TEORIA I METODOLOGIA:

Ackerman, B. (2000). The New Separation of Powers. *Harvard Law Review*, *113(3),* 634–729. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1342286>

Allen, B., O’Loughlin, P., Jasperson, A., & Sullivan, J. L. (1994). The Media and the Gulf War: Framing, Priming, and the Spiral of Silence, *Polity*, *27*(2), 255–284. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3235175>

Antoszewski, A. (2008). Tworzenie i utrzymanie koalicji gabinetowych. In A. Antoszewski & R. Herbut (Eds.), *Demokracje zachodnioeuropejskie. Analiza porównawcza* (2nd ed., pp. 344–369). Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Austen-Smith, D. (1987). Interest Groups, Campaign Contributions, and Probabilistic Voting. *Public Choice, 54*(2), 123–139. <https://doi.org/10.1007/> BF00123002

Back, H., Debus, M., & Dumont, P (2011). Who Gets What in Coalition Governments? Predictors of Portfolio Allocation in Parliamentary Democracies. *European Journal of Political Research, 50*(4), 441–478. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2010.01980.x

Bäcker, R. et al. (2016). *Metodologia badań politologicznych*. Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Nauk Politycznych.

Banaś, M., & Zieliński, M. (2015). *Formowanie koalicji gabinetowych w perspektywie sieciowej. Studium przypadku sojuszu PO–PSL z 2007 roku.* Wrocław: Atla 2.

Barabasi, A-L. (2002). *Linked: The New Science of Networks Science of Networks.* New York: Basic Books.

Beck, N., Katz, J. N., & Tucker, R. (1998). Taking Time Seriously: Time-Series-Cross-Section Analysis with Binary Dependent Variable. *American Journal of Political Science, 42*(4), 1260–1288. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2991857>

Belanger, E. (2004). Antypartyism and Third-Party Vote Choice. A Comparison of Canada, Britain, and Australia. *Comparative Political Studies*, *37*(9), 1054­1078. <https://doi.org/> 10.1177/0010414004268847

Belanger, E. (2004). Antypartyism and Third-Party Vote Choice. A Comparison of Canada, Britain, and Australia. *Comparative Political Studies*, *37*(9), 1054­1078. <https://doi.org/> 10.1177/0010414004268847

Bergman, T. (1993a). Constitutional Design and Government Formation: The Expected Consequences of Negative Parliamentarism. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, *16*(4), 285–304. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.1993.tb00042.x>

Bergman, T. (1993b). Formation Rules and Minority Governments. *European Journal of Political Research, 23*(1), 55–66. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1993.tb00348.x

Beyme von, K. (1985). *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. New York: San Martin Press.

Blockmans, T., & Guerry, M.-A. (2016). Coalition Formation Procedures: The Impact of Issue Saliences and Consensus Estimation. *Group Decision and Negotiation*, *25*(3), 481–499. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10726-015-9449-3>

Blondel, J. (1968). Party Systems and Patterns of Government in Western Democracies. *Canadian Journal of Political Science, 1*(2), 180–203. https://doi:10.1017/S0008423900036507

Bogdanor, V. (2011). *The Coalition and the Constitution*. London: Palgrave.

Bolleyer, N., Ibenskas, R., & Keith, D. (2016). The Survival and Termination of Party Mergers in Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, *55*(3), 642–659. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12143>

Borgatti, S. P., Everett, M. G., & Freeman, L. C. (2002). *Ucinet 6 for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis*. Harvard, MA: Analytic Technologies.

Borgatti, S., P., Everett, M., G., & Johnson, J. G. (2017). *Analyzing Social Networks*. London: Sage Publications.

Bowler, S., Brauninger, T., Debus, M., & Indridason, I. H. (2016). Let’s Just Agree to Disagree: Dispute Resolution Mechanisms in Coalition Agreements. *The Journal of Politics*, *78*(4), 1264–1278. <https://doi.org/10.1086/686805>

Brams, S. J. (2003). *Game Theory and Politics*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publicatons.

Bright, D., Whelan, Ch., & Harris-Hogan, Sh. (2018). On the Durability of Terrorist Networks: Revealing the Hidden Connections between Jihadist Cells. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1494411>.

Browne, E. C. (1971). Testing Theories of Coalition Formation in the European Context. *Comparative Political Studies*, *3*(4), 391–412. <https://doi>. org/10.1177/001041407100300401

Carrington, P. (2014). Social Network Research. In S. Dominguez & B. Hollstein (Eds.), *Mixed Methods Social Network Research*. *Design and* *Application* (pp. 35–64). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cartwright, D., & Harary, F. (1956). Structural Balance: A Generalization of Heider’s Theory. *Psychological Review, 63*, 277–292.

Chadwick, A. (2017). *The Hybrid Media System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cherepnalkoski, D., Karpf, A., Mozetic, I., & Grcar, M. (2016). Cohesion and Coalition Formation in the European Parliament: Roll-Call Votes and Twitter Activities. *PLOS ONE*, *11*(11), e0166586. <https://doi.org/10.1371/> journal.pone.0166586

Christiansen, F. J., & Helboe Pedersen, H. (2014). Minority Coalition Governance in Denmark. *Party Politics*, *20*(6), 940–949. <https://doi>. org/10.1177/1354068812462924

Copus, C. (2004). *Party Politics and Local Government*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Cotta, M. (1996). Structuring the New Party Systems after the Dictatorship. Coalitions, Alliances, Fusions and Splits during the Transition and Post­transition Stages. In G. Pridham & P. G. Lewis (Eds.), *Stabilising Fragile Democracies. Comparing New Party Systems in Southern and Eastern Europe* (pp. 69–99). London: Routledge.

Cronin, B. (2015). Getting Started in Social Network Analysis with NETDRAW. University of Greenwich Business School. Occasional Paper 01/15. Retrieved from <https://gala.gre.ac.uk/id/eprint/16200/7/16200%20CRONIN_Getting_> Started\_in%20SNA\_with\_NETDRAW\_2015.pdf

Dańda, A. (2013). Ewolucja pozycji ustrojowej generalnego gubernatora w dominiach brytyjskich. In A. Zięba (Ed.), *Konstytucjonalizm w państwach anglosaskich* (pp. 103–122). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

D’Angelo, P., & Esser, F. (2014). Metacoverage and Mediatization in US Presidential Elections. *Journalism Practice*, *8*(3), 295–310. <https://doi.org/10>. 1080/17512786.2014.889446

Daschmann, G. (2000). Vox pop & polls: The impact of poll results and voter statements in the media on the perception of a climate of opinion. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *12*(2), 160–181. <https://doi>. org/10.1093/ijpor/12.2.160

de Lange, S. L. (2012). New Alliances: Why Mainstream Parties Govern with Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties. *Political Studies*, *60*(4), 899–918. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2012.00947.x>

De Swaan, A. (1973). *Coalition Theories and Cabinet Formations*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

De Winter, L., & Dumont, P. (2006). Parties into Government: Still Many Puzzles. In R. S. Katz & W. Crotty (Eds.), *Handbook of Party Politics* (pp. 175–188). London – Thousands Oaks – New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Debus, M. (2007). *Pre-Electoral Alliances, Coalition Rejections, and Multiparty* *Governments*. Baden-Baden: Nomos. <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845203898>

Debus, M. (2009). Analysing Party Politics in Germany with New Approaches for Estimating Policy Preferences of Political Actors. *German Politics*, *18*(3), 281–300, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644000903055773>

Debus, M. (2009). Pre-Electoral Commitments and Government Formation. *Public Choice, 138*(1–2), 45–64. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-008-9338-2>

Debus, M. (2011). Portfolio allocation and policy compromises: How and why the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats formed a coalition government. *The Political Quarterly*, *82*(2), 293–304.

Diermeier, D., & Van Roozendaal, P. (1998). The Duration of Cabinet Formation Processes in Western Multi-party Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, *28*(4), 609–626.

Dobek-Ostrowska, B. (2004). *Media masowe i aktorzy polityczni w świetle studiów nad komunikowaniem politycznym*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Dodd, L. (1976). *Coalitions in Parliamentary Government*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Dowding, K. (1995). Model or Metaphor? A Critical Review of the Policy Network Approach. *Political Studies*, *43*(1), 136–158. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1995.tb01705.x

Dowding, K. (2013). Power in Prime-Ministerial Performance: Institutional and Personal Factors. In P. Strangio, P. t’Hart & J. Walter (Eds.), *Understanding Prime Ministerial Performance* (pp. 57–78). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Downs, A. (1957). An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy. *Journal of Political Economy*, *65*(2), 135–150.

Druckman, J. N., & Thies, M. F. (2002). The Importance of Concurrence: The Impact of Bicameralism on Government Formation and Duration. *American Journal of Political Science, 46*(4), 760–771. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3088432>

Dumont, P., De Winter, L., & Andeweg, R. B. (2011). From coalition theory to coalition puzzles. In R. B. Andeweg, L. De Winter, P. Dumont (Eds.), *Puzzles of Government Formation. Coalition Theory and Deviant Cases* (pp. 1–23). London – New York: Routledge.

Dunleavy, P., & Diwakar, R. (2013). Analysing Multiparty Competition in Plurality Rule Elections. *Party Politics*, *19*(6), pp. 855–886. <https://doi>. org/10.1177/1354068811411026

Durac, V. (2015). Social movements, protest movements and cross-ideological coalitions – the Arab uprisings re-appraised. *Democratization*, *22*(2), 239–258. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2015.1010809>

Duverger, M. (1954). *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Eagle, N., Pentland, A. S., & Lazer, D. (2009). Inferring friendship network structure by using mobile phone data. *Proceedings of the national academy of sciences*, *106*(36), 15274–15278. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0900282106>

Ecker, A., Meyer, T., M., & Muller, W. C. (2015). The distribution of individual cabinet positions in coalition governments: A sequential approach. *European Journal of Political Research*, *54*(4), 802–818. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/1475-6765.12108

Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication, 43*(4), 51–58. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x

*Europe: Organizational Determinants of Coalition Bargaining*. London: Routledge.

Faas, T., Mackenrodt, Ch., & Schmitt-Beck, R. (2008). Polls That Mattered: Effects of Media Polls on Voters’ Coalition Expectations and Party Preferences in the 2005 German Parliamentary Election. *International Journal of Public Opinion* *Research*, *20*(3), 299–325. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edn034>

Festinger, L. (1949). The Analysis of Sociograms Using Matrix Algebra. *Human Relations, 2*, 153–158.

Flanagan, T. (2013). *Harper’s Team. Behind the Scenes in the Conservative* *Rise to Power*. Montreal & Kingston – London – Ithaca: McGill-Queen’s University Press.

Franklin, M. N., & Mackie, T. T. (1984). Reassessing the Importance of Size and Ideology for the Formation of Governing Coalitions in Parliamentary Democracies. *American Journal of Political Science, 28*(4), 672–691. https://doi.org/10.2307/2110993

Gamson, W. (1961). A Theory of Coalition Formation. *American Sociological Review*, *26*(3), 373–382. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2090664>

Gianetti, D. & Benoit, K. (2009). Intra-party Politics and Coalition Governments in Parliamentary Democracies. In D. Gianetti & K. Benoit (Eds.), *Intra-party Politics and Coalition Governments* (pp. 3–24). London: Routledge.

Golder, M., Golder, S., & Siegel, D. (2012). Modeling the Institutional Foundation of Parliamentary Government Formation. *The Journal of Politics*, *74*(2), 427–445. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022381611001654>

Golder, S. N. (2006a). Pre-Electoral Coalition Formation in Parliamentary Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, *36*(2), 193–212. <https://doi>. org/10.1017/S0007123406000123

Golder, S. N. (2006b). *The Logic of Pre-electoral Coalition Formation*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press.

