parties," in *Federalism and the Role of the State*, edited by Herman Bakvis and William M. Chandler, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Jacques Cremer and Thomas Palfrey. "Political Confederation." American Political Science Review 93, 1999: 69-93.

Robert A. Dahl and Edward R.Tufte, Size and Democracy. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973.

Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad, Constitutionalism and Democracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Mikhail Filippov, Peter C. Ordeshook, and Olga Shvetsova, *Designing Federalism: A Theory of Self-Sustaining Federal Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, The Federalist Papers.

Preston King, Federalism and Federation. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.

W. Arthur Lewis, Politics in West Africa. London: Allen and Unwin, 1965.

Arend Lijphart, Democracy in Plural Societies. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.

Arend Lijphart, *Power-Sharing in South Africa*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1985.

Pippa Norris, *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Contemporary Democracies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Alvin Rabushka and Kenneth A. Shepsle, *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability*. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1972.

Andrew Reynolds, ed., *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

William H. Riker, Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance. Boston: Little, Brown, 1964.

Jürg Steiner, Amicable Agreement versus Majority Rule: Conflict Resolution in Switzerland. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974.

Charles Tiebout. "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures." Journal of Political Economy 64, 1956: 416-24.

Daniel Treisman, *After the Deluge: Regional Crises and Political Consolidation in Russia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.

George Tsebelis, *Nested Games: Rational Choice in Comparative Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, ch. 6.

R. Kent Weaver and Bert A. Rockman, eds., *Do Institutions Matter? Government Capabilities in the United States and Abroad.* Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1993.

Barry R. Weingast, "The Economic Role of Political Institutions: Market-Preserving Federalism and Economic Development," *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* 11(1995), 1: 1-32.

K.C. Wheare. Federal Government. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946.

Erik Wibbels, "Madison in Baghdad?: Decentralization and Federalism in Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 9 (2006): 165-188.

## 4. **PRESIDENTIALISM AND EXECUTIVES** (October 28)

#### Required:

Jose Antonio Cheibub, *Presidentialism Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chs. 1-2, 5-7.

Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, ch. 7.

Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *The Failure of Presidential Democracy: Comparative Perspectives*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, ch. 1(Linz).

David J. Samuels and Matthew S. Shugart, *Presidents, Parties and Prime Ministers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, chs. 1-3, 5, and 9.

Matthew S. Shugart and John M. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, chs. 1-2, 5, and 13.

George Tsebelis, *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, Introduction and chs. 1 and 3.

#### **Recommended:**

Joel D. Aberbach, Robert D. Putnam, and Bert A. Rockman, *Bureaucrats and Politicians in Western Democracies*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, eds., Governing Together. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

Albert Breton, "The Organization of Competition in Congressional and Parliamentary Governments." In *The Competitive State*, ed. Albert Breton, Gianluigi Galeotti, Pierre Salmon, and Ronald Wintrobe. Dordrecht:

- Kluwer, 1991.
- John M. Carey and Matthew S. Shugart, eds., *Executive Decree Authority*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998
- José Cheibub, Adam Przeworski, and Sebastian Saiegh, "Government Coalitions and Legislative Success Under Presidentialism and Parliamentarism," *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 34: 565-587.
- Maurice Duverger, "A New Political System Model: Semi-Presidential Government," *European Journal of Political Research* 8, 2 (June 1980), 165-87.
- Donald L. Horowitz, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Juan J. Linz, "Debate--Presidents vs. Parliaments," *Journal of Democracy* 1, 4 (Fall 1990), 73-91.
- Arend Lijphart, ed., Parliamentary versus Presidential Government. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination." *Comparative Political Studies* 26, 2 (July 1993), 198-228.
- Scott Mainwaring and Matthew S. Shugart, eds., *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- G. Bingham Powell, Jr., "Constitutional Design and Citizen Electoral Control," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1, 2 (April 1989), 107-30.
- Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, and Bernard Manin, eds., *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Sebastian M. Saiegh, *Ruling by Statute: How Uncertainty and Vote Buying Shape Lawmaking*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Jonathan Slapin, Veto Power: Institutional Design in the European Union. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2011.
- R. Kent Weaver and Bert A. Rockman, eds., *Do Institutions Matter? Government Capabilities in the United States and Abroad.* Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1993.

