

POLITICAL PARTIES, VOTERS AND PARTY SYSTEMS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

POLI2412
Fall 2026

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Office Hours	Wednesdays 10–11am and 1-2 pm
Time	MW 3:00-4:15pm
Venue	Devlin 117

Course Description

As contemporary political developments in the US and in other parts of the world suggest, populism remains a potent political force, and one that distinctly singles out political parties for being ‘out of touch’ and not attuned to the true expression of popular preferences, when they are not just associated with a much-maligned political ‘establishment.’

Yet not only do they represent a solution to collective action problems, but they have historically been essential to the transition to mass democracy, first in Western Europe and North America, and then later in the post-colonial world. Their role was especially important as the franchise was gradually extended, and new social forces – such as the Labor movement – were incorporated.

Why do parties exist in the first place? Why do we see so much variation in the strength of political parties? How do they contribute to the institutionalization of democracy? How do they shape political participation and what role does ideology play in the organization of political competition among political participation? Does the relationship between parties and voters say something about the “quality” of democracy? These are some of the questions that the course will explore, using examples from different contexts and historical experiences, including Western Europe, North and South America, Africa and Asia.

The course will begin with a brief discussion of theories of collective action, institutions and political parties, followed by an overview of party system formation and electoral cleavages. The course will then take up some important themes in the analysis of parties as political institutions, such as social movement parties, party system change and realignment, the nature of party–voter linkages, political parties in illiberal democracies and non-democracies and the rise of populism.

The rise of competitive authoritarianism over the last decades has somewhat blurred the distinction between strictly authoritarian and strictly democratic regimes, so this course adopts a relatively flexible approach, at times considering the case of established democracies, or instead looking at political institutions in formal democracies that have experienced a form of democratic backsliding, such as Russia, Turkey and more recently, India.

Attendance and participation

Classes will consist of a combination of lecture, class discussion, small group discussion, and class debates. Please note that lectures will not simply review or summarize the readings. It is up to you to complete the readings in advance and to be prepared to relate them to the themes of the lecture. Come ready to talk! Copies of the slides that accompany lectures will be posted on the class Canvas site at the end of the week, after class. However,

you should not expect the slides to cover the lecture in detail, and they will not dispense you from attending class.

Students are increasingly making use of emerging AI tools in the classroom and outside, such as those developed specifically for note-taking (Otter.ai, Coconote, etc.). Please note that per Massachusetts Law, recording lectures and class discussions without the consent of the participants involved is prohibited. Faculty have the right to prohibit such recordings except when they have been approved by the Disability Services Office for students with disability accommodations.

Class participation will account for 15% of your final grade. Students are expected to attend all classes. The class will have a substantial discussion component, including class-wide and small group discussion, in which you are expected to actively participate. You are expected to have read all materials before class.

Because experience has taught me that students are unlikely to be fully attentive when laptops are allowed, I will enforce a strict *cell phone and laptop ban* and will make only exceptions when we discuss the readings in class and for students who require an accommodation.

More than one unexcused absence over the course of the semester will negatively affect your attendance and participation grade. If you have a legitimate reason why you cannot attend a class (for example, due to a health or family emergency, approved athletic events, or religious observances), you must notify me and receive prior approval for the absence.

Office hours and communication

I will hold office hours on Wednesdays 10–11am and 1-2 pm, *by appointment only*. You are invited to use the following link to make an appointment with me: <https://calendly.com/thibaud-marcesse/office-hours>. When you come for your appointment, please knock on my door and wait *outside* until you have been called. Do not interrupt an ongoing meeting.

I will strive to respond to your email requests within 24hrs, and emails sent over the weekend will receive a response by the following Monday 5pm, at the latest.

Academic integrity

All students are expected to know and comply with the university's policies on academic integrity. It is imperative to acknowledge the work and ideas of others with proper citations. Plagiarism is a serious offense, and no forms of borrowing without acknowledgement are acceptable. It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with the academic code. See: <https://www.bc.edu/bc-web/academics/sites/university-catalog/policies-procedures/academic-integrity.html>.