Goodfellow, T. (2019). Political Informality: Deals, Trust Networks, and the Negotiation of Value in the Urban Realm. *Journal of Development Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2019.1577385>

Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties. *American Journal of Sociology, 78*(6), 1360–1380.

Greene, Z. (2017). Working Through the Issues: How Issue Diversity and Ideological Disagreement Influence Coalition Duration. *European Political Science Review*, *9*(04), 561–585. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773916000114>

Grossmann, M., & Dominguez, C. B. K. (2009). Party Coalitions and Interest Group Networks. *American Politics Research*, *37*(5), 767–800. <https://doi.org/> 10.1177/1532673X08329464

Hafner-Burton, E. M., Kahler, M., & Montgomery, A. H. (2009). *Network Analysis for International Relations, International Organization*, *63*(3), 559–592.

Hague, R., Harrop, M., & McCormick, J. (2016). *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction* (10th ed.). London: Palgrave.

Halpin, D. R., & Fraussen, B. (2018). Interest Groups and the Election. In A. Gauja, P. Chen, J. Curtin & J. Pietsch (Eds.), *Double Disillusion: The 2016 Australian Federal Election* (pp. 381–396). Acton: Australia National University Press.

Hanretty, C., Lauderdale, B., & Vivyan, N. (2017). Dyadic Representation in a Westminster System. *Journal of Legislative Studies*, *42*(2), 235–267. https://doi.org/10.1111/lsq.12148

Harmel, R., Heo, U., Tan, A., & Janda, K. (1995). Performance, Leadership, Factions and Party Change: An Empirical Analysis. *West European Politics*, *18*(1), 1–33. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402389508425055>

Hazell, P., & Paun, A. (Eds.). (2009). *Making Minority Government Work: Hung Parliaments and the Challenges for Westminster and Whitehall*. London: Institute for Government, The Constitution Unit.

Helboe Pedersen, H. (2012). What Do Parties Want? Policy versus Office. *West European Politics*, *35*(4), 896–910. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2012.6 82350

Helms, L. (2006). The Grand Coalition: Precedents and Prospects. *German Politics and Society*, *24*(1), 47–66. <https://doi>. org/10.3167/104503006780935234

Hicks, B. M. (2013b). *Coalition Government Formation: Lessons for Canada*, Paper Presented at the Canadian Political Science Association 85th Annual Conference June 6, 2013. Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. Retrieved from <https://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2013/Hicks.pdf>

Hobolt, S. B., & Karp, J. A. (2010). Voters and Coalition Governments. *Electoral Studies, 29*(3), 299–307. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2010.03.010>

Huber, J. D. (1996). The Vote of Confidence in Parliamentary Democracies. *American Political Science Review*, *90*(2), 269–282. <https://doi>. org/10.2307/2082884

Ibenskas, R. (2016). Marriages of Convenience: Explaining Party Mergers in Europe. *The Journal of Politics*, *78*(2), 343–356. <https://doi.org/10.1086/683685>

Indridason, I. H. (2005). A Theory of Coalitions and Clientelism: Coalition Politics in Iceland, 1945–2000. *European Journal of Political Research, 44*(3): 439–464. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2005.00234.x>

Jaidka, K., Saifuddin, A., Skoric, M., & Hilbert, M. (2018). Predicting Elections from Social Media: A Three-Country, Three-Method Comparative Study. *Asian Journal of Communication, 29(3),* 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292> 986.2018.1453849

Jednaka, W. (2004). *Gabinety koalicyjne w III RP*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Johnson, J. B., Reynolds, H. T., & Mycoff, J. D. (2010). *Metody badawcze w naukach politycznych*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo PWN.

Junque de Fortuny, E., De Smedt, T., Martens, D., & Daelemans W. (2012). Media coverage in times of political crisis: A text mining approach. *Expert Systems with Applications*, *39*(14), 11616–11622. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j>. eswa.2012.04.013

Kaarbo, J., & Lantis, J. S. (1997). Coalition Theory in Praxis: A Comparative Politics Simulation of the Cabinet Formation Process. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *30*(3), 501–506. <https://doi.org/10.2307/420131>

Kaid, L. L., Gerstle, J., & Sanders, K. R. (1991). *Mediated Politics in Two Cultures: Presidential Campaigns in the United States and France*. New York: Praeger.

Kaiser, A. (2008). Parliamentary Opposition in Westminster Democracies: Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. *Journal of Legislative Studies*, *14*(2), 20–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13572330801920887>

Kalandrakis, T. (2010). Minimum Winning Coalitions and Endogenous Status Quo. *International Journal of Game Theory*, *39*(4), 617–643. <https://doi>. org/10.1007/s00182-009-0202-5

Kam, Ch. J. (2013). *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Katz, E., & Lazarsfeld, P. F. (1955). *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communication*. Glencoe: Free Press.

Kim, H. (1997). Rational Choice Theory and Third World Politics: The 1990 Party Merger in Korea. *Comparative Politics*, *30*(1), 83–100.

Kiousis, S. (2001). Public Trust or Mistrust? Perceptions of Media Credibility in the Information Age. *Mass Communication and Society*, *4*(4), 381–403. <https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327825MCS0404_4>

Krauss, S. (2018). Stability Through Control? The Influence of Coalition Agreements on the Stability of Coalition Cabinets. *West European Politics*, *41*(6), 1282–1304. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2018.1453596>

Kreppel, A., & Hix, S. (2003). From “Grand Coalition” To Left-Right Confrontation: Explaining the Shifting Structure of Party Competition in the European Parliament. *Comparative Political Studies*, *36*(1–2), 75–96. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414002239372

Laver, M. (1986). Between Theoretical Elegance and Political Rationality: Deductive Models and Cabinet Coalitions in Europe. In: G. Pridham (Ed.), *Coalitional Behaviour in Theory and Practice: An Inductive Model for Western Europe* (pp. 32–44). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laver, M., & Schofield, N. (1998). *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Laver, M., & Shepsle, K. A. (1996). *Making and Breaking Governments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leifeld, P., Wankmuller, S., Berger, V. T. Z., Ingold, K., & Steiner, C. (2017). Collaboration patterns in the German political science co-authorship network. *PLOS ONE*, *12*(4), e0174671. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal>. pone.0174671.

Leiserson, M. (1968). Factions and coalitions in one-party Japan: An Interpretation Based on the Theory of Games. *American Political Science Review*, *63*(3), 770–787. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1953429>

Liff, A. P., & Maeda, K. (2019). Electoral incentives, policy compromise, and coalition durability: Japan’s LDP–Komeito Government in a mixed electoral system. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, *20*(1), 53–73. <https://doi>. org/10.1017/S1468109918000415

Lijphart, A. (1989). Democratic Political Systems: Types, Cases, Causes, and Consequences. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, *1*(1), 33–48. <https://doi>. org/10.1177/0951692889001001003

Lijphart, A. (1991). Constitutional Choices for New Democracies. *Journal of Democracy*, *2*(1), 72–84. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.1991.0011>

Lijphart, A. (1999). *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lijphart, A. (2012). *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (2nd ed.). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lin, N. (2001). *Social Capital. A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lin, N. (2008). A Network Theory of Social Capital. In D. Castiglione, J. Deth & G. Wolleb (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Capital* (pp. 50–69). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lipset, S. M., & Rokkan, S. (1967). Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments: An Introduction. In S. M. Lipset & S. Rokkan (Eds.), *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives* (pp. 1–64). New York: Free Press.

Luce, R., D., & Perry, A. D. (1949). A Method of Matrix Analysis of Group Structure. *Psychometrika*, *14*(2), 95–116. <https://doi.org//10.1007/> BF02289146

Mair, P. (1997). *Party System Change. Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mancini, P. (2005). The Public Sphere and the Use of News in a ‘Coalition’ System of Government. In P. Dahlgren & C. Sparks (Eds.), *Communication and Citizenship. Journalism and the Public Sphere* (pp. 135–152). London: Routledge.

Manin, B. (2010). *The Principles of Representative Government*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Maor, M. (1998). *Parties*, *Conflicts and Coalitions in Western*

Marangoni, F., & Verzichelli, L. (2015). From a Technocratic Solution to a Fragile *Grand Coalition*: The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Parliamentary Government in Italy. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, *21*(1), 35–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13572334.2014.939563>

Marsh, D., & Rhodes, R. A. W. (Eds.). (1992). *Policy Networks in British Government*. New York – Oxford: Clarindon Press.

Martin, L., & Stevenson, R. (2010). The Conditional Impact of Incumbency on Government Formation. *American Political Science Review*, *104*(3), 503–518. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055410000213>

Martin, L., & Vanberg, G. (2004). Policing the Bargain. Coalition Government and Parliamentary Scrutiny. *American Journal of Political Science*, *48*(1), 13–27. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1519894>

Martin, L., & Vanberg, G. (2011). *Parliaments and Coalitions. The Role of Legislative Institutions in Multiparty Governance.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mattila, M., & Raunio, T. (2004). Does Winning Pay? Electoral Success and Government Formation in 15 West European Countries. *European Journal of Political Research, 43*(2), 263–285. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2004.00154.x

May, E., (2017). Westminster Parliamentary Democracy: Where Some MPs Are More Equal Than Others. In M. Chong, S. Simms, & K. Stewart (Eds.), *Turning Parliament Inside Out. Practical Ideas for Reforming Canada’s Democracy* (pp.15–36). Madeira Park: Douglas & McIntyre.

Mazzoleni, G., & Schulz, W. (1999). ‘Mediatization’ of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy? *Political Communication*, *16*(3), 247–261. <https://doi>. org/10.1080/105846099198613

McNair, B. (2016). *An Introduction to Political Communication*. London – New York: Routledge.

Michalak, B. (2013). *Mieszane systemy wyborcze. Cele, rozwiązania, konsekwencje*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.

Mikuli, P. (2012). Westminsterska odmiana systemu parlamentarnego. In T. Mołdawa, J. Szymanek & M. Mistygacz (Eds.), *Parlamentarny system rządów. Teoria i praktyka* (pp. 226–235). Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy ELIPSA.

Newman, M, Barabasi, A-L., & Watts, D. J. (2006). *The Structure and Dynamics of Networks*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Nohlen, D. (2004). *Prawo wyborcze i system partyjny. O teorii systemów wyborczych*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR.

Norris, P. (2001). The Twilight of Westminster? Electoral Reform and Its Consequences. *Political Studies*, *49*(5), 877–900. <https://doi.org/10.1111/> 1467-9248.00345

Padgett, J., & Ansell, C. (1993). Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400–1434. *American Journal of Sociology*, *98*(6), 1259–1319. <https://doi>. org/10.1086/230190

Passarelli, G. (2015). Parties’ Genetic Features: The Missing Link in the Presidentialization of Parties. In G. Passarelli (Ed.), *The Presidentialization of Political Parties: Organizations, Institutions and Leaders* (pp. 1–25). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Polsby, N. (1983). *Consequences of Party Reform*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Porter, M. A., Mucha, P. J., Newman, M. E. J., & Warmbrand, C. M. (2005). A Network Analysis of Committees in the U.S. House of Representatives. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *102*(20), 7057–7062. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0500191102

Prell, C. (2012). *Social Network Analysis. History, Theory & Methodology*. London: Sage.

