

## Political Science 778: Political Parties

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& by appt.

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### *Course Description*

This course is designed to introduce students to the major theoretical approaches to the study of political parties from a comparative perspective. Since no single course could hope to cover either all the significant theoretical or empirical work on the subject or all regions of the world, this one will draw mainly on ideas and literature from Western Europe and the United States. This focus rests on this literature being central to efforts to understand party politics in all their diverse complexity in the newer democracies of the world. Students will have the chance to develop their own interests in, perhaps, for example, the newer democracies, in their course assessment work.

No one book or set of books will be required for purchase for the course. Two good review articles are J-R Montero and R. Gunther's "Introduction: Reviewing and Reassessing Parties" in R. Gunther, J-R. Montero and J. Linz, eds., *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges* and Susan Stokes' "Parties and Democracy," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999), 243-67.

Below are some of the most important theoretical works on political parties and you need to be familiar with them for your general examinations.

- J. Aldrich, *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
- K. von Beyme, *Political Parties in Western Democracies* (Aldershot: Gower 1985).
- M. Cohen, D. Karol, H. Noel & J. Zaller, *The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008)
- A. Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957).
- M. Duverger, *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activities in the Modern State* (New York: Wiley, 1954).
- L.D. Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies* (New York: Praeger, 1967)
- S. Kalyvas, *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1996).
- J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner, eds., *Political Parties and Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).
- S.M. Lipset and S. Rokkan, *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives* (New York: Free Press, 1967).
- R. Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of Oligarchical Tendencies* (New York: Free Press, 1911/62).
- M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*, vol. I (New York: Quadrangle, 1902).

- A. Panebianco, *Political Parties: Organization & Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- G. Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

All the required readings for the course are book chapters or journal articles. Those that are not available electronically are can be accessed through this course's Carmen website.

### *Seminar Requirements*

**First**, It is expected that you will read and think about all of the materials before each class. To encourage class discussion, you are required to pose **two** questions suggested to you by that week's reading. These questions are intended to stimulate class discussion and should be e-mailed to your class mates and me by noon on each Wednesday before our Friday meeting. They should address **important** substantive or methodological issues that emerge from that week's reading. I shall identify two or three themes that emerge from these questions to focus our discussion each week, ensuring over the course of the quarter that questions posed by every student will be discussed.

**Second**, you will write over the course of the quarter a total of **two** short (4-5) page essays selected from a set of questions I shall distribute early in the course. One essay should be submitted by the end of the fifth week of the quarter and the second by the end of the ninth week. The questions will be similar to those typically found on written M.A. or Ph.D. candidacy examinations.

**Third**, you are required to write a 20-25 page research paper (including tables, references, and so on) that is due no later than Wednesday, 5 December at noon. This paper may be (a) an in-depth assessment of an important debate in the parties literature with proposals to refine that debate theoretically or empirically; or (b) a research design paper in which you articulate an important hypothesis, situate it in the relevant theoretical and empirical literature and discuss how you would propose to test this hypothesis; or (c) a preliminary empirical analysis of an important puzzle having to do with some aspect of party politics.

While most papers will likely build on the class readings, students are most welcome to focus on debates and cases (countries) not covered in the class readings. Whatever the subject of your paper, however, it should go well beyond description and demonstrate synthetic and analytical skills that suggest an ability to build on the existing literature. I strongly encourage you to come to discuss your paper topic with me as soon as you think you may have something on which you want to write.

### *Grade distribution*

Participation:	10%
Quality of discussion questions	10%
Short Essays (15% each)	30%
Research Paper	40%

## *Disability*

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

### **COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS**

#### **Week 1: What Are Political Parties?**

- A. D. Morse, "What is a Party?" *Political Science Quarterly* 11 (1896), 68-81.  
A. Leiserson, "The Place of Parties in the Study of Politics," *APSR* 51 (1957), 943-54.  
S.J. Eldersveld, "A Theory of the Political Party" in S.J. Eldersveld, *Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis*, 1-23.  
J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner, "The Origins and Development of Political Parties," in J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner, eds., *Political Parties and Political Development*, 3-42.  
A. Downs, "Party Motivation and the Function of Government in Society," in A. Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, chs. 1 & 2.

#### **Week 2: What Do Political Parties Do?**

- J.A. Schlesinger, "The Primary Goals of Political Parties: A Clarification of Positive Theory," *APSR* (1975), 840-49.  
C.B. MacPherson, "Social Conflict, Political Parties and Democracy" in C. B. MacPherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 239-46.  
W. E. Wright, "Comparative Party Models: Rational-Efficient and Party Democracy" in W. E. Wright, ed., *A Comparative Study of Party Organization*, 17-54.  
L. Epstein, "British Mass Parties in Comparison with American Parties," *Political Science Quarterly* 71 (1956), 97-125.  
A. King, "Political Parties in Western Democracies: Some Sceptical Reflections," *Polity* 2 (1969-70), 111-41.

