

## **PSC 357/557: Topics in Comparative Politics: Parties and Party Competition**

Spring 2021  
Mondays 12:35pm – 3:15pm  
Via Zoom

Professor Bonnie Meguid  
306 Harkness Hall  
Office Hours: Tuesdays and Wednesdays, 4-5pm, via zoom  
Email: [bonnie.meguid@rochester.edu](mailto:bonnie.meguid@rochester.edu)

This course will involve a deep look at the literature on comparative political parties and party competition. The focus will be on recent work on party types (e.g., mainstream, niche, radical right populist); party strategies (programmatic, issue emphasis, issue ownership, clientelism); emergence of “new” constituencies and issues (e.g., ethnic, gender, environmental/nationalist/single issue), among other topics. The course will cover theoretical and empirical literature with country cases from around the world. The course will highlight the range of methodological approaches employed in the field. This topics course will count as an optional 5<sup>th</sup> course in the comparative politics Ph.D. field sequence and will be open to any PhD student and advanced undergraduate, by instructor permission.

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

This course is a seminar. Students are thus expected to actively contribute to the discussion each and every week. This necessitates a careful reading of the material prior to the class. In preparing for class, students should think carefully about both the substantive and methodological aspects of each reading individually and in comparison with each other. Each week, students must submit two questions about the readings that can serve as a basis for class discussion. These must be submitted by email by midnight the evening before class. In four weeks, of the student’s choosing, the reading response must also include a critical discussion of all or some the readings. These response papers should be 250 to 350 words.

In addition, the students will each write a research paper within the topic of parties/party competition. As part of that process, the students will write a 1-2 page proposal, identifying the research question, situating the question in the relevant literature, describing the evidence to be assessed (i.e., data to be used, type of analyses), and expectations about the findings. This is due March 8 and will be discussed with the Professor in meetings that week. The final research paper will be due on May 10.

Grades will be based on general class discussion (18%); 4 response papers (8% each for a total of 32%); a research proposal (10%); and final research paper (40%). Undergraduate students in the class may, with prior permission, opt for a final exam instead of a research proposal and paper.

### **Late Policies**

**\*\*Barring extraordinary circumstances, late response papers will be marked down a whole letter grade if turned in after midnight, but before Monday's class. They will not be accepted if received after 12:30pm on Monday, resulting in a zero for that paper. Late research proposals and final research papers will be marked down a third of a grade (for ex. A to A-) for each 24 hour period after they are due. Thus, if a paper is turned in any time during the first 24 hours after it is due, it is penalized a third of a grade. Any paper not turned in within a week of the assigned due date will automatically receive a zero.**

## **REQUIRED READINGS**

In this course, we read a combination of book chapters and journal articles. Articles and book chapters will be available through Blackboard. We read multiple chapters from Meguid 2008. You can either access it as an e-copy from UR library or else purchase wherever you get new or used books.

---

### **Academic Honesty Policy**

All assignments and activities associated with this course must be performed in accordance with the University of Rochester's Academic Honesty Policy. More information is available at: [www.rochester.edu/college/honesty](http://www.rochester.edu/college/honesty)

*In this course, the following additional requirements are in effect:* You are encouraged to discuss course readings with your fellow students. However, all written work – response papers, research proposal and research paper – must be done independently and not in collaboration with another.

---

## **CLASS SCHEDULE**

### **PART I: Party and Party Systems**

#### **February 1: What is a Party?**

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Brothers. Chapter 2.

Schlesinger, J. 1984. "On the Theory of Party Organization." *Journal of Politics*. 46(2): 369-400.

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. 1888. *The Communist Manifesto*.

#### **February 8: Why Do Parties and Party Systems Emerge?**

Lipset, Seymour and Stein Rokkan. 1990. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter

Alignments: An Introduction.” In Peter Mair (ed) *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford UP. 91-138.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 2.

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

Bates, Robert H. 1983. “Modernization, Ethnic Competition and the Rationality of Politics in Contemporary Africa.” In *State versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas*. Eds. Donald Rothchild and Victor Olorunsola. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 152-171.

## **February 15: Party Systems**

Sartori, Giovanni. 1990. “A Typology of Party Systems,” In Peter Mair (ed), *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford UP: 316-349.

Grofman, Bernard and Arend Lijphart. 1986. *Electoral Laws and their Political Consequences*. New York: Agathon Press. Chapters 1 (Riker) and 3 (Duverger).

Neto, Octavio and Gary Cox. 1997. “Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures and the Number of Parties.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 41(1): 149-174.

Huntington, Samuel. 1970. “Social and Institutional Dynamics of One-Party Systems.” In Samuel Huntington and Clement C. Moore (eds.), *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society*. New York: Basic Books.

## **PART II: Issue Based-Party Strategies**

### **February 22: Issue Salience: Setting the Ideological Agenda**

Riker, William. 1982. *Liberalism against Populism*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press. 197-232.

Budge, Ian and Dennis Farlie. 1983. “Party Competition- Selective Emphasis or Direct Confrontation?” in *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*. eds. Hans Daalder and Peter Mair. London: Sage Publications. 267-306.

De Sio, Lorenzo, Andrea De Angelis, and Vincenzo Emanuele. 2018. “Issue Yield and Party Strategy in Multiparty Competition.” *Comparative Political Studies*. 51(9): 1208-38.