Pridham, G. (1986). An Inductive Theoretical Framework for Coalitional Behaviour: Political Parties in Multidimensional Perspective in Western Europe. In G. Pridham (Ed.). *Coalitional Behaviour in Theory and Practice: An Inductive Model for Western Europe* (pp. 1–30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Proksch, S.-O., & Slapin, J. B. (2006). Institutions and Coalition Formation: The German Election of 2005. *West European Politics*, *29*(3), 540–559. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402380600619884

ProQuest (2019). Retrieved from <https://www.proquest.com/libraries/> academic/databases/

Prosser, B., & Dennis, R. (2015). Lobbying and Minority Government in Australia: The Concept of Marginal Member. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *50*(3), 496–512. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2015.1065956>

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. (1957). *A Natural Science of Society*. Glencoe: Free Press.

Rapoport, A. (1970). *N-person Game Theory. Concepts and Applications*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Rhodes, R., & Weller, P. (2005). Westminster Transplanted and Westminster Implanted: Exploring Political Change. In H. Patapan, J. Wanna & P.Weller (Eds.), *Westminster Legacies: Democracy and Responsible Government in Asia, Australasia and Pacific* (pp. 1–12). Sydney: University of South Wales Press.

Rhodes, R., Wanna, J., & Weller, P. (2009). *Comparing Westminster*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Richards, P. (1986). The Choice of Government in Three Party System. *Political* *Quarterly*, *57*(4), 406–413. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.1986.tb00732.x>

Rikker, W. H. (1962). *The Theory of Political Coalitions*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Robbins, S. M. (2010). *Cash Flows: Leadership PACs in the U. S. Congress from 1992–2008*. In 43rd Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences, pp. 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.1109/HICSS.2010.96>.

Rose, R. (1991). Comparing Forms of Comparative Analysis. *Political Studies*, *39*, 446–462. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1991.tb01622.x>

Rusinowska, A., & De Swart, H. (2008). Negotiating a Stable Government: An Application of Bargaining Theory to a Coalition Formation Model. *Group Decision and Negotiation*, *17*(5), 445–464. <https://doi.org/10.1007/> s10726-008-9103-4

Scanlon, T. J., Luukko, R., & Morton, G. (1978). Media Coverage of Crises: Better Than Reported, Worse Than Necessary. *Journalism Quarterly*, *55*(1), 68–72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769907805500109>

Schleiter, P., & Tavits, M. (2016). The Electoral Benefits of Opportunistic Election Timing. *Journal of Politics*, *78*(3), 836–850. <https://doi.org/10.1086/685447>

Schofield, N. (1993). Political Competitition and Multiparty Coalition Governments. *European Journal of Political Research*, *23*(1), 1–33.

Schrott, A., & Spranger, D. (2006). Mediatization of political negotiations in modern democracies: institutional characteristics matter. National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR): Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century, Working Paper no 2. Retrieved from <http://www.nccr-democracy>. uzh.ch/publications/workingpaper/pdf/WP2.pdf

Schwartz, M. A. (1990). *The Party Network: The Robust Organization of Illinois Republicans*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Scott, J. (2017). *Social Network Analysis* (4th ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Shenhav, S. R., Oshri, O., Ofek, D., & Sheafer, T. (2014). Story Coalitions: Applying Narrative Theory to the Study of Coalition Formation. *Political Psychology*, *35*(5), 661–678. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12072>

Shenoy, P. P. (1979). On Coalition Formation: A Game-Theoretical Approach. *International Journal of Game Theory*, *8*(3), 133–164. <https://doi.org/10.1007/> BF01770064

Shikano, S., & Linhart, E. (2010). Coalition-Formation as a Result of Policy and Office Motivations in the German Federal States: An Empirical Estimate of the Weighting Parameters of Both Motivations. *Party Politics*, *16*(1), 111­130. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068809339539>

Sporer-Wagner, D., & Marcinkowski, F. (2010). Is Talk Always Silver and Silence Golden? The Mediatisation of Political Bargaining. *Javnost–The Public*, *17*(2), 5–26.

Steinert, C., & Yordanova, N. (2016). ‘Alliance with the Enemy’: Why the CDU and the Greens Formed Their First Coalition in a Large German Federal State. *German Politics*, *25*(1), 54–72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644008.2015>.1060589

Strøm, K. (1990). *Minority Government and Majority Rule.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Strøm, K. (2000). Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies. *European Journal of Political Research*, *37*(3), 261–290. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.00513>

Strøm, K., & Nyblade, B. (2007). Coalition Theory and Government Formation. In C. Boix & S. Stokes (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* (pp. 782–803). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Strøm, K., & Swindle, S. M. (2002). Strategic Parliamentary Dissolution. *American Political Science Review*, *96*(3), 575–591.

Strøm, K., Budge, I., & Laver, M. (1994). Constraints on Cabinet Formation in Parliamentary Democracies. *American Journal of Political Science*, *38*(2), 303–335. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2111406>

Stromback, J. et al. (2013). Sourcing the News: Comparing Source Use and Media Framing of the 2009 European Parliamentary Elections. *Journal of Political Marketing*, *12*(1), 29–52. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2013.752227>

Stromback, J., & Van Aelst, P. (2013). Why Political Parties Adapt to the Media: Exploring the Fourth Dimension of Mediatization. *International Communication Gazette*, *75*(4), 341–358. <https://doi.org/10.1177/> 1748048513482266

Tavits, M. (2008). The Role of Parties’ Past Behavior in Coalition Formation. *American Political Science Review*, *102*(4), 495–507. <https://doi.org/10.1017/> S0003055408080362

Tsebelis, G. (1990). *Nested Games: Rational Choice in Comparative Politics*. Berkley – Los Angeles – Oxford: University of California Press.

Uzzi, B. (1996). The Sources and Consequences of Embeddedness for the Economic Performance of Organizations: The Network Effect. *American Sociological Review*, *61*(4), 674–698. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2096399>

Varone, F., Ingold, K., & Fischer, M. (2018). Policy Networks and the Roles of Public Administrations. In A. Ladner, N. Soguel, & Y. Emery (Eds.), *Swiss Public Administration* (pp. 339–353). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Verweij, M., Oros, A., & Jacquin-Berdal, D. (1998). *Culture in World Politics: An Introduction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Victor, J. N., Montgomery, A. H., & Lubell, M. (Eds.). (2018). *The Oxford Handbook of Political Networks*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wanna, J. (2014). Australia’s Future as a ‘Westminster Democracy’ – Threats to Combat, Stark Choices to Make... *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, *73*(1), 19–28. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8500.12068>

Warwick, P. V. (1996). Coalition Government Membership in West European Parliamentary Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, *26*(4), 471–499.

Wasserman, S., & Faust, K. (1994). *Social Network Analysis. Methods and* *Applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weingast, B. R. (1979). A rational choice perspective on congressional norms. *American Journal of Political Science*, 245–262. <https://doi>. org/10.2307/2111001

Wellman, B. (1988). Structural Analysis: From Method and Metaphor to Theory and Substance. In B. Wellman & S. D. Berkowitz (Eds.), *Social Structures: A Network Approach* (pp. 19–61). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wieciech, T. (2010). Votum nieufności w parlamentaryzmie westminsterskim. *Przegląd Sejmowy*, *6*(101), 83–102.

Więckowska, M. (2011). Problematyka zmiany systemu wyborczego w demokracjach westminsterskich: Nowej Zelandii, Kanadzie i Wielkiej Brytanii. Perspektywa porównawcza. *Przegląd Prawa Konstytucyjnego*, *3*(7), 161–175.

KANADA:

Allen, G. (2010). Recession and Recovery. In A. Mellows-Facer (Ed.), *Key Issues for the New Parliament 2010* (pp. 28–29). Retrieved from the House of Commons Library website: <https://www.parliament.uk/documents/> commons/lib/research/key\_issues/Full-doc.pdf

Andrew, B., Young, L., & Soroka, S. (2008). Back to the Future: Press Coverage of the 2008 Canadian Election Campaign Strikes Both Familiar and Unfamiliar Notes. *Policy Options, 29*(10), 79–84.

Archer, K. (1985). The failure of the New Democratic Party: Unions, unionists, and politics in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique, 18(2),* 353–366*.*

Aulakh, R. (2008, December 17). Layton Not Expecting ‘Miracle’; Doubts Federal Budget Will Contain Proposals Needed to Win Support of Opposition Parties. *National Post*, p. A22.

Belanger, E. & Nadeau, R. (2009). The Bloc Quebecois: Victory by Default. In J. H. Pammett & C. Dornan (Eds.), *The Canadian Federal Election of 2008* (pp. 136–162). Toronto: Dundurn Press.

Bernier, L. (2005). Who Governs in Quebec? Revolving Premiers and Reforms. In M. Howlet, L. Bernier, & K. Brownsey (Eds.), *Executive Styles in Canada. Cabinet Structures and Leadership Practices in Canadian Government* (pp. 131–155). Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press.

Bittner, A. (2013). Coping with Political Flux: The Impact of Information on Voter’s Perceptions of the Political Landscape, 1988–2011. In A. Bittner & R. Koop (Eds.), *Parties, Elections and the Future of Canadian Politics* (pp. 258­284). Vancouver – Toronto: UBC Press.

Blake, A., Fournier, P., & Soroka, S. (2013). The Canadian Party System: Trends in Election Campaign Reporting, 1980–2008. In A. Bittner & R. Koop (Eds.), *Parties, Elections and the Future of Canadian Politics* (pp. 161–185). Vancouver – Toronto: UBC Press.

Blake, D. E. & Elkins, D. J. & Johnston, R. (1985). *Two political worlds: parties and voting in British Columbia*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Blatchford, A. (2008, January 21). Coalition Still in Play, Duceppe Insists; Budget Unlikely to Meet Opposition’s Demands, Bloc Leader Predicts. *Toronto Star*, p. A15.

Brennan, R. J. (2010, January 7). Critics Say Anger Is Growing over PM’s ‘Imperial’ Style. Retrieved from <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2010/01/02/>critics\_say\_anger\_is\_growing\_over\_pms\_ imperial\_style.html.

Bring back MPPs to end York strike (2009, January 22). *Toronto Star*, p. AA6.

Bryden, J. (2009, January 12). Quebecers give nod to coalition; Others prefer election if Tories fall, poll finds. *Toronto Star*, p. A12.

Cairns, A. C. (1977). The Governments and Societies of Canadian Federalism. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *10*(4), 695–725. https://doi:10.1017/S0008423900050861

Cairns, J., & Ferguson, S. (2011). Human Rights Revisionism and the Canadian Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Antisemitism. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, *36*(3), 415–434.

Cameron, D. R. (2009). Ultimately, the System Worked. In P. H. Russel & L. Sossin (Eds.), *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis* (pp. 189–195). Toronto – Buffalo – London: Toronto University Press.

Campbell, C., & Freeze, C. (2008, November 17). Dropping gloves early, Rae walks out on forum. *Globe and Mail*, p. A1.

Campion-Smith, B., Maccharles, T., & Brennan, R. (2008, October 16). PM’s plan similar to one released earlier by Dion. *Toronto Star*, p. A1.

Campion-Smith, B., Maccharles, T., & Brennan, R. (2008, October 30). PM plans major cabinet overhaul; Kenney and Cannon among Tory MPs getting big promotions. *Toronto Star*, p. A1.

