

## ELECTIONS & PARTIES

"Aggregation before Representation in European Parliament Party Groups". *West European Politics*, in press, 2013.

"Evaluating Competing Criteria for Allocating Parliamentary Seats". *Journal of Mathematical Social Sciences*, 63, 85-89, 2012 with P. Bernhagen and G. Borz.

*The Allocation between EU Member States of Seats in the European Parliament*. Brussels: European Parliament Directorate General for Internal Policies: Policy Department C: PE 432.760. Co-author.

r\* "Under What Circumstances Could Maximizing Turnout Alter an Election Result?", *Representation*, 46, 2, 2010, 119-138, with Ulrich Kohler.

"United Kingdom". In Dieter Nohlen and Philip Stöver, eds. *Elections in Europe: A Data Handbook*. 2010. Baden Baden: Nomos, 2991-2034. with N. Munro.

*Parties and Elections in New European Democracies*. (Colchester: ECPR Press, April, 2009), with Neil Munro.

"How Do Electors Respond to an Unfair Election?", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 25,2, 2009, 118-136, with William Mishler.

"Turkish Voters and Losers' Consent", *Turkish Studies*, 9, 2, June 2008, 363-78.

"Political Behaviour in Time and Space". In Russell Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Political Behaviour*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, 283-301.

"Europe Expands, Turnout Falls: The Significance of the 2004 European Parliament Election". Stockholm: International IDEA Research Report.

*Elections and Parties in New European Democracies*. (Washington DC: CQ Press, 2003) with Neil Munro.

"Voter Turnout in the EU Member Countries". In *Voter Turnout in Western Europe since 1945*. Stockholm: International IDEA, 2003. 17-24.

"Parties, Voters and Foreign Policy", In Vicki L. Hesli and William M. Reisinger, eds., *The 1999-2000 Elections in Russia: Their Impact and Legacy*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 51-72: S. L. White, Neil Munro & Rose.

"Voting in a Floating Party System: the 1999 Duma Election", *Europe-Asia Studies*, 53, 3, 2001, 419-443, with Neil Munro and S.L. White.

r\* "A Supply-Side View of Russia's Elections", *East European Constitutional Review*, 9, 2 (Winter/Spring 2000), 53-59.

*International Encyclopedia of Elections*, (Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, and London: Macmillan, 2000), with collaborators.

"Electoral Systems and Outcomes in Central and Eastern Europe", *New Trends in Electoral Law in a Pan-European Context*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe European Commission for Democracy through Law, 1999, 50-65 (and in French). Tom Mackie and Rose.

*Young People in Politics: a Multi-Continental Survey*. Marta Lagos and Richard Rose. Glasgow: U. of Strathclyde Studies in Public Policy No. 316, 1999.

"Understanding Multi-Party Choice: The 1995 Duma Election". with Evgeny Tikhomirov and William Mishler, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 49, 5, 1997, 799-823.

*A Decade of Election Results: Updating the International Almanac*. T.T. Mackie and Richard Rose. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde Studies in Public Policy, 1997.

"Evaluating Election Turnout", *Voter Turnout from 1945 to 1997: A Global Report on Political Participation*. Stockholm: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1997, 35-47.

"Russia's Forced Choice Presidential Election", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 12, 4, 1996, 351-379, with Evgeny Tikhomirov.

r\* "Mobilizing Demobilized Voters in Post-Communist Societies", *Party Politics* 1,4, 1995, 549-563.

*What are the Economic Consequences of PR?* London: Electoral Reform Society 1992.

"Electoral Reform: What are the Consequences?". In Frank Vibert, ed., *Britain's Constitutional Future* London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1991, 116-36.

"The Ups and Downs of Elections, or Look Before You Swing", *PS*, 24,1 (1991), 29-33.

*The Loyalties of Voters : A Lifetime Learning Model* with Ian McAllister (London and Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1990).

"Tactical versus Expressive Voting in Britain: Testing Schumpeter's Theory", with Ian McAllister, in R. Sankiaho, ed., *People and their Politics*. Helsinki: Finnish Political Science Association, 1990, 214-34.

"Do Parties Persist or Fail? The Big Trade-Off Facing Organizations", with T.T. Mackie, in Kay Lawson and Peter Merkl, eds., *When Parties Fail* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 533-58.

*Voters Begin to Choose: From Closed Class to Open Elections in Britain* with Ian McAllister (London and Beverly Hills: Sage, 1986).

"Opinion Polls as Feedback Mechanisms: From Cavalry Charge to Electronic Warfare", in Austin Ranney, editor, *Britain at the Polls* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), 108-38.

*The Nationwide Competition for Votes: the 1983 British Election* with Ian McAllister (London: Frances Pinter and New York, Columbia University Press, 1984).

"Electoral Systems: a Question of Degree or of Principle?", in Arend Lijphart and Bernard Grofman, eds., *Choosing an Electoral System* (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1984), 73-81.

r\* "Still the Era of Party Government", *Parliamentary Affairs* 36, 3 (1983) 282-99.

r\* "Electoral Systems and Constitutions" in Vernon Bogdanor and D.E. Butler, eds. *Democracy and Elections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 20-45.

"En Torno a las Opciones en los Sistemas electorales: Alternativas Politicas y Tecnicas", *Revista de Estudios Politicos* 34 (July-August 1983), 69-106.