While generative AI can be a powerful tool for research, and academic work in general, remember that your work must be fully your own. The Center for Teaching Excellence has produced guidelines on the use of AI tools, which you are welcome to consult and refer to. See: <https://cteresources.bc.edu/documentation/artificial-intelligence-in-teaching-and-learning>.

Accommodation and disability services

If you are a student with a documented disability seeking reasonable accommodations in this course, please contact Kathy Duggan, (617) 552-8093, dugankka@bc.edu, at the Connors Family Learning Center regarding learning disabilities and ADHD, or Paulette Durrett, (617) 552-3470, paulette.durrett@bc.edu, in the Disability Services Office regarding all other types of disability, including temporary disabilities. Advance notice and appropriate documentation are required for accommodations.

Course requirements

1. Discussion questions

Each week prior to class, some of you will be asked to send me by email two questions on the readings.

These questions should try to put the readings in perspective, but can also be about ideas, concepts developed in the readings that you did not fully grasp and would like to discuss with the rest of the class. Please make sure to address all the readings in some way. The deadline for sending the questions is **Tuesday 6pm EST**. The questions you submit will serve as a basis for our class discussion, so you should take the assignment seriously. You can miss one reading response without negatively affecting your grade. These are graded as incomplete, complete, and outstanding (no credit, check, check plus).

2. Class debate

Every other week, around six students will be invited to prepare a debate (open to the rest of the class). While some of the selected students will be supporting a motion, another group will refute it (or support another motion), with the rest of the class acting as referee. Students who have been selected to support or refute a motion will be asked to submit by 6pm the day before the debate a one-page group position memo, along with an individual prep note (half a page max). While the one-page group position memo should summarize the different points the group wishes to advance, the individual pre note will instead focus on the strongest argument on the other side. All submissions will have to be posted to Canvas and no submission will mean no speaking role. Each group will be expected to do some research to prepare the debate, beginning with the readings referenced in the syllabus.

The approximately 25 minute-debate will have four parts: 1/ opening statements (no more than 3 minutes for each group), 2/ review of the evidence (8 minutes total, with 2 minutes for each group and 2 additional minutes for rebuttal), 3/ cross examination (3 minutes for each team, 6 minutes in total) and 4/ verdict from the class.

3. Midterm exam

There will be two (2) short midterm exams on October 19th (right after Fall break) and November 23rd (just before Thanksgiving break) involving a mix of short answers and essays and covering the topics discussed thus far in the semester. Both exams will be 75 mn long. Details on the exam format will be provided in advance.

4. Final exam

A two-hour final exam, with a similar structure to the midterms, will be held at the end of the semester, per the BC official exam schedule. You must take the exam in person the day it is scheduled. No exception will be made.

Grading policy

Three components will determine your grade: Exams (Midterms and Final), Class Debates and Class Participation (including Discussion Board Posts). The relative weights are as follows:

Final Exam	40%
Midterm Exams	30%
Class Debates	15%
Class participation	15%

Grade scale

A+/A/A-	96–100/93–95/90–92
B+/B/B-	86–90/83–85/80–82
C+/C/C-	76–80/73–75/70–72
D+/D/D-	66–70/63–65/60–62

Schedule of assignments

Midterm Exam #1	October 21st
Midterm Exam #2	November 23rd

Course Schedule

Any unexpected changes to the schedule will be announced in-class (with at least one week's notice). This is no assigned text for this course. The readings listed below will all be made available on Canvas. Do let me know if you have any trouble accessing the readings online.