Carty, R. K. (2006). Canada. *European Journal of European Research, 45*(7–8), 1065–1070. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00657.x>

Carty, R. K. (2012). Canada. *European Journal of European* *Research. Political Data Yearbook, 51*(1), 56–61. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/j.2047-8852.2012.00005.x

Carty, R. K. (2009). Canada. *European Journal of European Research, 48*(7–8), 917–924. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2009.01854.x>

Carty, R. K., & Blake, D. E. (1999). The Adoption of Membership Votes for Choosing Party Leaders: The Experience of Canadian Parties. *Party Politics, 5*(2), 211–224. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068899005002005>

Carty, R. K., Cross, W., & Young, L. (2000). Canadian Party Politics in the New Century. *Journal of Canadian Studies, 35*(4), 23–39. <https://doi.org/10.3138/> jcs.35.4.23

CBC News. (2015). *50% population, 25% representation. Why the parliamentary gender gap?.* Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/news2/interactives/women-politics/?fbclid=IwAR3R9hho\_kWwuLaWRSrMTVF8AdyT\_cED1uBzQD6z qWHvYQ4rrwYFILBfp\_w

Chalmers, M. (2009). Canada’s Dysfunctional Minority Parliament. In P. Hazell & A. Paun (Eds), *Making Minority Government Work: Hung Parliaments and the Challenges for Westminster and Whitehall* (pp. 26–37). London: Institute for Government. The Constitution Unit.

Chase, S. (2008, December 3). NDP on verge of Broadbent’s lifelong dream. *Globe and Mail*, p. A4.

Cheadle, B. (2011, March 25). *Harper government topples on contempt motion, triggering May election.* Retrieved from <https://winnipeg.ctvnews>. ca/harper-government-topples-on-contempt-motion-triggering-may-election-1.623301

Chung, A. (2008, December 3). Bashing Bloc could backfire for PM; Attacks on ‘separatists’ risk alienating voters. *Toronto Star*, p. A21.

Cody, H. (2008). Minority Government in Canada: The Stephen Harper Experiment. *American Review of Canadian Studies, 38*(1), 27–42. <https://doi>. org/10.1080/02722010809481819

Conservative Party of Canada. (2018a). Conservative Party of Canada Constitution. Retrieved from <https://cpcassets.conservative.ca/wp-content/>uploads/2019/04/03155337/KXBCNkWf-X3IDtR.pdf

Conservative Party of Canada. (2018b). Conservative Party of Canada Policy Declaration. Retrieved from <https://cpcassets.conservative.ca/wp-content/> uploads/2019/06/03154936/00477c06063465c.pdf

Constitution Act. (1867). Retrieved from <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/> const/page-1.html

Constitution of the Green Party of Canada. (2016). Retrieved from https://[www.greenparty.ca/en/party/documents/constitution](http://www.greenparty.ca/en/party/documents/constitution)

Constitution of the Liberal Party of Canada. (2006). Retrieved from https://[www.politicalpartydb.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Canada\_](http://www.politicalpartydb.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Canada_) LiberalParty\_2014.pdf

Constitution of the New Democratic Party of Canada. (2018). Retrieved from <https://xfer.ndp.ca/2018/Documents/2018-CONSTITUTION.pdf>

Cowan, J., & Lewis, Ch. (2008, December 4). Inside Ottawa: Denials & flag Flaps. *National Post*, p. A5.

Cross, W. (1996). Direct Election of Provincial Party Leaders in Canada, 1985­1995: The End of the Leadership Convention? *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *29*(2), 295–315. https://doi:10.1017/S0008423900007721

Dawson, R. M. (1970). *The Government of Canada*. Revised by NormanWard, N. (1974) Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Diebel, L. (2008, December 3). Canadians split over choices; But most don’t want election if government toppled, survey finds. *Toronto Star*, p. A18.

Dodek, A. (2008, November 29). The GG must stand up to Harper. *National Post*, p. A22.

Ekos. (2008a). *Daily Tracking*. Retrieved from <https://www.ekospolitics.com/>index.php/2008/10/daily-tracking-final-numbers/

Ekos. (2008b). *Poll Results: A deeply divided public ponders prorogation*. Retrieved from <http://www.ekospolitics.com/wp-content/uploads/poll-results-dec-5-final.pdf>

Elections Canada. (2008a). *Official Voting Results – Fortieth General Election 2008*. Retrieved from <https://www.elections.ca/scripts/OVR2008/default.html>

Elections Canada. (2008b). *Voter Turnout at Federal Elections and Referendums*. Retrieved from <http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=ele&dir=turn> &document=index&lang=e

Ellis, F., & Woolstencroft, P. (2009). Stephen Harper and the Conservatives Campaign on Their Record. In J. H.Pammett & C. Dornan (Eds.), *The Canadian Federal Election of 2008* (pp. 16–63). Toronto: Dundurn Press.

English, J. R. (2006). *Coalition Governments in Canada*. The Canadian Encyclopedia. Retrieved from <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/> article/coalition-government

Erickson, L., & Laycock, D. (2009) Modernization, Incremental Progress, and the Challenge of Relevance: The NDP’S 2008 Campaign. In J. H. Pammett & C. Dornan (Eds.), *The Canadian Federal Election of 2008* (pp. 98–136). Toronto: Dundurn Press.

Forsey, E. (1964). The Problem of “Minority” Government in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, *30*(1), 1–11. <https://doi>. org/10.2307/139166

Franks, C. E. S. (2010). *Should the Governor General be Canada’s Head of* *State?* Remarks prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Study of Parliament Group. Ottawa, 26 March 2010. Retrieved from <http://cspg-gcep>. ca/pdf/FranksPrsntn-e.pdf

Franks, C. E. S. (2009). To Prorogue or Not to Prorogue. In P. H. Russel & L. Sossin (Eds.), *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis* (pp. 33–46). Toronto – Buffalo – London: Toronto University Press.

Gabryś, M. (2013). Polityka wewnętrzna Kanady. Patriacja konstytucji, Quebec, rdzenni mieszkańcy. In M. Gabryś, M. Kijewska-Trembecka, R. Rybkowski & T. Soroka (Eds.), *Kanada na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Polityka, społeczeństwo, edukacja* (pp. 15–96). Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.

Gabryś, M. (2016). *Przewodnik po konstytucji Kanady. Część pierwsza. Akt Konstytucyjny z 1867 roku*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.

Gabryś, M. (2017). *Przewodnik po konstytucji Kanady. Część druga. Akt Konstytucyjny z 1982 roku.* Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.

Galloway, G. (2008, October 14). Layton shelves coalition talk till after vote. *Globe and Mail*, p. A8.

Gidengil, E., Blais, A., Nevitte, N., & Nadeau, R. (2001). The Correlates and Consequences of Anti-Partyism in the 1997 Canadian Election. *Party Politics, 7*(4), 491–513. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068801007004005>

Gidengil, E., Nevite, N., Blais, A., Everitt, J., & Fournier, P. (2012). *Dominance and Decline: Making Sense of Recent Canadian Elections*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Godbout, J. I. (2014). Parliamentary Politics and Legislative Behaviour. In L. Turgeon, M. Papillon, J. Wallner & S. White (Eds.), *Comparing Canada. Methods and Perspectives on Canadian Politics* (pp. 171–198). Vancouver: UBC Press.

Godbout, J. F., & H0yland, B. (2011). Coalition Voting and Minority Governments in Canada. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, *49*(4), 457–485. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2011.615168>

Harada, S. (2009). The Promise of May: The Green Party of Canada’s Campaign 2008. In J. H. Pammett & C. Dornan (Eds.), *The Canadian Federal Election of 2008* (pp. 162–194). Toronto: Dundurn Press.

Harrison, T. W. (1995). *Of passionate intensity: right-wing populism and the Reform Party of Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Heard, A. (1991). *Canadian Constitutional Conventions: The Marriage of Law and Politics*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Heard, A. (2005). Constitutional Convention and Parliament. *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, *28*(2), 19–22.

Heard, A. (2007). Just What Is a Vote of Confidence? The Curious Case of May 10, 2005. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *40*(2), 395–416. <https://doi>. org/10.2307/2090664

Heard, A. (2009a). *The Governor General’s decision to prorogue parliament: Parliamentary democracy defended or endangered?* Edmonton: Centre for Constitutional Studies.

Heard, A. (2009b). The Governor General’s Suspension of Parliament: Duty Done or a Perilous Precedent? In P. H. Russel & L. Sossin (Eds.), *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis* (pp. 47–63). Toroto – Buffalo – London: Toronto University Press.

Hicks, B. M. (2010). British and Canadian Experience with the Royal Prerogative. *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, *33*(2), 19–20.

History will be kind to Dion (2008, October 20). *Toronto Star*, p. AA7.

Hodgetts, J., *Cabinet* (2019). In The Canadian Encyclopedia. Retrieved from <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/cabinet>

Hogg, P. (2009–2010). The 2008 Constitutional Crisis: Prorogation and the Power of the Governor General. *National Journal of Constitutional Law*, *27*, Supp. Constitutional Update 2009, 193–203.

Howlet, M., Bernier, L., Brownsey, K., & Dunn, C. (2005). Modern Canadian Governance: Political-Administrative Styles and Executive Organization in Canada. In M. Howlet, L. Bernier & K. Brownsey (Eds.), *Executive Styles in Canada. Cabinet Structures and Leadership Practices in Canadian Government* (pp. 3–17). Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press.

Is Harper finally Ontario’s friend? (2008, December 18). *Toronto Star*, p. AA6.

Ivison, J. (2008, December 2). Future looks bleak for PM, Tories; Stephen Harper may soon face wolves within his own party. *National Post*, p. A.5.

Ivison, J. (2008, November 28). Wrong time to cut party funding; One crisis at a time, please, not another election. *National Post*, p. A1.

Jackson, R., & Jackson, D. (2006). *Politics in Canada: Culture, Institutions, Behavior and Public Policy*. Toronto: Pearson Education Canada, Inc.

Jackson, R., & Jackson, D. (2017). *Canadian Government and Politics in Transition.* Toronto: Pearson Canada Inc.

Jeager, P., T., Paquette, S., & Simmons, S. N. (2010). Information Policy in National Political Campaigns: A Comparison of the 2008 Campaigns for President of the United States and Prime Minister of Canada. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, *7*, 67–82. <https://doi>. org/10.1080/19331680903316700

Jeffrey, B. (2015). *Dismantling Canada: Stephen Harper’s New Conservative Agenda*. Montreal: McGill Queen’s University Press.

Jeffrey, B. (2009). Missed Opportunity: The Invisible Liberals. In J. H. Pammett & C. Dornan (Eds.), *The Canadian Federal Election of 2008* (pp. 63–98). Toronto: Dundurn Press.

Jeffrey, B. (2010). *Divided Loyalties: The Liberal Party of Canada, 1984–2008.* Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press.

Keep wheels of economy turning (2008, December 9). *Toronto Star*, p. AA5.

IPSOS Public Affairs Dataset (2008). Retrieved from <http://www.lispop.ca/> resources/ipsos\_public\_affairs\_datasets

Leblanc, D. (2008, October 16). Duceppe vows to be a force in House. *Globe and Mail*, p. A10.

LeDuc, L. (2009). Coalition Government: When It Happens, How It Works. In P. H. Russel & L. Sossin (Eds.), *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis* (pp. 123­136). Toronto – Buffalo – London: Toronto University Press.

LeDuc, L., & Pammett, J. H. (2009). The 2008 Election: Long-Term and Short­Term Assessments. In J. H. Pammett & C. Dornan (Eds.), *The Canadian Federal Election of 2008* (pp. 290–313). Toronto: Dundurn Press.

MacDonald, N. A., & Bowden, W. J. (2011). No Discretion: On Prorogation and the Governor General. *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, *34*(1), 7–16.

Malcolmson, P., Myers, R., Baier, G., & Bateman, T. (2016). *The Canadian Regime: An Introduction to Parliamentary Government in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Malloy, J. (2003). The House of Commons under the Chretien government. In G. B. Doren (Eds.), *How Ottawa Spends 2004–04: Regime Change and Policy Shift* (pp. 59–71). Toronto: Oxford University Pres.

McWhinney, E. (2008). Fixed Election Dates and the Governor General’s Power to Grant Dissolution. *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, *31*(1), 15–16.