Miller, Gary and Norman Schofield. 2003. “Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States.” *American Political Science Review*. 97(2): 245-260.

### **March 1: Programmatic Strategies: Competing Models**

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row. Chapters 7-8.

Rabinowitz, George and Stuart MacDonald. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review*. 83.1(1989): 93-121.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. Chapter 4.

Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 825-50

***March 8: Research Proposals due by 12:30pm. NO CLASS.  
Make an appointment to meet with Prof. Meguid this week to discuss your proposal***

### **PART IIb: How and Why Do Parties Change Position, Salience and Ownership?**

#### **March 15: Responsive to Whom?**

Adams, James, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2009. Policy Adjustment by Parties in Response to Rival Parties' Policy Shifts: Spatial Theory and the Dynamics of Party Competition in Twenty-Five Post-War Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (4), 825-846.

Klüver, Heike and Iñaki Sagartzazu. 2016. "Setting the Agenda or Responding to Voters? Political Parties, Voters and Issue Attention." *West European Politics*. 39:2, 380-398.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik. 2018. "Electoral Competition, Political Risks and Parties' Responsiveness to Voters' Issue Priorities." *Electoral Studies*. 55: 99-108.

#### **March 22: Competition with Niche Parties**

Meguid, Bonnie M. 2008. *Party Competition between Unequals: Strategies and Electoral Fortunes in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. Chapters 1-4 plus 1 case study chapter (either ch 5, 6 or 7)

Adams, James, et al. 2006. "Are Niche Parties Fundamentally Different from Mainstream Parties? The Causes and the Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976-1998." *American Journal of Political Science*. 50 (3): 513-29.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Werner Krause. 2018. "The Causal Effect of Radical Right Success on Mainstream Parties' Policy Positions: A Regression Discontinuity Approach." *BJPS*. 50:829-47.

### **March 29: Party Internal and External Contexts**

Rovny, Jan. 2012. "Who emphasizes and who blurs? Party Strategies in Multidimensional Competition." *European Union Politics*. 13(2): 269-92.

Lehrer, R., & Lin, N. (2020). Everything to everyone? Not when you are internally divided. *Party Politics*, 26(6), 783–794. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068818812222>

Bush, Sarah S. and Eleanor Gao. 2017. Small Tribes, Big Gains: The strategic uses of gender quotas in the middle east. *Comparative Politics* 49(2): 149-167.

### **April 5: Identity Politics: Role of Ideology and Descriptive Representation in Party Strategies**

Przeworski, Adam and John Sprague. 1986. *Paper Stones*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Prologue and Chapters 1-2.

Dancygier, Rafaela. 2013. "The Left and Minority Representation: The Labour Party, Muslim Candidates and Inclusion Tradeoffs." *Comparative Politics*. 46(1): 1-21.

Weeks, Ana Catalano, Bonnie M. Meguid, Miki Caul Kittilson and Hilde Coffé. 2021. "When Do Männerparteien Elect Women? Radical Right Populist Parties and Strategic Descriptive Representation." Manuscript.

## **PART III: Non-Issue-Based Party Strategy**

### **April 12: Institutional Forms of Party Strategy**

Boix, Carles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game." *American Political Science Review*. 93(3).

Helmke, Gretchen and Bonnie M. Meguid. 2012. "Endogenous Institutions: The Origins of

Compulsory Voting Laws.” Manuscript.

Levitsky, Steven and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. *How Democracies Die*. New York: Crown. Chapters 1 and 2 and pg. 87-96. <https://tinyurl.com/vxdj5sbo>

Murray, Rainbow, Mona Lena Krook and Katherine A.R. Opello. 2012. “Why are gender quotas adopted? Party pragmatism and parity in France.” *Political Research Quarterly* 65(3): 529-543.

### **April 19: Clientelism as a Party Strategy**

Stokes, Susan. 2007. “Political Clientelism.” In Boix and Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford UP. 604-27.

Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. “Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin.” *World Politics*. 55.3: 399-422.

Nichter, Simeon. 2008. Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot.” *American Political Science Review*. 102.1: 19-31.

### **April 26: Anti-Democratic Party Strategies in Democracies**

Ascencio, Sergio J. and Miguel R. Rueda. 2019. "[Partisan Poll Watchers and Electoral Manipulation](#)." *American Political Science Review* 113(3): 727-742.

Kuo, Didi and Jan Teorell. 2017. “Illicit Tactics as Substitutes: Election Fraud, Ballot Reform, and Contested Congressional Elections in the US, 1860-1930.” *Comparative Political Studies*. 50(5): 665-96.

Helmke, Kroeger and Paine, 2021. “Democracy by Deterrence: Strategic Self-Entrenchment in U.S. Elections.” Working paper on Gretchen Helmke’s website (<https://www.gretchenhelmke.com/uploads/7/0/3/2/70329843/dbd.pdf>) and

Accompanying discussion of the paper:

<https://sites.uw.edu/uwpoliticaleconomy/2020/07/02/paine-helmke-kroeger-on-whether-democracy-is-failing-in-the-u-s/>

**May 3: New Factors in Party Competition and course wrap up**

Karsten Müller and Carlo Schwarz. “Fanning the Flames of Hate: Social Media and Hate Crime.” (June 5, 2020). [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3082972](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3082972)

Other papers TBD

\*\*Research Paper due May 10, 2021.