Week 1 & 2 (08/31 and 09/09): Introduction to the course: collective action problems and institutions

Note: No class on September 2nd (due to conference attendance) and September 7th (Labor Day)

Required readings:

- Olson, M. (1971). *The logic of collective action*, (pp. 5-22 & 33-52). Harvard University Press.
- Sartori, G. (1976). Chapters 1 & 3 in *Parties and party systems: A framework for Analysis*, (pp. 3-29 and 56-67). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Aldrich, J. (1995). Chapter 2 in *Why parties? The origins and the transformation of political parties in America* (pp. 27—50). The University of Chicago Press.
- Linz, J. (2002). Parties in contemporary democracies: Problems and paradoxes. In R. Gunther, J. Montero and J. Linz (Eds.) *Political parties: Old concepts and new challenges* (pp. 291-317). Oxford University Press.
- Stokes, S. 1999. Political parties and democracy. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2(1): pp. 243-267.
- Schattschneider, E.E. (1942). *Party Government*, (p. 17-64). Rinehart.
- Hanson, S. (2010). Ideology and party formation. *Post-Imperial democracies: Ideology and party formation in Third Republic France, Weimar Germany, and Post-Soviet Russia*, (pp. 57-84). Cambridge University Press.
- Kitschelt, H. (1989). *The logics of party formation: Ecological politics in Belgium and West Germany*. Cornell University Press.

Week 3 (09/14-09/16): Party organization and institutionalization

Required readings:

- Huntington, S. (1968). *Political order in changing societies*, (pp. 397-433). Yale University Press.
- Michels, R. (1915). Chapter 1 in Part 6 of *Political parties: A sociological study of the oligarchical tendencies of modern democracies*, (pp. 365–392). Heart's International Library.

Recommended readings:

- Schlesinger, J. (1984). On the theory of party organization. *The Journal of Politics*, 46(2): pp. 369-400.
- Diamond, L. & Gunther, R. (2001). Chapter 1 in *Political parties and democracy*, (pp. 3-34). Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Panebianco, A. (1988). *Political parties: Organization and power*. Cambridge University Press.

- Katz, R. & Crotty, W. (Eds.). (2006). *Handbook of Party Politics*. Sage.
- Madison, J. (1787). The same subject continued: The union as a safeguard against domestic faction and insurrection. *The Federalist Papers*, #10 (Free version available through the US Library of Congress <https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-papers/full-text>).
- Wiener, M. (1967). *Party-building in a new nation*, (pp. 31-54). Chicago University Press.

Week 4 (09/21-09/23): Political parties and democratization

Required readings:

- Aldrich, J. (1995). Chapter 4 in *Why parties? The origins and the transformation of political parties in America*, (pp. 102—129). The University of Chicago Press.
- Ziblatt, D. (2017). *Conservative parties and the birth of democracy*, (pp. 24-54). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Diamond, L. & Gunther, R. (2001). Chapter 2 in *Political parties and democracy*, (pp. 35-50). Johns Hopkins University Press.
- LaPalombara, J. & Weiner, M. (1966). *Political parties and political development*. Princeton University Press.
- Shefter, M. (1994). *Political parties and the state. The American historical experience*. Princeton University Press.
- Gunther, R., Ramon-Montero, J. & Linz, J. (2002). *Political parties: Old concepts and new challenges*. Oxford University Press.

Debate #1: Do US parties face a “conservative dilemma” today?

Week 5 (09/28-09/30): Party systems (1): Social origins

Required readings:

- Bartolini, S. & Mair, P. (1990). Chapters 4 & 9 in *Identity, competition, and electoral availability: The stabilization of European electorates*, (pp. 96–119 and 212–243). Cambridge University Press.
- Riedl, R. B. (2014). *Authoritarian origins of democratic party systems in Africa*, (pp. 1-27). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Lipset, S. M. & Rokkan, S. (1967). Cleavage structures, party systems, and voter alignments: An introduction. *Party systems and voter alignment: Cross-national perspective*, (pp. 1-56). The Free Press.
- Kalyvas, S. (1996). *The rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Cornell University Press.
- Kitschelt, H. (1995). Formation of party cleavages in post-Communist democracies: Theoretical propositions. *Party Politics*(1): 4.
- Key, V.O. (1949). Sectionalism, urbanism and party. *Politics, parties and pressure groups*, pp. 250-279.
- Kirchheimer, O. (1966). The transformation of the Western European party systems. In J. LaPalombara & M. Weiner (Eds.). *Political parties and political development*. Princeton University Press.
- Chhibber, P. & Kollman, K. (2004). *The formation of national party systems. Federalism and party competition in Canada, Great Britain, India and the United States*. Princeton University Press.
- Loxton, J. (2018). Introduction: Authoritarian successor parties worldwide. In J. Loxton & S. Mainwaring (Eds.) *Life after dictatorship: Authoritarian successor parties worldwide*. Cambridge University Press.