McWhinney, E. (2009). The Constitutional and Political Aspects of the Office of the Governor General. *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, *32*(2), 2–8.

No answer to wife’s query. (2008, December 13). *Toronto Star*, p. AA5.

Of rabbits and big-game hunters (2008, December 15). *Toronto Star*, p. AA6.

Pendery, D. (2009). *Three top economists agree 2009 worst financial crisis since great depression; risks increase if right steps are not taken*. Retrieved from <http://icsidfiles.worldbank.org/icsid/ICSIDBLOBS/OnlineAwards/>C3004/C-164\_Eng.pdf

Perkel, C. (2008, Deceber 15). Canadians need lesson in civics, poll shows; Many citizens flunk the post-'prorogue’ test. *Toronto Star*, p. A2.

Płoszaj, A. (2013). Doświadczenia administracji w Kanadzie. In S. Mazur, & A. Płoszaj (Eds.), *Zarządzanie wiedzą w organizacjach publicznych. Doświadczenia międzynarodowe*, (pp. 124–143). Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.

Radek, R. (2012). System partyjny Kanady i jego wpływ na funkcjonowanie gabinetów rządowych. *Chorzowskie Studia Polityczne*, *5*, 139–165.

Russel, P. H. (2008). *Two Cheers for Minority Government*. Toronto: Emond Montgomery Publications Limited.

Seguin, R., & Perreaux, L. (2008, December 2). Duceppe sets conditions for collaboration. *Globe and Mail*, p. A7.

Skogstad, G. (2009). Western Canada and the ‘Illegitimacy’ of the Liberal-NDP Coalition Government. In P. H. Russel & L. Sossin (Eds.), *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis* (pp. 163–175). Toronto – Buffalo – London: Toronto University Press.

Slattery, B. (2009). Why the Governor General Matters. In P. H. Russel & L. Sossin (Eds.), *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis* (pp. 79–91). Toronto – Buffalo – London: Toronto University Press.

Smith, D. E. (2013). *Across the Aisle. Opposition in Canadan Politics*. Toronto – Buffalo – London: Toronto University Press.

Smith, J. (2008, December 5). Duceppe says Harper attacking Quebecers; He has done this simply to save his own skin. *Toronto Star*, p. A19.

Smith, J. (2008, January 24). Canadians open to deficit Poll. *Toronto Star*, p. A17.

Sossin, L., & Dodek, A. (2009). When Silence Isn’t Golden: Constitutional Conventions, Contitutional Culture, and the Governor General. In P. H. Russel & L. Sossin (Eds.), *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis* (pp. 91–105). Toronto – Buffalo – London: Toronto University Press.

The Governor General of Canada. (2019). The role of Governor General. Retrieved from <https://www.gg.ca/en/role>

The Liberal Party. (2012). The Liberal Party of Canada’s vision, mission, values and principles. Retrieved from <https://www.liberal.ca/wp-content/> uploads/2012/12/LPC-mission.vision.values\_web.pdf

Travers, J. (2008, October 16). Liberal problems extend far beyond Dion’s leadership; Leaking support and seats in every election, a fresh beginning is urgently needed. *Toronto Star*, p. AA6.

Trembly, G. (2009). The 2008 Election and the Law on Fixed Election Dates. *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, *31*(4), 24–25. Retrieved from <http://revparl>. ca/31/4/31n4\_08e\_Tremblay.pdf

Valpy, M. (2008, December 3). Going where no Governor-General has gone before. *Globe and Mail*, p. A7.

Valpy, M. (2008, December 6). G-G made Harper work for prorogue. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A4.

Valpy, M. (2009). A Crisis Not Made in a Day. In P. H. Russel & L. Sossin (Eds.), *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis* (pp. 19–33). Toronto – Buffalo – London: Toronto University Press.

Vieira, P. (2008, December 1). Drama on the Hill; Opposition determined to form coalition; Tories release transcript of NDP, Bloc call. *National Post*, p. A1.

Waddell, C. (2009). The Campaign in the Media 2008. In J. H. Pammett & C. Dornan (Eds.), *The Canadian Federal Election of 2008* (pp. 217–257). Toronto: Dundurn Press.

Walkom, T. (2008, December 3). Coalition must grasp deficit nettle. *Toronto Star*, p. AA8.

Wesley, J. J. (2009). *Code Politics: Party System Development on the Canadian Prairies*. Retrieved from <https://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2009/Wesley.pdf>

Whittington, L. (2008, December 13). Ignatieff, PM have ‘cordial’ business talk; New Liberal chief tells Harper ‘ball in his cour’ to form ‘credible’ budget. *Toronto Star*, p. A24.

Wieciech, T. (2009). *Ustroje federalne Stanów Zjednoczonych, Kanady i Australii*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Wilson, J. (1974). The Canadian Political Cultures: Towards a Redefinition of the Nature of the Canadian Political System. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *7*(3), 438–483. https://doi:10.1017/S0008423900040725

Winners & losers (2008, December 5). *National Post*, p. A3.

Wrońska, I. (1994). *Partie polityczne współczesnej Kanady*. Kielce, Poland: Wydawnictwo Andrzej Wiśniewski, Temida 2.

Yong, B. (2012). Formation of the Coalition. In R. Hazell & B. Yong (Eds.), *The Politics of Coalition: How the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Government Works* (pp. 26–48). Oxford: Hart Publishing.

You had an option, sir. (2008, December 8). *National Post*, p. A10.

Young, L., & Cross, W. (2002). Incentives to Membership in Canadian Political Parties. *Political Research Quarterly*, *55*(3), 547–569. <https://doi:10.2307/3088030>

WIELKA BRYTANIA:

Adonis, A. (2013). *5 Days in May: The Coalition and Beyond*. London: Biteback Publishing.

Armitstead, L. (2010, May 13). The Powerful Experts Behind the Politicians. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 4.

Baker, K. (2010, May 12). Time for Discipline, Fairness and Austerity. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 25.

Baston, L., & Henig, S. (2005). The Labour Party. In A. Seldon & D. Kavanagh (Eds.), *The Blair Effect 2001–2005* (pp. 112–130). New York: Cambridge University Press.

*BBC Election 2010 Results* (2010). Retrieved from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/> shared/election2010/results/

Beckford, M. (2010, May 8). Let’s Talk Business, Kingmaker Clegg Tells His Suitors. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 8.

Behind its relief, the media has a warning – Britain’s new PM (2010, May 13). *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 23.

Bennie, L. G., Curtice, J., & Rudig, W (2007). Liberal, Social Democrat or Liberal Democrat? Political Identity and British Centre Party Politics. *British Elections and Parties Yearbook*, *4*(1), 148–166. <https://doi>. org/10.1080/13689889408412946

Berman et al. (2011). *General Election 2010* (Research Paper No. 10/36). Retrieved from: <http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/> RP10-36/RP10-36.pdf

Bevir, M., & Rhodes, R. W. A. (2006). Interpretive Approaches to British Government and Politics. *British Politics, 1*(1), 84–112. <https://doi>. org/10.1057/palgrave.bp.4200001

Birch, A. H. (2016). *The British System of Government* (10th ed.). London & New York: Routledge.

Blick, A. (2016). Constitutional Implications of the Fixed-Term Parliaments Act 2011. *Parliamentary Affairs*, *69*(1), 19–35. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsv004>

Bookies’ choice the contenders to lead Labour. (2010, May 11). *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 6.

Brack, D. (2009). The Liberal Democrats and the Role of the State. In S. Griffiths & K. Hickson (Eds.), *British Party Politics and Ideology after New* *Labour* (pp. 173–188). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brogan, B. (2010a, May 13). Don’t believe everything that the happy couple is telling you. *The Daily Telegraph,* p. 24.

Brogan, B. (2010b, May 8). Political marriage? *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 25.

Brogan, B. (2010c, May 11). The red-faced bride finds the groom with the bridesmaid. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 1.

Butler, D. (1978). *Coalitions in British Politics*. London: Macmillan.

Campbell, A. (2010, May 8). 1974 doesn’t look any better second time around, even without the flares. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 34.

Carne, L. (2010, May 12). Miliband odds on for Brown’s job. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 30.

Chapman, J. (2010, May 14). Britain’s new politics – Chummy leaders look to the future. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 27.

Clarke, H., Sanders, D., Stewart, M., & Whiteley, P. (2010). *Electoral Choice in Britain, 2010: Emerging Evidence from the BES*. Retrieved from http://www. bes2009-10.org/report/elecchoicever7june25.pdf

Coates, S. (2010a, May 8). Clegg gambles that coalition talks will hide failure to convince voters. *The Times*, p. 8.

Coates, S. (2010b, May 11). Clegg showed his hand but his MPs have sent him back to the table to call Cameron’s bluff. *The Times*, p. 26.

Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition negotiations; Agreements reached 11th May 2010 (2010). In D. Laws, 22 *Days in May: The Birth of the Lib Dem­* *Conservative Coalition* (Appendix 7; 320–333). London: Biteback Publishing.

Cooper A., & Moon, N. (2010, May 8). *Accuracy of the Final 2010* *Polls*. Retrieved from <http://www.britishpollingcouncil.org/> accuracy-of-the-final-polls/

Craig, J., & Middleton, A. (2016). Junior coalition parties in the British context: Explaining the Liberal Democrat collapse at the 2015 general election. *Electoral Studies*, *43*, 63–71. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j>. electstud.2016.05.007

Curtice, J. (2010). So What Went Wrong with the Electoral System? The 2010 Election Result and the Debate About Electoral Reform. *Parliamentary Affairs, 63*(4), 623–638. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsq018>

Curtis, P. (2010, May 12). Failed kingmaker: Campbell driven to push Lib-Lab pact by anti-Tory instincts. *The Guardian*, p. 13.

Denham, A. (2009). Far from Home: Conservative Leadership Selection from Heath to Cameron. *Political Quarterly*, *80*(3), 380–87. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2009.01995.x

Dorey, P., & Kelso, A. (2011). *House of Lords Reform Since 1911: Must the Lords Go?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dunleavy, P. (2012). The British General Election of 2010 and the Advent of Coalition Government. In G. Baldini & J. Hopkin (Eds.). *Coalition Britain: The UK Election of 2010* (pp. 4–35). Manchester: Manchester University Press. Retrieved from <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/49607>

Election 2010. The handover: Cameron’s speech (2010, May 12). *The Guardian*, p. 3.

Elliott, F. (2010, May 11). Cameron goes back to work – in office he hoped he’d left behind. *The Times*, p. 28.

Evans, E., & Sanderson-Nash, E. (2011). From Sandals to Suits: Professionalisation, Coalition and the Liberal Democrats. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *13*(4), 459–473. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2011.00455.x

Finlayson, A. (2009). Did Blair Advance Social Democracy? In S. Griffiths & K. Hickson (Eds.), *British Party Politics and Ideology after New Labour* (pp. 11­7). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Flinders, M. (2005). Majoritarian Democracy in Britain: New Labour and the Constitution. *West European Politics*, *28*(1), 61–93. <https://doi>. org/10.1080/0140238042000297099

Flinders, M. V., & Matthews, F. (2012). Party Patronage in the United Kingdom: A Pendulum of Public Appointments. In P. Kopecky, P Mair, & M. Spirova (Eds.), *Party Patronage and Party Government in European Democracies* (pp. 335–354). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

*Forward, Together. Our Plan for a Stronger Britain and Prosperous Future: The Conservative and Unionist Party Manifesto.* (2017). Retrieved from <https://s3.eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/conservative-party-manifestos/> Forward+Together+-+Our+Plan+for+a+Stronger+Britain+and+a+More+Prosperous.pdf

Garnett, M. (2009). Built on Sand? Ideology and Conservative Modernisation. In S. Griffiths & K. Hickson (Eds.), *British Party Politics and Ideology after New Labour* (pp. 107–18). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gifford, C. (2014). The People Against Europe: The Eurosceptic Challenge to the United Kingsdom’s Coalition Government. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *52*(2), 512–528. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12112>

Goodman, P. (2010, May 11). Cameron still holds the reins. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 19.

