

Political Science 535

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Office Hours: Mondays, 2:00-3:00, Tuesdays 3:30-5:00, and by appointment

### **Government and Politics in Modern Democracies**

This course is a comparative study of how democratic institutions are structured and how they function, particularly with regard to the regulation of conflict. Democracy is the institutionalization of conflict, but democratic regimes vary with regard to the ways that they structure the arenas within which conflict is expressed. Presidential vs. parliamentary systems, as well as fragmented multi-party systems vs. majoritarian two-party systems, for example, are extremely important distinctions that have important consequences for the nature of politics within a society. So, too, are the nature of political parties and the dynamics of party systems. While this course will focus primarily on Western Europe, its overview of political institutions and policy processes applies to established democracies in other world regions (especially Eastern Europe, Latin America and East Asia), as well as to new democracies emerging in the aftermath of authoritarian rule.

Some European polities have been unsuccessful, particularly during the interwar years, in establishing stable democratic systems. Indeed, the majority of the new democratic systems that came into being in the aftermath of the First World War were either replaced by authoritarian or totalitarian systems, or collapsed into violent civil conflict (e.g., Austria) or civil war (e.g., Spain). Others have exhibited a different kind of instability: governments formed within parliamentary systems were incapable of surviving for even a full year, and were ineffective in formulating and implementing policy. In the case of Fourth Republic France (1945-1958), this culminated in the collapse of the regime itself, and its replacement by a radically restructured democratic system. More recently (1994), the Italian party system collapsed completely, and many fundamental features of democratic government in Italy have been profoundly altered.

Other political systems, on the other hand, been successful in establishing stable and consolidated democracies in the aftermath of past chaos or periods of authoritarian rule. In the aftermath of the Nazi era, West Germany established an outstandingly stable democratic system; and the more recent cases of democratization in Spain, Portugal, Greece, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic are also remarkably successful in many important ways. What theoretical insights concerning the origins of democratic stability and effectiveness can be learned from an analysis of these examples of success and failure?

The course will be divided into two parts. During the first 7 or 8 weeks lectures and readings will explore the fundamental structures of democratic politics, primarily in Western Europe, and will present several middle-level theories that attempt to explain Governmental instability. These theories deal with the nature of governmental institutions, party and electoral systems, social cleavages, stages of economic development, mass and elite political culture, and the timing of nation-building and the extension of mass suffrage. Many of the readings consist of the "classic" original statements of these hypotheses, while many others focus on the case of France, whose political history is particularly useful for illustrating the central themes of this course. The first midterm examination (worth 25% of the overall grade for the course) will be given near the end of the fourth week of the quarter, with a second midterm examination (also worth 25%) taking place during the eighth week. In the final weeks of the course, students will prepare a short paper that will attempt to explain the political stability or instability of a particular democratic country. These papers will not constitute a major research undertaking; rather, they are intended to assure that each student will acquire a familiarity with government and politics in at least one democratic system. Recommended length for the papers (which will count for 30% of the course grade) is about 12-17 pages. During the final two weeks of the course, when students will devote most of their efforts to preparation of their term papers, readings

will be light, and lectures and readings will focus on a radically new set of governmental structures that have emerged over the past several decades: the political institutions of the European Union. At the end of the course there will be a final quiz (worth 10% of the total grade) covering those materials. Please note that attendance at all class sessions is essential. In order to reinforce the incentive to attend on a regular basis, there will be five unannounced quizzes (each worth 2% of the course grade) that will cover information presented in the previous class session. Make-up examinations will not be allowed without written documentation of a valid reason for missing the class session.

Students with disabilities that have been certified by the Office for Disabilities Services will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor of their needs.

Required readings may be found on closed reserve in the Main Library. Many of those readings may also be purchased as a package of xerox reproductions prepared by Zip Systems, which is available for purchase at the university-area bookstores. In addition, students are also encouraged to purchase the following:

Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*, vol 1  
Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*

## REQUIRED READINGS

### 1. The Historical and Social Context of European Politics: The Case of France

Henry Ehrmann and Martin Schain, "French Politics in Historical Perspective," in Ehrmann and Schain, *Politics in France*, pp. 1-21, and "Chronology of Events," pp. 415-420.

### 2. An Introduction to Western European Democratic Institutions.

Juan Linz, "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does It Make a Difference?," Arend Lijphart, "Presidentialism and Majoritarian Democracy: Theoretical Observations," Giovanni Sartori, "Neither Presidentialism nor Parliamentarism," and Alfred Stepan and Cindy Skach, "Presidentialism and Parliamentarism in Comparative Perspective," and in Linz, *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*, pp. 3-136.