"From Simple Determinism to Interactive Models of Voting", *Comparative Political Studies* 15, 2 (1982), 145-69.

"Toward Normality--Public Opinion Polls in the 1979 Election", in Howard Penniman, editor, *Britain at the Polls, 1979* (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1981), 177-209.

*Do Parties Make a Difference?* (London: Macmillan and Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1980; expanded 2nd edition, 1984).

*Electoral Participation: a Comparative Analysis* (London and Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980).

*Class Does Not Equal Party: the Decline of a Model of British Voting* (Glasgow: University of Strathclyde Studies in Public Policy No. 74, 1980).

"The Policy Implications of Direct Elections", a special issue of *Journal of*

*Common Market Studies* 17, 4 (1979), edited by Richard Rose and Helen Wallace.

*Elections Without Choice*, edited by Guy Hermet, Richard Rose and Alain Rouquié (London: Macmillan, 1978).

"Is Choice Enough? Elections and Political Authority", in G. Hermet, R. Rose and A. Rouquié, eds. *Elections without Choice* (London: Macmillan, 1978) 196-212.

"Electing a European Parliament", in *European Integration and the Future of Parliaments in Europe* (Luxembourg: Directorate-General for Research and Documentation, European Parliament, 1975) 225-35.

"The Polls and Public Opinion in October, 1974", in Howard Penniman, editor, *Britain at the Polls* (Revised edition, 1975), 223-39.

*Regional Differentiation and Political Unity in Western Nations* by Richard Rose and Derek Urwin. (London and Beverly Hills: Sage Professional Papers in Contemporary Political Sociology 06-007, 1975).

*The Problem of Party Government* (London: Macmillan and New York: Free Press, 1974; Penguin edition, 1976).

*The International Almanac of Electoral Behaviour* with Thomas Mackie. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan and Washington DC: CQ Press, 3 editions, 1974, 1982, 1991).

*Electoral Behavior: a Comparative Handbook* (New York: Free Press, 1974).

"The Polls and Election Forecasting in February, 1974", in Howard Penniman, editor, *Britain at the Polls* (Washington, DC.: American Enterprise Institute, 1974 edition), 109-30.

"Comparability in Electoral Studies", in Richard Rose, editor, *Electoral Behavior* (New York: Free Press, 1974) 3-25.

"Between Miami Beach and Blackpool", *The Political Quarterly* 43, 4 (1972) 414-24.

r\* "Persistence and Change in Western Party Systems since 1945", with D.W. Urwin, *Political Studies* 18, 3 (1970) 287-319.

r\* *The Polls and the 1970 Election*, (Occasional Paper No. 7, Survey Research Centre, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, 1970).

r\* "Social Cohesion, Political Parties and Strains in Regimes", with D.W. Urwin *Comparative Political Studies* 2, 1 (1969) 7-67.

"Social Structure, Party Systems and Voting Behavior", a special issue of *Comparative Political Studies* 2, 1 (1969) edited by Richard Rose and D.W. Urwin.

r\* "The Variability of Party Government: A Theoretical and Empirical Critique", *Political Studies* 17, 4 (1969) 413-45.

r\* "Class and Party Divisions: Britain as a Test Case", *Sociology* 2, 2 (1968) 129-162.

"Party Systems, Social Structure and Voter Alignments in Britain. A Guide to Comparative Analysis", in O. Stammer, editor, *Parteiensysteme, Parteiorganisationen und die Neuen Politischen Bewegungen* (Berlin: Free University, 1968) 318-84.

*Influencing Voters: A Study in Campaign Rationality* (London: Faber and New York: St. Martins, 1967).

r\* "Voting and Elections: a Functional Analysis", with Harvé Mossawir, *Political Studies* 15, 2 (1967) 173-201.

"Classes sociales et partis politiques en Grande Bretagne dans une perspective historique," *Revue française de Sociologie* 7, Numero Special (1966) 636-62.

"Pre-Election Public Relations and Advertising", in D.E. Butler and Anthony King, *The British General Election of 1964* (London: Macmillan, 1965) 369-80.

r\* "Parties, Factions and Tendencies in Britain", *Political Studies* 12, 1 (1964) 33-46.

"Comparative Political Finance", a special issue of the *Journal of Politics* 25, 4 (1963) edited by Richard Rose and A.J. Heidenheimer.

r\* "Complexities of Party Leadership", *Parliamentary Affairs* 16, 3 (1963) 257-73.

r\* "The Political Ideas of English Party Activists", *American Political Science Review* 56, 2 (1962) 360-71.

"Political Decision-Making and the Polls", *Parliamentary Affairs* 15, 2 (1962) 88-202.

"Tensions in Conservative Philosophy", *The Political Quarterly* 32, 3 (1961) 275-83.

"The Bow Group's Role in British Politics", *Western Political Quarterly* 32, 3 (1961) 275-83.

"The Future of the British Labour Party", *India Quarterly* 17, 2 (1961) 140-149.

"Money and Election Law", *Political Studies* 9, 1 (1961) 1-15.

*Must Labour Lose?* with Mark Abrams (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960).

*The British General Election of 1959* with D.E. Butler (London: Macmillan and New York: St. Martins, 1960; reprinted, Frank Cass, 1970; Macmillan, 1999).