Green, J., & Prosser, C. (2016). Party system fragmentation and single-party government: The British general election of 2015. *West European Politics*, *39*(6), 1299–1310. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2016.1173335>

Griffiths, S., & Leach, R. (2018). *British Politics* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan Education.

Haddon, C. (2009). *A Brief History of the Lib-Lab Pact, 1977*–*1978*. In P. Hazell & A. Paun (Eds.), *Making Minority Government Work: Hung Parliaments and the Challenges for Westminster and Whitehall* (pp. 20–24). London: Institute for Government, the Constitution Unit.

Hayton, R. (2014). Conservative Party Statecraft and the Politics of Coalition. *Parliamentary Affairs*, *67*(1), 6–24. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gst019>

Hayton, R., & Heppell, T. (2015). The Presidentialization of Party Politics in the UK. In G. Passarelli (Ed.), *The Presidentalization of Political Parties: Organizations, Institutions and Leaders* (pp. 142–159). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hazell, R., & Yong, B. (2012). Party Breakdown of the Coalition Agreements (Appendix 1). In R. Hazell & B. Yong (Eds.), *The Politics of Coalition: How the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Government Works* (pp. 213–224). Oxford: Hart Publishing.

Heffer, S. (2010, May 12). The infighting won’t be over until we have another election. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 24.

Heppell, T. (2013). Prime Ministers and Their Parties in the United Kingdom. In P. Strangio, P. t’Hart & J. Walter(Eds.), *Understanding Prime Ministerial Performance* (pp. 129–150). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ipsos MORI (2010). *General Election 2010 – An Overview*. Retrieved from <https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/migrations/en-uk/files/>Assets/Docs/News/General\_Election\_2010-An\_Overview.PDF

Johnson, S. (2010a, May 12). Salmond’s alliance hopes disappear. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 10.

Johnson, S. (2010b, May 8). While Salmond suffers delusions of grandeur about Nationalists ‘mighty hand’. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 1.

Johnston, P. (2010, May 7). Cameron’s achievement surpasses Thatcher. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 8.

Johnston, P. (2010, May 7). Cameron’s achievement eclipses Margaret Thatcher’s finest hour. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 3.

Johnston, R., Pattie, C., & Rossiter, D. (2006). Disproportionality and Bias in the Results of the 2005 General Election in Great Britain: Evaluating the Electoral System’s Impact. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, *16*(1), 37–54. doi.org/10.1080/13689880500505157

Kelso, A. (2015). Parliament and Government Formation in the United Kingdom. A Hidden Vote of Investiture. In B. Rasch, S. Martin, & J. Cheibub (Eds.), *Parliaments and Government Formation. Unpacking Investiture Rules* (pp. 29–48). New York: Oxford University Press.

King, A. (2002). The Outsider as Political Leader: The Case of Margaret Thatcher. *British Journal of Political Science*, *32*(3), 435–454. <https://doi.org/> 10.1017/S0007123402000182

Kirkup, J. (2010, May 11). Cable ‘Tried to Block Talks on Tory Deal. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 7.

Laws, D. (2010). *22 Days in May: The Birth of the Lib Dem-Conservative Coalition*. London: Biteback Publishing.

Laws, D. (2016). *Coalition: The Inside Story of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government*. London: Biteback Publishing Ltd.

Łukaszewski, M. (2014). W kierunku skandynawskiego modelu monarchii parlamentarnej? Zmiany w brytyjskim prawie konstytucyjnym wobec Fixed-term Parliaments Act 2011. *Przegląd Prawa Konstytucyjnego*, *6*(22), 29–54.

Macleod, A. (2010, May 8), Salmond can sit by the phone as long as he wants but it won’t ring, warns Labour. *The Times*, p. 14.

Maer, L., & Bartlett, G. (2017). What Happens after Indecisive Election Result? *Commons Library Briefing Paper*, 07163. Retrieved from https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7163#fullreport

Maer, L., & Kelly, R. (2017). Hung Parliaments. *Commons Library Briefing Paper*, 04951. Retrieved from <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/> ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN04951

McAllister, I. (2004). ‘The Armalite and the ballot box’: Sinn Fein’s electoral strategy in Northern Ireland. *Electoral Studies, 23*(1), 123–142. <https://doi/> org: 10.1016/j.electstud.2003.10.002

McAuley, J., McGlynn, C., & Tonge, J. (2014). The Party Politics of Post-Devolution Identity in Northern Ireland. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations, 16*(2), 273–290. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2012.00528.x

McGuinness, F., Cracknell, R., Davies, M., & Taylor, M. (2012). *UK Election Statistics: 1918–2012* (Research Paper No. 12/43). Retrieved from http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/RP12-43/RP12-43.pdf

Moore, Ch. (2010, May 8). Politics isn’t broken – voters are getting the big change they want. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 26.

Moran, M. (2005). *Politics and Governance in the UK*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

O’Casey, E. (2012). The Experience of Coalition: Domestic and Abroad. In R. Hazell & B. Yong (Eds.), *The Politics of Coalition: How the Conservative­-Liberal Democrat Government Works* (pp. 12–25). Oxford: Hart Publishing.

Oppermann, K., & Brummer, K. (2014). Patterns of Junior Partner Influence on the Foreign Policy of Coalition Governments. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *16*(4), 555–571. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/1467-856X.12025

Osborne, A. (2010, May 8). 1974 doesn’t look any better second time around, even without the flares. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 34.

Parker, G. (2015, March 26). Highs and Lows of the UK’s Coalition Government, *Financial Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.ft.com/cms/> s/2/45f73818-d17e-11e4-ad3a-00144feab7de.html#axzz3c6wBCIeu

Parris, M. (2010, May 8). Cameron’s hand is strong and he’ll play it well. *The Times*, p. 31.

Paun, A. (2015). *Westminster in an age of minorities. How to form and sustain a government after another hung parliament.* Institute for Government. Retrieved from <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/> Westminster%20in%20an%20age%20of%20minorities%20-%20FINAL.pdf

Peston, R. (2005). *Brown’s Britain*. London: Short Books.

Porter, A. (2010a, May 13). A special relationship. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 1.

Porter, A. (2010b, May 8). A stunned Cameron offers to work with Lib Dems. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 4.

Porter, A. (2010c, May 11). A very Labour coup. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 1.

Porter, A. (2010d, May 6). Queen’s ‘cooling off’ period for the winner. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 6.

Porter, A. (2010e, May 12). Cameron. PM. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 1.

Porter, A., Winnett, R., & Kirkup, J. (2010, May 10). A nation in limbo. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 1.

Prince, R. (2010a, May 8). A pact? Only if he steps down, say Lib Dems. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 7.

Prince, R. (2010b, May 6). Don’t deal with DUP. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 11.

Prosser, C. (2018). The Strange Death of Multi-party Britain: The UK General Election of 2017. *West European Politics*, *41*(5), 1226–1236. <https://doi.org/1> 0.1080/01402382.2018.1424838

Rayner, G. (2010, May 4). A call to Blair, then the final farewell. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 4.

Rayner, G., & Beckford, M. (2010, May 7). Polling station chaos could see results challenged. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 1.

Rhodes, R. A. W. (2011). *Everyday Life in British Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Riddell, P., Gruhn, Z., & Carolan, l., (2011). *The Challenge of being a minister. Defining and developing ministerial effectiveness*. Retrieved from https://[www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/The%20](http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/The%20) Challenge%20of%20Being%20a%20Minister.pdf

Roberts, L. (2010, May 8). A dismal night for the BNP hopefuls. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 13.

Rose, R. (1968). Class and Party Divisions: Britain as a Test Case. *Sociology*, *2*(2), 129–162. <https://doi.org/10.1177/003803856800200201>

Russell, A., Fieldhouse, E., & MacAllisster, I. (2002). The Anatomy of Liberal Support in Britain, 1974–1997. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *4*(1), 49–74. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/1467-856X.41070

Schleiter, P., & Belu, V. (2018). Electoral Incumbency Advantages and the Introduction of fixed parliamentary terms in the United Kingdom. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *20*(2), 303–322. <https://doi>. org/10.1177/1369148117739858

Searle, G. R. (1995). *Country Before Party: Coalition and the Idea of “National Government” in Modern Britain, 1885–1987*. New York: Longman.

Smith, A. (2010, May 8). Green Victory Hits the Target. *The Guardian*, p. 23.

Sobolewska-Myślik, K. (2012). *Partie i systemy partyjne na poziomie regionu.* *Przykład Szkocji i Katalonii*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego.

Stoddard, K. (2010, May 4). ‘Newspaper support in UK general elections’. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2010/may/04/> general-election-newspaper-support

Swaine, J. (2010, May 11). Party fears Brown’s actions could destroy centre-Left. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 6.

Temple, L. (2018). United Kingdom: Political Development and Data for 2017. *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*, *57*(1), 291–298. <https://doi.org/10.1111/2047-8852.12210>

Thank you and goodbye. The resignation speech in full (2010, May 12). *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 3.

The Conservative Manifesto 2010 – An Invitation to Join the Government of Britain. (2010). Retrieved from <http://conservativehome.blogs.com/files/>conservative-manifesto-2010.pdf

The Labour Party Manifesto 2010 – A future fair for all (2010). Retrieved from <http://www.cpa.org.uk/cpa_documents/TheLabourPartyManifesto-2010.pdf>

The Liberal Democrat Manifesto – Change that works for you was. (2010). Retrived from <http://www.gci.org.uk/Documents/Liberal_Democrat_> Manifesto\_2010\_.pdf

The race for Westminster: A night of thrills and spills that ended in uncertainty (2010, May 8). *The Times*, p. 11.

Timeline How the day unfolded (2010, May 11). *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 2.

Tonge, J. (2009). Did Blair Advance Social Democracy? In S. Griffiths & K. Hickson (Eds.), *British Party Politics and Ideology after New Labour* (pp. 24­36). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Topping, A. (2010, May 8). Election 2010: Ukip Anti-Europe party misses target and fails Lord Tebbit. *The Guardian*, p. 13.

Urbaniak, K. (2008). Formowanie rządu w Wielkiej Brytanii: wybrane problemy teorii i praktyki. In T. Mołdawa & J. Szymanek (Eds.), *Parlament, prezydent, rząd. Zagadnienia konstytucyjne na przykładach wybranych państw* (pp. 175–197), Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy ELIPSA.

Warman, M. (2010, May 13). The online election strayed off-message. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 33.

Watson, R., Elliott, & Baldwin, T. (2010, May 10). Brown is forced to watch as enemies plot his downfall. *The Times*, p. 16.

Watt, H. (2010a, May 11). Another unelected PM would be unacceptable. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 2.

Watt, H. (2010b, May). Rainbow coalition would have to prop up the ‘coalition of losers’. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 5.

Watts, D. (2012). *British Government and Politics: A Comparative Guide* (2nd ed.). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Webb, P. (2000). *The Modern British Party System*. London – Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Whitaker, R. (2011). United Kingdom. *European Journal of Political Research*, *50*(7–8), 1164–1174. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2011.02045.x>

Whitehall, P. C. (2010, May 10). Election 2010. *The Guardian*, p. 6.

Wieciech, T. (2011). Konstytucyjne aspekty zawieszonego parlamentu w Wielkiej Brytanii. *Przegląd Prawa Konstytucyjnego*, *1*(5), 11–29.