- Levitsky, S., Loxton, J. & Van Dyck, B. (1995). Introduction: Challenges of party-building in Latin America. In Levitsky et. al., (Eds.). *Challenges of party building in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mainwaring, S. & Scully, T. (Eds.). (1995). *Building democratic institutions: Party systems in Latin America*. Stanford University Press.
- Hicken, A. & Kuhonta, E. M., (Eds.). (2015). *Party system institutionalization in Asia: Democracies, autocracies, and the shadows of the past*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chhibber, P. & Torcal, M. (1997). Elite strategy, social cleavages, and party systems in a new democracy: Spain. *Comparative Political Studies*, 30(1): pp. 27-54.
- Inglehart, R. (2008). Changing values among Western publics from 1970-2006. *West European Politics*(31): pp. 1-2.
- Key, V.O. (1984 [1949]). *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. University of Tennessee Press.

Week 6 (10/05–10/07): Party systems (2): Institutional determinants

Required readings:

- Samuels, D. & Shugart, M. (2010). Introduction and Chapter 7 in *Presidents, parties and prime ministers: How the separation of powers affects party organization and behavior*, (pp. 4-18 & 193-217). Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, W. & Golder, M. (2006). Rehabilitating Duverger's theory: Testing the mechanical and strategic modifying effects of electoral laws. *Comparative Political Studies*, 39(): pp. 679-708.

Recommended readings:

- Cox, G. W. (1997). *Making votes count: Strategic coordination in the World's electoral systems*. Cambridge University Press.
- Blais, A. & Carty, R.K. (1991). The psychological impact of electoral laws. Measuring Duverger's elusive factor. *British Journal of Political Science*, 2, 2: pp. 79-93.
- Hicken, A. (1991). *Building party systems in developing democracies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Downs, A. (1957). *An economic theory of democracy*. Harper Collins.
- Lijphart, A. (2012). Chapter 3 in *Patterns of democracy: Government forms and performance in thirty-six countries*, (pp. 30-45). Yale University Press.
- Dahl, R. (1971). *Polyarchy: Participation and opposition*. Yale University Press.
- Jensenius, F. (2017). Chapters 5 and 7 in *Social justice through inclusion*, (pp. 100—129 and 147–162). Oxford University Press.
- Caramani, D. (2004). *The nationalization of politics: The formation of national electorates and party systems in Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chhibber, P. & Kollman, K. (2004). *The formation of national party systems: Federalism and party competition in Canada, Great Britain, India and the United States*. Princeton University Press.
- Katz, R. S. & Mair, P. (1995). Changing models of party organization and party democracy: The emergence of the cartel party. *Party Politics*(1): pp. 5-28.
- Madrid, R. (2012). *The rise of ethnic politics in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenblum, N. (2008). *On the side of angels: An appreciation of parties and partisanship*. Princeton University Press.
- Pop-Eleches, G. (2010). Throwing out the bums: Protest voting and unorthodox parties after Communism. *World Politics*, 62(2): pp. 221-260.

- Coppedge, M. (2014). *Strong parties and lame ducks: Presidential partyarchy and factionalism in Venezuela*. Stanford University Press.

Debate #2: Which of the majoritarian system or PR is the more democratic?

Week 7 (10/13–10/14): Social movements and political parties

Note: No class Monday, October 12th (Fall Break). Instead, our Monday class will meet instead on October 13th (substitution schedule).