Richard Gunther, "The Relative Merits (and Weaknesses) of Presidential, Parliamentary and Semi-Presidential Systems: The Background to Constitutional Reform," *Journal of Social Sciences and Philosophy* (Taipei), 11, March, 1999, pp. 61-91.

### 3. Multi-Party Systems and Governmental Instability.

Maurice Duverger, "The Two-Party System and the Multiparty System," in Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*, pp. 285-295.

Giovanni Sartori, "A Typology of Party Systems," in Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*, pp. 317-349.

Robert A. Dahl, "Party Systems and Patterns of Opposition," in Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*, pp. 296-301.

Jean Blondel, "Types of Party System," in Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*, pp. 302-315.

Henry Ehrmann and Martin Schain, "Political Parties: The Traditional Party System," in Ehrmann and Schain, pp. 229-238.

Roy Macridis, "Cabinet Instability in the Fourth Republic (1946-1951)," *Journal of Politics*, 14, 1952, 643-58.

Tables from Thomas Bruneau, Nikiforos Diamandouros, Richard Gunther, Leonardo Morlino and Arend Lijphart, "Democracy: Southern European Style?"

Richard Gunther, "Electoral Laws, Party Systems and Elites," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 83, #3, 1989, pp. 835-858.

## 4. Constitutional Engineering.

- Gerhard Loewenberg, "The Remaking of the German Party System," pp. 259-280 in Mattei Dogan and Richard Rose, eds., *European Politics*.
- Ezra Suleiman, "Presidentialism and Political Stability in France," in Linz, *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*, 137-162
- Henry Ehrmann and Martin Schain, "Policy Processes I," pp. 289-324, "Policy Processes II," pp. 325-359, "The French Constitution of 1958," pp. 421-436, and the rest of "Political Parties," pp. 238-288.

## 5. Social Cleavages and Political Behavior.

- Robert R. Alford, "Class and Voting Behavior," in Alford, *Party and Society*, pp. 36-41.
- Arend Lijphart, "Dimensions of Ideology in European Party Systems," in Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*, pp. 253-265.
- Henry Ehrmann and Martin Schain, "Religious and Antireligious Traditions, and "Class," in Ehrmann and Schain, pp. 74-96.
- Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, "The Origin of Political Parties," Max Weber, "The Advent of Plebiscitarian Democracy," Maurice Duverger, "Caucus and Branch, Cadre Parties and Mass Parties," Sigmund Neumann, "The Party of Democratic Integration," and Otto Kirchheimer, "The Catch-all Party," in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*, pp. 25-60.
- Richard Gunther and José Ramón Montero, "The Anchors of Partisanship," in P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Richard Gunther, eds., *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*.

## 7. Political Elites as "Translators" of Conflict. Consociational Democracy and Elite Consensus.

- Arend Lijphart, "The Netherlands: The Rules of the Game," in Kenneth McRae, *Consociational Democracy*, pp. 137-149.
- Michael Burton, Richard Gunther and John Higley, "Elite Transformations and Democratic Regimes," in Higley and Gunther, *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*.

## 8. Social Change and the Nature of Political Conflict.

- Henry Ehrmann and Martin Schain, "The Economic and Social Setting," in Ehrman and Schain, *Politics in France*, pp. 22-46.
- Gianfranco Pasquino, "The New Campaign Politics in Southern Europe," in P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Richard Gunther, eds., *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*.
- Ronald Inglehart, "The Nature of Value Change," and "From Class-Based to Value-Based Politics," in Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*, pp. 247-252, and pp. 266-282.
- Andrew Appleton, "Parties Under Pressure: Challenges to 'Established' French Parties," *West European Politics*, 18, #1, January 1995, pp. 52-77.
- Hans-Georg Betz, "Introduction," and Nonna Mayer, "The French National Front," in Hans-Georg Betz and Stefan Immerfall, eds., *The New Politics of the Right*, pp. 1-25.

## 9. The European Union.

- Wayne C. Thompson, "History of European Integration," in Steven L. Miller, ed., *European Unification*, pp. 3-17.
- Richard Gunther, "The Political Institutions of the European Union," in Miller, *European Unification*, pp. 55-68.
- Henry Ehrmann and Martin Schain, "France and the Changing Architecture of Europe," in Ehrmann and Schain, *Politics in France*, pp. 392-407.

### Term Papers

Readings for term papers will be selected through consultation with the instructor or T.A. A suggestive list of relevant readings will be made available near the middle of the quarter, at which time students will make appointments with the instructor or T.A. to designate a particular topic and list of relevant readings.