Wieciech, T. (2013). Rozwiązanie parlamentu w Wielkiej Brytanii na podstawie ustawy o kadencji parlamentarnej z 2011 r. *Przegląd Sejmowy*, *3*(116), 79–94.

Winnett, R. (2010a, May 12). Everyone pull together, Cameron’s rallying call. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 2.

Winnett, R. (2010b, May 10). Gove: I’d make way for Lib Dem. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 7.

Winnett, R. (2010c, May 11). Tories accuse Lib Dems of ‘double dealing’. *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 4.

Wintour, P. (2010, May 11). Brown plays last card. *The Guardian*, p. 1.

NOWA ZELANDIA:

Aimer, P. (2015a). New Zealand’s Party System. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 204–206). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Aimer, P. (2015b). The Labour Party. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 207–217). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Ainge Roy, A. (2017, September 25). New Zealand Party Leaders Woo Winston Peters’ Support after Election Stalemate. Retrieved from: <https://www>. theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/25/new-zealand-party-leaders-woo-winston-peters-support-after-election-stalemate

Ainge Roy, E., & Shuttleworth, K. (2017, September 23). New Zealand Gets Hung Parliament as Jacinda Ardern Falls Short in Election. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/23/new-zealand-election-jacinda-ardern-bill-english-winston-peters-hung-parliament

Ardern, J. (2018). Labour 2017: The Prime Minister’s Perspective. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 33–40). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Argyle, E. (2018). Scandals, Transgressions and Embarrassments in the 2017 election. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 379–389). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Arseneau, T., & Roberts, N. S. (2015). The MMP Electoral System. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 275–286). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Atkinson, N. (2015). New Zealand Politics 1935 to 1984. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 15–24). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Bale, T., & Bergman, T. (2006). Captives No Longer, but Servants Still: Contract Parliamentarism and the New Minority Governance in Sweden and New Zealand. *Government and Opposition, 41*(3), 422–449. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2006.00186.x

Bale, T., Boston, J., & Church, S. (2005). ‘Natural because it had become just that.’ Path dependence in pre-electoral pacts and government formation: A New Zealand case study. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *40*(4), 481–498.

Barber, D. (1997, November 4). New Zealand’s ‘Thatcher’ Takes Over from Bolger. Retrieved from https://www.independent.co.uk/news/new-zealands-thatcher-takes-over-from-bolger-1292011.html

Barker, F. (1997). Negotiating with New Zealand First: A Study of Its Coalition Agreements with National and Labours. In J. Boston, S. Levine, E. McLeay, & N. S. Roberts (Eds.), *Campaign to Coalition: The New Zealand General Election of 1996* (pp. 247–274). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Barker, F. (2018). Immigration and the Key-English Government. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 265–280). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Barron, L. (2018, August 2). New Zealand’s Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern Returns to Work After Maternity Leave. Retrieved from <https://time>. com/5356073/new-zealand-jacinda-ardern-maternity-leave/

Bean, C. (1986). Electoral Law, Electoral Behaviour and Electoral Outcomes: Australia and New Zealand Compared. *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, 24*(1), 57–73. <https://doi>. org/10.1080/14662048608447486

*Bill English* vs. *Jacinda Ardern leaders’ debate: The verdicts are in* (2017, August 31). Retrieved from <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article>.cfm?c\_id=1&objectid=11914978.

Bolger, J. (1998). *Bolger: A View from the Top. My Seven Years as Prime Minister*. Auckland: Penguin Books Ltd.

Boston, J. (1997). *From Campaign to Coalition: New Zealand’s First General Election under Proportional Representation*. Auckland: Dunmore Press.

Boston, J. (2000). Forming the Coalition between Labour and the Alliance. In J. Boston et al. (Eds.), *Left Turn: The New Zealand General Election of 1999* (pp. 239–275). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Boston, J. (2007). An Unusual Government: Coalition Politics and Inter-party Arrangements Following the 2005 General Election. In S. Levine & N. S. Roberts (Eds.), *The Baubles of Office. The New Zealand General Election of 2005* (pp. 318–418). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Boston, J. (2009). Innovative Political Management: Multi-Party Governance in New Zealand. *Policy Quarterly, 5*(2), 52–59.

Boston, J. (2011). Government Formation in New Zealand under MMP: Theory and Practice. *Political Science*, *63*(1), 79–105. <https://doi>. org/10.1177/0032318711406879

Boston, J., & Church, S. (2000). Pre-Election Wheeling and Dealing: The New Zealand Experience. In J. Boston et al. (Eds.), *Left Turn. The New* *Zealand General Election of 1999* (pp. 217–238). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Boston, J., Church, S., & Bale, T. (2003). The Impact of Proportional Representation on Government Effectiveness: The New Zealand Experience. *Australian Journal of Public Administration, 62*(4), 7–22. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/j..2003.00345.x

Boston, J., Church, S., & Pearse, H. (2004). Explaining the Demise of the National-New Zealand First Coalition. *Australian Journal of Political Science, 39*(3), 585–603. <https://doi.org/10.1080/103614042000295165>

Boston, J., Levine, S., McLeay, E., & Roberts, N. S. (1997). Experimenting with Coalition Government: Preparing to Manage under Proportional Representation in New Zealand. *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, 35*(3), 108–126. <https://doi>. org/10.1080/14662049708447754

Bożyk, S. (2009a). *Izba Reprezentantów. Parlament Nowej Zelandii*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe.

Bożyk, S. (2009b). *System konstytucyjny Nowej Zelandii*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe.

Bożyk, S. (2013). Parlament i egzekutywa w systemie konstytucyjnym Nowej Zelandii. In A. Zięba (Ed.), *Konstytucjonalizm w państwach anglosaskich* (pp. 181–202). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Bożyk, S. (2018). System wyborczy a układ sił politycznych w parlamencie Nowej Zelandii. In R. Balicki & M. Jabłoński (Eds.), *Dookoła Wojtek...* *Księga pamiątkowa poświęcona Doktorowi Arturowi Wojciechowi Preisnerowi* (pp. 535–543). Wrocław: E-Wydawnictwo. Prawnicza i Ekonomiczna Biblioteka Cyfrowa. Wydział Prawa, Administracji i Ekonomii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Bramwell, C. (2017, September 18). Labour vs National: Campaigns of Contrasts. Retrieved from: <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/339622/>labour-vs-national-campaigns-of-contrasts

Catt, H. (2000). The New Zealand Election of 27 November 1999. *Australian Journal of Political Science, 35*(2), 299–304. <https://doi>. org/10.1080/713649325

Chapman, G. (2017, October 19). NZ First leader Winston Peters announces next Government. Retrieved from <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/>election/2017/10/full-video-nz-first-leader-winston-peters-announces-next-government.html

Chapman, R. (1989). Political Culture: The Purposes of Party and the Current Challenges. In H. Gold (Ed.), *New Zealand Politics in Perspective* (2nd ed., pp. 1–32). Auckland: Longman Paul.

Church, S. (2012). The Post-Election Government Formation, “FOMOS” and “Frenemies”. In J. Johansson & S. Levine (Eds.), *Kicking the Tyres: The New Zealand General Election and Electoral Referendum of 2011* (pp. 97–115). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Church, S. (2015). Government Formation. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Governments and Politics* (pp. 359–369). Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.

Church, S. (2018). Round Two: Forming a Government. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 415–427).Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Clare Curran: ‘I’ve let myself down’ (2018, August 24). Retrieved from https://[www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/364851/clare-curran-i-ve-let-myself-down](http://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/364851/clare-curran-i-ve-let-myself-down)

Coalition Agreement: New Zealand Labour Party & New Zealand First (2017, October 24). Retrieved from <https://www.nzdoctor.co.nz/sites/default/>files/2017-10/Labour%20and%20New%20Zealand%20First%20 %20Coalition%20Agreement.pdf

Coalition Talks Gather Pace as Decision Nears (2017, October 18). *Dominion Post*, p. A1.

Coalition talks: NZ First, National ‘making huge progress’. (2017, October 11). Retrieved from <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article>. cfm?c\_id=1&objectid=11931725

Collins, P. (2017, August 26). Jacindamania sweeps Labour back into contention in New Zealand. Retrieved from <https://www.irishtimes.com/> news/world/asia-pacific/jacindamania-sweeps-labour-back-into-contention-in-new-zealand-1.3198518.

Confidence & Supply Agreement: New Zealand Labour Party & Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand (2017, October 24). Retrieved from <https://www>. greens.org.nz/sites/default/files/NZLP%20%26%20GP%20C%26S%20 Agreement%20FINAL.PDF

Cooke, H., & Watkins, T. (2018, Spetember 20). Prime Minister removes Meka Whaitiri as a minister. Retrieved from <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/107248175/>prime-minister-announces-decision-on-meka-whaitiri-inquiry

Curtin, J. (2008). Women, Political Leadership and Substantive Representation: The Case of New Zealand. *Parliamentary Affairs, 61*(3), 490–504, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsn014>

Curtin, J., & Miller, R. (2011). Negotiating Coalitions: Comparative Perspectives. *Political Science, 63*(1), 3–9. <https://doi>. org/10.1177/0032318711403916

Daly, M. (2017, October 20). Helen Clark: Winston Peters won’t let the Labour government down. Retrieved from <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/> politics/98074958/helen-clark-the-next-generation-has-now-stepped-up

Duncan, G. (2015). New Zealand’s Cabinet Manual: How Does It Shape Constitutional Conventions? *Parliamentary Affairs*, *68*(4), 737–756. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsu023>

Edwards, B. (2009). New Zealand. *European Journal of Political Research*, *48*(7–8), 1052–1066. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2009.01865.x>

Edwards, B. (2012). New Zealand. *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook, 51*(1), 221–234. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/j.2047-8852.2012.00025.x

Edwards, B. (2015). The Micro Parties. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 261–270). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Edwards, B. (2018). New Zealand. *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook, 57*(1), 212–220. <https://doi>. org/10.1111/2047-8852.12186

Eichbaum, C., & Shaw, R. (2007). Ministerial Advisers, Politicization and the Retreat from Westminster: The Case of New Zealand. *Public Administration*, *85*(3), 609–640. https://doi:10.1111/j.1467-9299.2007.00666.x

English, B. (2018). National: The Leader’s Perspective. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 55–59). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Eska, J. (2013). Elementy modelu westminsterskiego w porządku konstytucyjnym Nowej Zelandii. In A. Zięba (ed.), *Konstytucjonalizm w państwach anglosaskich* (pp. 89–102). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Eska-Mikołajewska, J. (2018). Parlament w nowozelandzkim ustroju politycznym przed zmianą i po zmianie systemu wyborczego w 1993 roku. *Przegląd Sejmowy*, *26*(2), 9–34.

Ford, G. (2015). The Green Party. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Politics and Government* (6th ed., pp. 229–239). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Geddis, A. (2013). *Electoral Law in New Zealand: Practice and Policy* (2nd ed.). Wellington: LexisNexis.

Godfery, M. (2015). The Maori Party. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 240–250). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

*Green Party leader James Shaw apologises to supporters over recent turmoil* (2017, August 13). Retrieved from: <https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/>green-party-leader-james-shaw-apologises-supporters-over-recent-turmoil

Gustafson, B. (1980). *Labour’s Path to Political Independence*. Auckland: Auckland University Press – Oxford University Press.

Hamer, D. (1988). *The New Zealand Liberals: The Years of Power, 1891*–*1912*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hayward, J. (Ed.). (2015). *New Zealand: Government and Politics*. Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Hayward, M. (2015). The Prime Minister. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New* *Zealand: Government and Politics* (pp. 370–380). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Hicks, B. M. (2013a). New Zealand: Learning How to Govern in Coalition or Minority. *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, *36*(4), 32–41.