Required readings:

- Kriesi, H. P. (2015). Party systems, electoral systems, and social movements. In D. della Porta & M. Diani (Eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* (pp. 667-680). Oxford University Press.
- Williamson, V. & Skocpol, T. (2012). Chapter 3 in *The Tea Party and the remaking of Republican conservatism*, (pp. 83-120). Oxford University Press.
- Ahuja, A. (2019). Chapter 2 in *Mobilizing the marginalized. Ethnic parties without ethnic movements*, (pp. 33-49). Oxford University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Yashar, D. (1999). Democracy, indigenous movements, and the postliberal challenge in Latin America. *World Politics*, 52(1): pp. 76-104.
- Kitschelt, H. (2005). Movement parties. In R. Katz & W. Krotty (Eds.). *Handbook of Party Politics*, (pp. 278-290). Sage.
- Collier, R. B. & Collier, D. (1991). *Shaping the political arena: Critical junctures, the labor movement, and regime dynamics in Latin America*. Princeton University Press.
- Bartolini, S. (2000). *The political mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980: The class cleavage*, (pp. 240-311). Cambridge University Press.
- Thompson, E. P. (1966). *The making of the English working class*. Vintage Books.
- Przeworski, A. & Sprague, J. (1986). *Paper stones: A history of electoral socialism*. University of Chicago Press.
- Zuckerman, A., Dasovic, J. & Fitzgerald, J. (2007). *Partisan families: The social logic of bounded partisanship in Germany and Britain*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lebas, A. (2011). *From protest to parties: Party building and democratization in Africa*. Oxford University Press
- McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. D. & Zald, M. N. (1996). Introduction: Opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes—Toward a synthetic, comparative perspective on social movements. In D. McAdam, J.D. McCarthy, & M. Zald, (Eds.). *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, (pp. 1-20). Cambridge University Press.
- Simmons, E. (2016). *Meaningful resistance: Market reforms and the roots of social protest in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- van Stekelenburg, J., Roggeband, C. & Klandermans, B., (Eds.) (2013). *The future of social movement research: Dynamics, mechanisms, and process*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Goodwin, J. & Jasper, J. M. (2009). *The social movements reader: Cases and concepts*. John Wiley and Sons.
- della Porta, D., Fernandez, J., Kouki, H. & Mosca, L., (Eds.). (2017). *Movement parties against austerity*, pp. 1-28. Polity Press.
- Anria, S. (2018). Chapter 1 in *Movements, party, and power: The Bolivian MAS in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

- Bermeo, N. & Yashar, D. (Eds.). (2016). *Parties, movements, and democracy in the developing world*. Cambridge University Press.
- van Cott, D. L. (2008). *From movements to parties in Latin America: The evolution of ethnic parties*. Cambridge University Press.
- van Cott, D. L. (2008). *Radical democracy in the Andes*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bermeo, N. & Bartels, L., (Eds.) (2014). *Mass politics in tough times: Opinions, votes, and protest in the Great Recession*. Oxford University Press.
- Kohn, M. (2013). Privatization and protest: Occupy Wall Street, Occupy Toronto, and the occupation of public space in a democracy. *Perspectives on Politics*, 11 (1).
- Margalit, Y. (2013). Explaining social policy preferences: Evidence from the Great Recession. *American Political Science Review*, 107(1): pp. 80-103.
- Campello, D. (2014). The politics of financial booms and crises: Evidence from Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47 (2): pp. 260-286.
- Brancati, D. (2016). *Democracy protests: Origins, features, and significance*. Cambridge University Press.

Debate #3: Have parties been replaced by social movements?

Week 8 (10/19-10/21): Mid-semester review

Note: Review session on October 19th and in class midterm exam on October 21st

Week 9 (10/26-10/28): Party system change and realignment

Required readings:

- Kitschelt, H. & Rehm, P. (2019). Secular partisan realignment in the United States: The socioeconomic reconfiguration of white partisan support since the New Deal era. *Politics and Society*, 47 (3): pp. 425-479.
- Roberts, K. (2012). Market reform, programmatic (de)alignment, and party system stability in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies*, 46, (11): pp. 1422-1452.