# 5. **PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY AND LEGISLATURES** (November 4)

#### Required:

- Gary W. Cox, The Efficient Secret. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, ch. 6.
- Gary W. Cox, "Reluctant Democrats and Their Legislatures." In Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld, and Kaare W. Strøm (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- John D. Huber, "The Vote of Confidence in Parliamentary Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 90, 2 (June 1996), 269-82.
- Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, ch. 11.
- Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Torbjörn Bergman, eds., *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003: ch. 3.
- George Tsebelis, Veto Players. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002; ch. 4.

#### **Recommended:**

- David P. Baron and John A. Ferejohn, "Bargaining in Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 83, 4 (December 1989), 1181-1206.
- Sean Bowler, David M. Farrell, and Richard S. Katz, eds., *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999.
- Bruce Cain, John Ferejohn, and Morris Fiorina, *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Roger D. Congleton, *Perfecting Parliament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Lawrence C. Dodd, Coalitions in Parliamentary Government. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Herbert Döring, ed., Parliaments and Majority Rule in Western Europe. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Thomas T. Hammond, "Formal Theory and the Institutions of Governance." Governance 9, 2 (April 1996), 107-85.
- John D. Huber, "Restrictive Legislative Procedures in France and the United States." *American Political Science Review* 86, 3 (September 1992), 675-687.
- John D. Huber, Rationalizing Parliament. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Christopher J. Kam, Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- D. Roderick Kiewiet and Mathew D. McCubbins, *The Logic of Delegation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Anthony King, "How to Strengthen Legislatures Assuming That We Want To." In *The Role of the Legislature in Western Democracies*, ed. Norman J. Ornstein. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1981.
- Michael J. Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle, eds., *Cabinet Members and Parliamentary Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

- Gregory M. Luebbert, *Comparative Democracy: Policymaking and Governing Coalitions in Europe and Israel.*New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld and Kaare W. Strøm (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Terry M. Moe and Michael Caldwell, "The Institutional Foundations of Democratic Government: A Comparison of Presidential and Parliamentary Systems," and comments by Gebhard Kirchgässner and Arthur Lupia. Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics 150/1, 171-210.
- Pippa Norris, ed., *Passages to Power: Legislative Recruitment in Advanced Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Matthew S. Palmer, "The Economics of Organization and Ministerial Responsibility." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 11, 1 (1995), 165-88.
- Nils Ringe, *Who Decides, and How? Preferences, Uncertainty, and Policy Choice in the European Parliament.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- George Tsebelis and Jeannette Money. Bicameralism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

## 6. **COALITIONS AND COALITION BARGAINING** (November 18)

# Required:

- David Austen-Smith and Jeffrey S. Banks, "Elections, Coalitions, and Legislative Outcomes," *American Political Science Review* 82, 2 (June 1988), 405-422.
- Michael Laver, "Models of Government Formation," Annual Review of Political Science 1 (1998): 1-25.
- Michael J. Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle, "Coalitions and Cabinet Government," *American Political Science Review* 84, 3 (September 1990), 873-90.
- Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, ch. 6.
- Lanny W. Martin and Georg Vanberg, *Parliaments and Coalitions: The Role of Legislative Institutions in Multiparty Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, chs. 2-3.
- Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Torbjörn Bergman, eds., *Cabinets and Coalition Bargaining*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008: chs. 1 and 6.
- Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Daniel Markham Smith, "Parliamentary Control of Coalition Governments," Annual Review of Political Science 13 (2010): 517-35.
- George Tsebelis, Veto Players. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002; ch. 9.

#### **Recommended:**

- David P. Baron and John A. Ferejohn, "Bargaining in Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 83, 4 (December 1989), 1181-1206.
- Royce Carroll and Gary W. Cox, "The Logic of Gamson's Law: Pre-election Coalitions and Portfolio Allocations." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, 2 (April 2007), 251-65.
- Abram De Swaan, Coalition Theories and Cabinet Formations: A Study of Formal Theories of Coalition Formation Applied to Nine European Parliaments after 1918. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1973.
- Daniel Diermeier and Randolph T. Stevenson, Coalition Terminations and Critical Events. *American Political Science Review* 94, 3 (September 2000), 627-40.
- Lawrence C. Dodd, Coalitions in Parliamentary Government. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- John D. Huber and Cecilia Martinez-Gallardo, "Replacing Cabinet Ministers: Patterns of Ministerial Stability in Parliamentary Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 102 (May 2008), 169-80.
- Michael J. Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle, *Making and Breaking Governments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Gregory M. Luebbert, *Comparative Democracy: Policymaking and Governing Coalitions in Europe and Israel.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Arthur W. Lupia and Kaare Strøm, "Coalition Termination and the Strategic Timing of Parliamentary Elections." *American Political Science Review* 89, 3 (September 1995), 648-65.
- Carol Mershon, *The Costs of Coalition*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- William H. Riker, The Theory of Political Coalitions. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.
- Petra Schleiter and Edward Morgan-Jones, "Constitutional Power and Competing Risks." *American Political Science Review* 103, 3 (August 2009), 496-512.
- Kaare Strøm, Minority Government and Majority Rule. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Paul Warwick, Government Survival in Parliamentary Democracies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