Higbee, P. (2015). Cabinet and Ministers. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 381–392). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Horizon Poll (2017, November 9). Who’s going on honeymoon with the new Government. Retrieved from https://www.horizonpoll.co.nz/page/489/whos-going-on-honeymoon-with-the-new-government

Hunt, E., & Ainge Roy, E. (2016, December 5). New Zealand prime minister John Key resigns. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/>dec/05/john-key-resigns-new-zealand-prime-minister-to-quit

Ingle, S. (1995). Electoral Reform in New Zealand: The Implications for Westminster Systems. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, *1*(4), 76–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/13572339508420451

James, C. (2015). The National Party. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 218–228). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

James, C. (2018). The first post-baby-boomer election. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 325–338). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

James, C. (2018, October 29). Polls show coalition well-placed in second year of govt. Retrieved from <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/369688/>polls-show-coalition-well-placed-in-second-year-of-govt.

Johansson, J. (2013). Prime Ministers and Their Parties in New Zealand. In P. Strangio, P. ‘t Hart, & J. Walter (Eds.), *Understanding Prime-Ministerial Performance. Comparative Perspectives* (pp. 193–215). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Joiner, M. (2015). New Zealand First. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 251–260). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Kaiser, A. (2009). MMP, Minority Governments and Parliamentary Opposition. *New Zealand of Public and International Law*, *7*(1), 77–92.

Kamarasingham, H., & Power, J. (2015). Constrained Parliamentarism: Australia and New Zealand Compared. In J. Wanna, E. Linquist, & P. Marshall (Eds.), *New Accountabilities, New Challenges* (pp. 189–206). Canberra: Australia National University Press.

Karacaoglu, G., & Au, J. (2018). It's not just the economy, stupid... In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 229–250). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Karp, J. (2006). Political Knowledge about Electoral Rules: Comparing Mixed-member Proportional Systems in Germany and New Zealand. *Electoral Studies, 25*(4), 714–730. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2005.11.002>

Karp, J., & Bowler, S. (2001). Coalition Government and Satisfaction with Democracy: An Analysis of New Zealand's Reaction to Proportional Representation. *European Journal of Political Research*, *40*(1), 57–79. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1011826902795

Keith, K. (1992). On the Constitution of New Zealand. *Political Science*, *44*, 28–34.

Kurian, P., & Smith, M. (2018). New Zealand Environment Policy in the Key Era: Escalating Crises in a Time on Neo-liberal Economic Dominance. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 251–264). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Labour’s 2017 Election Platform (2017). Retrieved from <https://www.labour>. org.nz/policy

Levine, S. (2004). Parliamentary Democracy in New Zealand. *Parliamentary Affairs*, *57*(3), 646–665. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsh050>

Levine, S. (2018). Stardust and Substance: New Zealand’s 2017 Election. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 3–30). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Lijphart, A. (1986). The Demise of the Last Westminster System? Comments on the Report of New Zealand’s Royal Commission on the Electoral System. *Electoral Studies*, *6*(2), 97–103. <https://doi>. org/10.1016/0261-3794(87)90016-3

Maddison, S. (2006). Ideas from ‘Across the Ditch’? Wedge Politics in the New Zealand 2005 Election. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *41*(3), 427–435.

Malone, R. (2015). The Executive. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 153–164). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Martin, J. E. (2015). Parliament. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 141–152). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

McLeay, E. (1995). *The Cabinet and Political Power in New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

McLeay, E. (2006). Buckle, Board, Team or Network? Understanding Cabinet. *New Zealand Public and International Law*, *4*(1), 37–54.

Miller, R. (1998). Coalition Government: The People’s Choice? In J. Vowles, P. Aimer, S. Banducci & J. Karp (Eds.), *Voters’ Victory? New Zealand’s First Election Under Proportional Representation*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Miller, R. (2005). *Party Politics in New Zealand*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Miller, R. (2015). *Democracy in New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Miller, R., & Curtin, J. (2011). Counting the Costs of Coalition: The Case of New Zealand’s Small Parties. *Political Science*, *63*(1), 106–125. <https://doi>. org/10.1177/0032318711407294

Mills, S. (2018). Survey Findings and the 2017 Election. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 365–378). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Mind games or total innocence? (2017, October 3). *Dominion Post*, p. A2.

Moir, J. (2017, May 3). Winston Peters says immigration is all about ‘ethnicity and race’. Retrieved from <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/92163124/>winston-peters-says-immigration-is-all-about-ethnicity-and-race

Moir, J. (2017, October 19). NZ First’s decision expected today. *Dominion Post*, p. A2.

Moir, J., & Small, V. (2017, October 9). Peters: ‘Policy is everything’. *Dominion Post*, p. A1.

Mulgan, R. (2004). *Politics in New Zealand* (3rd ed.). Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Nagel, J. (1994). What Political Scientists Can Learn from the 1993 Electoral Reform in New Zealand. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *27*(3), 525–529. https://doi:10.2307/420221

New Zealand Election on a knife edge but Labour favoured (2017, September 15). Retrieved from <http://www.roymorgan.com/>findings/7339-roy-morgan-new-zealand-voting-intention-september-10-2017-201709151750

New Zealand election stalemate leaves populist Winston Peters as kingmaker (2017, September 23). Retrieved from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/23/>new-zealand-election-stalemate-leaves-populist-winston-peters/

New Zealand’s PM Ardern reshuffles cabinet to tackle housing crisis (2019, June 27). Retrieved from https://www.reuters.com/article/us-newzealand-politics/new-zealands-pm-ardern-reshuffles-cabinet-to-tackle-housing-crisis-idUSKCN1TS0NJ

Nikula, P.-T. (2017, October 3). Grand Coalitions: Finland and New Zealand. Retrieved from http://briefingpapers.co.nz/grand-coalitions-finland-and-new-zealand/

Nikula, P-T., & Ross Smith, N. R. (2017). New Zealand’s first-past-the-post ‘hangover’ could limit coalition options. Retrieved from http://theconversation.com/new-zealands-first-past-the-post-hangover-could-limit-coalition-options-84685

No support from New Zealand First to repeal ‘three strikes’ law (2018, June 12). Retrieved from <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article>. cfm?c\_id=1&objectid=12069093

NZ First leader says he cannot win (2017, October 6). *Dominion Post*, p. A2.

*ONE News Colmar Brunton Poll* (2017, July 30). Retrieved from http://www.colmarbrunton.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/ONE-News-Colmar-Brunton-Poll-report-22-27-Jul.pdf

Palmer, G. (2006). The Cabinet, the Prime Minister and the Constitution. *New Zealand Journal of Public and International Law*, *4*(1), 1–36.

Peters, W. (2018). Change versus a Modified Status Quo: The New Zealand First Perspective. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 41–44). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

PM defends decisions on Curran, Whaitiri and business confidence (2018, September 11). Retrieved from <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/366162/>pm-defends-decisions-on-curran-whaitiri-and-business-confidence

*Preliminary results for the 2017 General Election* (2017, 25 September). Retrieved from <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO1709/S00424/> preliminary-results-for-the-2017-general-election.htm

Roberts, N. S. (2006). What if Winston Peters had chosen to go with Labour in 1996? In S. Levine (Ed.), *New Zealand as It Might Have Been* (pp. 235–254). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Roper, B. (2015). New Zealand Politics Post-1984. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 25–36). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Schrader, B. (2018). Crisis? What Crisis? An Overview of the Fifth National Government’s Housing Policies. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 281–294). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Shaw, J. (2018). The Green Party’s Campaign: A Leader’s Perspective. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 45–54). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Shaw, J., & Kefferputz, R. (2018). The New Zealand Greens’ Long Road to Government. Retrieved from <https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/>the-long-road-to-government-of-the-new-zealand-greens/.

Shaw, R. (2015). The Westminster Tradition. In J. Hayward (Ed.), *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed., pp. 356–358). Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Shaw, R. (2018). One year on for Ardern’s coalition government in New Zealand. Retrieved from <http://theconversation.com/>one-year-on-for-arderns-coalition-government-in-new-zealand-105212.

*Shock poll shows New Zealand opposition leading ahead of election* (2017, August 31). Retrieved from <https://www.scmp.com/news/asia/australasia/article>/2109198/shock-poll-shows-new-zealand-opposition-leading-ahead-election

Szabaciuk, W. (2014). Wpływ systemu wyborczego mieszanego na system polityczny Nowej Zelandii. *Polityka i Społeczeństwo*, *2*(12), 49–60.

Timeline: Winston Peters’ superannuation overpayments saga (2017, August 29). Retrieved from <https://www.radionz.co.nz/news/election-2017/338250/>timeline-winston-peters-superannuation-overpayments-saga

Timperley, C. (2018). Jacinda Ardern: A Political Presence. In S. Levine (Ed.), *Stardust and Substance. The New Zealand General Election of 2017* (pp. 339­350). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Trevett, C. (2017, September 26). Three-way talks with NZ First and the Greens not on cards, says Labour leader Jacinda Ardern. Retrieved from https://[www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c\_id=1&objectid=11926398](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11926398)

Vowles, J. (1987). Liberal Democracy: Pakeha Political Ideology. *New Zealand Journal of History*, *21*(2), 215–227.

Vowles, J. (1998a). A New Post-MMP Party System? In J. Vowles, P. Aimer, S. Banducci & J. Karp (Eds.), *Voters’ Victory? New Zealand’s First Election Under Proportional Representation* (pp. 28–47). Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Vowles, J. (1998b). New Zealand. *European Journal of European Research*, *34*(3–4), 475–483. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.00061-i3>

Vowles, J. (2003). New Zealand. *European Journal of European Research*, *42*(7–8), 1037–1047. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0304-4130.2003.00132.x>

Vowles, J. (2006). New Zealand. *European Journal of Political Research*, *45*(7–8), 1207–1220. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00677.x>

Vowles, J. (2017). Electoral Systems in Context: New Zealand. In E. S. Herron, R. Pekkanen, & M. Soberg Shugart (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfor>dhb/9780190258658.013.29.

Vowles, J. (2018). Surprise, Surprise: The New Zealand General Election of 2017. *Kotuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online, 13(2),* 147–160. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083X.2018.1443472>

Vowles, J., Aimer, P., Catt, H., Lamare, J., & Miller, R. (1995). *Towards Consensus? The 1993 General Election in New Zealand and the Transition to Proportional Representation*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Vowles, J., Banducci, S., & Karp, J. (2006). Forecasting and Evaluating the Consequences of Electoral Change in New Zealand. *Acta Politica, 41*(3), 267–284. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.ap.5500159>

Walters, L., & Small, V. (2017, October 3). English, Ardern talk with Peters. The *Press*, p. A2.

Watkins, T. (2017, October 19). Bill English ran the campaign of his life – but it just wasn’t enough. Retrieved from https://[www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/opinion/98015573/](http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/opinion/98015573/)bill-english-ran-the-campaign-of-his-life--but-it-just-wasnt-enough

Wilson, P. (2019, June 28). Week in Politics: PM Jacinda Ardern puts housing into safer hands. Retrieved from <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/on-the-inside/393207/>week-in-politics-pm-jacinda-ardern-puts-housing-into-safer-hands

Wood, G. A., & Rudd, C. (2004). *The Politics and Government of* *New Zealand: Robust, Innovative and Challenged*. Dunedin: Otago University Press.

Yong, B. (2009). New Zealand’s Experience of Multi–party Governance. In P. Hazell & A. Paun (Eds.), *Making Minority Government Work: Hung Parliaments and the Challenges for Westminster and Whitehall* (pp. 38–53). London: Institute for Government, The Constitution Unit.