Recommended readings:

- Lupu, N. (2014). Brand dilution and the breakdown of political parties in Latin America. *World Politics*, 66 (4): pp. 561-602.
- Hug, S. (2001). *Altering party systems: Strategic behavior and the emergence of new political parties in Western democracies* (pp. 1-10). University of Michigan Press.
- Reichley, A. J. (2000). Chapters 16 & 17 in *The life of the parties*. Rowman and Littlefield.
- Schlozman, D. (2015). Chapters 1-5 & 7-10 in *When movements anchor parties: Electoral alignments in American history*. Princeton University Press.
- Roberts, K. M. & Wibbels, E. (1999). Party systems and electoral volatility in Latin America: A test of economic, institutional, and structural explanations. *American Political Science Review*, 93 (3): pp. 575-590.
- Nichols Clark, T. & Lipset, S. M. (2001). *The breakdown of class politics: A debate on post-industrial stratification*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Roberts, K. M. (2014). *Changing course in Latin America: Party systems in the neoliberal era*. Cambridge University Press.
- Tavits, M. (2013). *Post-Communist democracies and party organization*. Cambridge University Press.

- Grzymala-Busse, A. (2007). *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party competition and state exploitation in post-Communist democracies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gourevitch, Peter A. (1986). *Politics in hard times: Comparative responses to international economic crises*. Cornell University Press.
- Kitschelt, H., Mansfeldova, Z., Markowski, R. & Gabor, T. (1999). *Post-Communist party systems: Competition, representation, and inter-party cooperation*. Cambridge University Press.
- White, J. K. & Davies, P. J. (1998) *Political parties and the collapse of the old orders*. State University of New York Press.
- Lawson, K. & Merkl, P., (Eds.). (1988). *When parties fail: Emerging alternative organizations*. Princeton University Press.
- Katz, R. & Mair, P. (1994). *How parties organize: Change and adaptation in party organizations in Western democracies*. Sage.
- della Porta, D. (2015). *Social movements in times of austerity: Bringing capitalism back into protest analysis*. Polity Press.
- Silva, E. (2009). *Challenging neoliberalism in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, K. M. (2008). The mobilization of opposition to economic liberalization. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11: pp. 327-349.

Debate #4: Has the US “entered” a new party system?

Week 10 (11/02-11/04): The activation of political cleavages

Required readings:

- Cammett, M. & Jones Luong, P. (2014). Is there an Islamist political advantage? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17: pp. 187-206.
- Posner, D. (2004). The political salience of cultural difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi,” *American Political Science Review*, 98(4), pp. 529–545.

Recommended readings:

- de Leon, C., Desai, M. & Tugal, C. (2009). Political articulation: Parties and the constitution of cleavages in the United States, India, and Turkey. *Sociological Theory*, 27, (3): pp. 193–219.
- Blom-Hansen, T. (1999). Chapter 4 in *The Saffron Wave. Democracy and Hindu nationalism in modern India* (pp. 134—153). Princeton University Press.
- de Leon Cedric, Desai, M. & Tugal, C., (Eds.) (2015). Chapters 1, 3 and 5 in *Building blocs: How parties organize society*. Stanford University Press.
- Posner, D. (2006). *Institutions and ethnic politics in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lawson, K. (1980). *Political parties and linkage: A comparative perspective*. Yale University Press.
- Rommele, A., Farrell, D. & Ignazi, P., (Eds.). (2005). *Political parties and political systems: The concept of linkage revisited*. Praeger/Greenwood.
- Sniderman, P. & Stiglitz, E. (2012). *The reputational premium: A theory of party identification and policy reasoning*. Princeton University Press.
- Gerber, A., Huber, G. & Washington, E. (2010). Party affiliation, partisanship, and political beliefs: A field experiment. *American Political Science Review*, 104, (4): pp.720-744.
- Mainwaring, S. & Zoco, E. (2007). Political sequences and the stabilization of interparty competition: Electoral volatility in old and new democracies. *Party Politics*, 13, (2): pp. 155-178.