#### 7. **ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES** (November 25).

#### Required:

John Carey and Matthew Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote." *Electoral Studies* 14(4): 417-39. Gary W. Cox, *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, chs. 1-4, 8, 10, 12. and 15.

Thomas R. Cusack, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice, "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems." *American Political Science Review* 101, 3 (August 2007), 373-91.

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds., *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: Free Press, 1967, pp. 1-64.

Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party." *Party Politics* 1, 1(January 1995), 5-28.

Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson. eds., *Patrons, Clients, and Politics: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, ch. 1.

Beatriz Magaloni, Voting for Autocracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, Introduction and ch. 1.

Wolfgang C. Müller and Kaare Strøm, eds., *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, ch. 1.

#### Recommended:

John Aldrich, Why Parties? A Second Look. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Michel L. Balinski and H. Peyton Young, *Fair Representation: Meeting the Ideal of One Man,One Vote.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.

Stefano Bartolini, *The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Kathleen Bawn, "The Logic of Institutional Preferences: German Electoral Law as a Social Choice Outcome." *American Journal of Political Science* 37, 4 (November 1993), 965-89.

Kenneth Benoit and Michael Laver, Party Policy in Modern Democracies. London: Routledge, 2006.

Carles Boix, "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 93, 3 (September 1999), 609-24.

Carles Boix, Political Parties, Growth and Equality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Thomas Carothers, *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2006.

Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Pradeep Chhibber and Ken Kollman, "Party Aggregation and the Number of Parties in India and the United States." *American Political Science Review* 92, 2: 329-42.

Gary W. Cox, "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems," *American Journal of Political Science* 34, 4 (November 1990), 903-935.

Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds., *Parties without Partisans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.

Maurice Duverger, Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State. New York: Wiley, 1954.

Leon D. Epstein, Political Parties in Western Democracies. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1980.

John Ferejohn. "Incumbent Performance and Electoral Control." Public Choice 30, Fall 1986: 5-25.

Robert W. Jackman, "Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies," *American Political Science Review* 81, 2 (June 1987), 405-23.

Herbert P. Kitschelt, The Radical Right in Western Europe. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.

Herbert P. Kitschelt, The Transformation of European Social Democracy. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, 1994.

Herbert Kitschelt, "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Politics." *Comparative Political Studies* 33, 6/7 (2000).

David Laitin, "Hegemony and Religious Conflict: British Imperial Control and Religious Cleavages in Yorubaland." In *Bringing the State Back In*, eds. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, ch. 9.

Michael Laver and Ernest Sergenti, *Party Competition: An Agent-Based Model*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Arend Lijphart, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, chs. 5 and 8. Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1963.

Bonnie M. Meguid, Party Competition between Unequals. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Robert Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York: Collier Books, 1962; or any other edition.

- Wolfgang C. Müller, Political Parties in Parliamentary Democracies: Making Delegation and Accountability Work. *European Journal of Political Research* 37, 3 (May 2000), 309-33.
- Angelo Panebianco, Political Parties: Organization and Power. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- G. Bingham Powell, Jr., *Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability and Violence*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- G. Bingham Powell, Jr., "American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective," *American Political Science Review* 80, 1 (March 1986), 17-43.
- G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Elections as Instruments of Democracy. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Adam Przeworski and John Sprague, *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Douglas W. Rae, The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.
- William H. Riker, "The Two-Party System and Duverger's Law." *American Political Science Review* 76, 4 (December 1982), 753-766.
- David Robertson, A Theory of Party Competition. London: John Wiley, 1976.
- Stein Rokkan, Citizens, Elections, Parties. New York: David McKay, 1970.
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