#### **Week 3: Institutional Origins**

- M. Duverger, *Political Parties*, Book II, chs. 1 & 3.  
W. Riker, "The 2-Party System and Duverger's Law," *APSR* (1982), 753-66.  
A. Wildavsky, "A Methodological Critique of Duverger's Political Parties," *Journal of Politics* 21 (1959), 303-18.  
G. Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems*, chs. 5 & 6.  
J.H. Aldrich, *Why Parties*, ch. 1.  
S. Kalyvas, *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*, chs. 1 & 2.

#### **Week 4: Sociological Origins**

- S.M. Lipset and S. Rokkan, *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*, Introduction.
- P. Mair, "On the Freezing of Party Systems" Ch. 1 from P. Mair, *Party System Change*
- K. Zielinski, "Translating Social Cleavages into Party Systems: The Significance of New Democracies," *World Politics* (2002), 184-211.
- M. Cohen, D. Karol, H. Noel & J. Zaller, *The Party Decides*, chs. 2 & 3
- O. Amorim and G.W. Cox, "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures and the Number of Parties," *AJPS* 41 (1997), 149-74.

#### **Week 5: Party Organization**

- R. Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*, Parts One & Six.
- S.M. Lipset, M. Trow & J.S. Coleman, *Union Democracy*, chs. 1 & 18.
- R. Rohrschneider, "How Iron Is the Iron Law of Oligarchy? Robert Michels and National Party Delegates in Eleven Western European Democracies," *European Journal of Political Research* 25 (1994), 207-38.
- J. Burchell, "Evolving or Conforming? Assessing Organisational Reform within European Green Parties," *West European Politics* 24 (2001), 113-34.
- J. Schlesinger, "On the Theory of Party Organization," *Journal of Politics* 46 (1984), 369-400.

#### **Week 6: Party Ideologies**

- A. Ware, "Parties and Ideology" Ch. 1 from A. Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*.
- D. Fuchs & H-D. Klingemann, "The Left-Right Schema" in M.K. Jennings, J.W. van Deth et al., *Continuities in Political Action*.
- H. Kitschelt, "Left-Libertarian Parties: Explaining Innovation in Competitive Party Systems," *World Politics* 40 (1988), 127-54
- A. Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, chs. 7 & 8.
- G. Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems*, ch. 10

#### **Week 7: Party Types**

- S. Neumann, "Toward a Comparative Study of Political Parties" in S. Neumann, ed., *Modern Political Parties*.
- O. Kircheimer, "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems" in J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner, eds, *Political Parties and Political Development*.
- S. Wolinetz, "Beyond the Catch-All Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies" in Gunther, Montero & Linz, eds., *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*.
- P. Mair and R. Katz, "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party," *Party Politics* 1 (1995), 5-28.

- B. Meguid, "Competition between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success," *APSR* 99 (2005), 347-59.
- R. Gunther & L. Diamond, "Types and Functions of Parties" in Gunther & Diamond, eds., *Political Parties and Democracy*, ch. 1.

### **Week 8: Authoritarian Political Parties**

- M. Svobik, "The Anatomy of Dictatorship" (ch.1 from *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*).
- M. Svobik, "Why Authoritarian Parties: The Regime Party as Instrument of Cooptation and Control" (ch. 6 from *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*).
- K.F. Greene, "The Political Economy of Authoritarian Single-Party Dominance," *Comparative Political Studies*, 43 (2010), 807-34.
- Geddes, B. 2006. "Why Parties and Elections in Authoritarian Regimes?"
- Gehlbach, S and P. Keefer, "Investment without Democracy: Ruling Party Institutionalization and Credible Commitment in Autocracies," *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 39 (2011), 123-39.
- Blaydes, L. 2010. "Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt." (Introduction from book with same title).

### **Week 9: Do Parties Matter?**

- I. Budge & R. Hofferbert, "Mandates and Policy Outputs: U.S. Party Platforms and Federal Expenditures," *APSR* 84 (1990), 111-31.
- G. King, M. Laver, R.I. Hofferbert, I. Budge & M.D. McDonald, "Party Platforms, Mandates and Government Spending," *APSR* 87 (1993), 744-50.
- R. Andeweg, "Consociational Democracy," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000), 509-36.
- S.I. Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Communal Riots in India*, chs. 1 & 5.
- R. Huckfeldt & J. Sprague, "Political Parties and Electoral Mobilization: Political Structure, Social Structures and the Party Canvass," *APSR* 86 (1992), 70-86.

### **Week 10: Parties in Crisis?**

- R. Dalton & M. Wattenberg, eds., *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), chs. 1-3 & 8.
- H. Reiter, "Party Decline in the West: A Skeptic's View," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1 (1989), 325-48.
- H. Daalder, "Parties: Denied, Dismissed or Redundant? A Critique," in Gunther, Montero & Linz, eds., *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*.
- S. Bartolini & P. Mair, "Challenges to Contemporary Political Parties" in Gunther & Diamond, eds., *Political Parties and Democracy*.