Debate #5 : Is religion a more salient cleavage in the US or in Europe?**Week 11 (11/09-11/11): Party–voter linkages****Required readings:**

- Kitschelt, H. (2000). Linkages between citizens and politicians in democratic politics. *Comparative Political Studies*, 33(6-7): pp. 845-879.
- Shefter, M. (1994). Chapter 1 and 2 in *Political parties and the state: The American historical experience* (pp. 3-36). Princeton University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Chandra, K. (2007). Counting heads: A theory of voter and elite behavior in patronage democracies. In H. Kitschelt & S. Wilkinson (Eds.), *Patrons, clients and policies: Patterns of democratic accountability and political competition* (pp. 84-109). Cambridge University Press.
- Chandra, K. (2004). *Why ethnic parties succeed: Patronage and ethnic head counts in India*. Cambridge University Press.
- Stokes, S. (2005). Perverse accountability: A formal model of machine politics with evidence from Argentina. *American Political Science Review*, 99, (3): pp. 315-325.
- van de Walle, Nic. (2007). Meet the new boss, same as the old boss? The evolution of political clientelism in Africa. In H. Kitschelt & S. Wilkinson (Eds.), *Patrons, clients and policies: Patterns of democratic accountability and political competition* (pp. 50-67). Cambridge University Press.
- Levitsky, S. (2003). Chapters 1, 5 and 7 in *Transforming labor-based parties in Latin America. Argentine Peronism in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Nichter, S. 2018. Chapters 2 and 3 in *Votes for survival. Relational clientelism in Latin America* (pp. 27-83). Cambridge University Press.
- Bussell, J. 2019. *Clients and constituents. Political responsiveness in patronage democracies*. Oxford University Press.
- Auerbach, A. (2016). Clients and communities: The political economy of party network organization and development in India's urban slums. *World Politics*, 68, (1): pp. 111-148.

Debate #6: Does money “buy” elections in US politics today?**Week 12 (11/16-11/18): Parties and policies: the politics of distribution****Required readings:**

- Bjorkman, L. (2014). “You can’t buy a vote.” Meanings of money in a Mumbai election. *American Ethnologist*, 41(4): pp. 617-634.
- Greene, K. (2021). Campaign effects and the elusive swing voter in modern machine politics. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54, (1): pp. 77-109.

Recommended readings:

- Thachil, T. (2011). Embedded mobilization: Nonstate service provision as electoral strategy in India. *World Politics* 63, (3): pp. 434-469.
- Holland, A. (2017). Chapter 1 in *Forbearance as redistribution. The politics of informal welfare in Latin America* (pp. 12-64). Cambridge University Press.
- Chauchard, S. (2018). Electoral handouts in Mumbai elections: The cost of political competition. *Asian Survey*, 58, (2): pp. 341-364.
- Thachil, T. (2014). *Elite Parties, Poor Voters*. Cambridge University Press.

- Fox, J. (1994). The difficult transition from clientelism to citizenship: Lessons from Mexico. *World Politics*, 46, (2): pp. 151-184.
- Kruks-Wisner, G. (2018). *Claiming the state. Active citizenship and social welfare in rural India*. Cambridge University Press.
- Khan Mohmand, S. (2019). Chapter 7 in *Crafty oligarchs, savvy voters: Democracy under inequality in rural Pakistan* (pp. 217-246). Cambridge University Press.
- Weitz-Shapiro, R. (2014). *Curbing clientelism in Argentina. Politics, poverty and social Policy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Krishna, A. (2002). *Active citizenship and social capital: Tracing the roots of development and democracy*. Columbia University Press.

Week 13 (11/23): Thanksgiving break

Note: In class midterm exam on November 23rd. Thanksgiving recess begins November 25th at 12pm

Week 14 (11/30-12/02): Parties in authoritarian regimes

Required readings:

- Reuter, O. J. (2017). Chapter 5 in *The origins of dominant parties. Building authoritarian institutions in post-Soviet Russia*, (pp. 159-185). Cambridge University Press.
- Greene, K. (2007). Chapter 3 in *Why dominant parties lose. Mexico's democratization in comparative perspective* (pp. 71-115). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Levitsky, S. & Way, L. (2010). Chapter 1 in *Competitive authoritarianism: Hybrid regimes after the Cold War*, (pp. 3-36). Cambridge University Press.
- Magaloni, B. (2006). *Voting for autocracy: Hegemonic party survival and its demise in Mexico*. Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, K. M. (2006). Do parties matter? Lessons from the Fujimori experience. In Julio F. Carrión, (Eds.). (2006). *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, pp. 81-101. Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Bunce, V. & Wolchik, S. (2011). *Defeating authoritarian leaders in postcommunist countries*. Cambridge University Press.
- Berezin, M. (2009). *Illiberal politics in neoliberal times: Culture, security, and populism in the new Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- Loxton, J. & Mainwaring, S. (Eds). (2018). *Life after dictatorship: Authoritarian successor parties worldwide*. Cambridge University Press.
- Greene, K. (2007). *Why dominant parties lose: Mexico's democratization in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hale, H. (2005). *Why not parties in Russia?* Cambridge University Press.
- Art, D. (2011). *Inside the radical right: The development of anti-Immigrant parties in Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- Levitsky, S. & Loxton, J. (2013). Populism and competitive authoritarianism in the Andes. *Democratization*, 20, 1.
- Stenner, K. (2005). *The authoritarian dynamic*. Princeton University Press.

Debate #7: Do political parties prevent or facilitate the rise of authoritarianism?**Week 15 (12/07-12/09): Populism, parties and democracy****Required readings:**

- Mudde, C. & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2012). Populism and liberal democracy: A framework for analysis. In C. Mudde & C. R. Kaltwasser, (Eds.) *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or corrective to democracy?* (pp. 1-26). Cambridge University Press.
- Ostiguy, P. (2017). Populism: A socio-cultural approach. In C. R. Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. O. Espejo, & P. Ostiguy, (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of populism*. Oxford University Press.
- Weyland, K. (2017). Populism: A political-strategic approach. In C. R. Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. O. Espejo, & P. Ostiguy, (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of populism*. Oxford University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Laclau, E. (2005). Chapters 1 & 6 in *On populist reason* (pp. 3-20 and 157-171). Verso.
- Roberts, K. M. (2017). Populism and political parties. In C. R. Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. O. Espejo, & P. Ostiguy, (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of populism* (pp. 287-301). Oxford University Press.
- Weyland, Kurt. (2001). Clarifying a contested concept: Populism in the study of Latin American politics. *Comparative Politics*, 34(1): pp. 1-22.
- Kazin, M. (1995). *The populist persuasion: An American history*. BasicBooks.
- Caramani, D. (2017). Will vs. reason: The populist and technocratic forms of political representation and their critique to party government. *American Political Science Review*, 111(1): pp. 54-67.
- Roberts, K. M. (1995). Neoliberalism and the transformation of populism in Latin America: The case of Peru. *World Politics*, 48(1): pp. 82-116.
- Moffitt, B. (2016). *The global rise of populism: Performance, political style, and representation*. Stanford University Press.
- Muller, J. (2016). *What is populism?* University of Pennsylvania Press.
- de la Torre, C. (Ed.) (2015). *The promise and perils of populism*. University of Kentucky Press.
- de la Torre, C. (2010). *Populist seduction in Latin America*. Ohio University Press.
- Barr, R. (2009). Populists, outsiders, and anti-establishment politics. *Party politics*, 15(1): pp. 29-48.
- Mudde, C. (2008). *Populist radical right parties in Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, C. & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2013). Exclusionary vs. inclusionary populism: Comparing the contemporary Europe and Latin America. *Government and Opposition*, 48(2): pp. 147-174.
- Kriesi, H. (2014). The Populist Challenge. *West European Politics*, 37(2): pp. 361-378.
- Lenka, B. (2014). Revenge of the radical right. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(12), pp. 1738-1765.
- Hawkins, K. (2009). Is Chávez populist? Measuring populist discourse in comparative perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(8): pp. 1040-67.
- Stavrakakis, Y. & Katsambekis, G. (2014). Left-wing populism in the European periphery: The case of SYRIZA. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 19(2), pp. 119-142.
- Aslinidis, P. (2016). Populist social movements of the Great Recession. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 21(2): pp. 301-321.

Debate #8: Does populism improve representation of the “people”?

Final in person exam per Boston College official exam schedule.