

## **Government 372 01: Parties and Party Systems** **call no. 4829 -- Spring 2001**

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Although most citizens of most countries today are dissatisfied with political parties, among scholars there is virtual unanimity that parties are absolutely essential for making any kind of democracy work. However, there is no consensus about the nature of the parties that democracy requires. This is a judgment that you must reach on your own, guided by your political values and informed of the range of possibilities. One goal of this course is to encourage disciplined introspection about political values, so that you will emerge at the end of the semester with a coherent set of standards for evaluating politics in general and party politics in particular. A second goal is to expose you to the variety of parties and party systems that can be found in the world today, because the "art of the possible" is not very liberating unless the imaginable possibilities are many and varied.

This is a comparative survey of political parties and party systems. It begins with U.S. parties, to build on what you probably know best. Our survey then moves to Western European parties (especially those of Britain and Germany) to provide well-studied examples of "stronger" parties and to introduce basic comparative concepts and theories. The survey ends in Latin America, with detailed looks at parties in Venezuela and Brazil, which represent two extremes in this region, and perhaps the world.

Assignments a midterm and three cumulative essays (explained below). Their weights are as follows:

5-page personal essay	15%
midterm	25%
10-page European paper	25%
15- to 20-page take-home final essay	35%

These are averaged into a semi-final grade, which may be adjusted by up to one sign (e.g., A to A-, B+ to A-) to reward exceptionally fine contributions to general class discussion or to penalize deficient participation. The adjusted grade is the final grade. Incompletes are not allowed. All assignments save the take-home final may be turned in late with a penalty of one sign for every 24 hours, or portion thereof, past the due date. Any exceptions to this will require a dean's excuse.

Available for purchase in Notre Dame Bookstore:

John Aldrich, *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America* (Chicago, 1995). ISBN 0226012727

John Kenneth White and Daniel M. Shea, *New Party Politics* (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000). ISBN 031215254X

Alan Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* (Oxford, 2001).

Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Richard I. Hofferbert, and Ian Budge, *Parties, Policies, and Democracy* (Westview, 1994)

Michael Coppedge, *Strong Parties and Lame Ducks* (Stanford, 1994). ISBN 0804729611

Scott P. Mainwaring, *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil* (Stanford, 1999). ISBN 0804730598

These books and all other assignments are on reserve unless otherwise noted. Recommended readings are not on reserve.

## Readings

### January 16: Do Parties Matter?

no required reading.

*Recommended:* John Aldrich, *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America* (Chicago, 1995), chapter 2 (pp. 2-61); Richard S. Katz, *Democracy and Elections* (Oxford, 1997), chapters 2-6 (pp. 10-99); John Kenneth White and Daniel M. Shea, *New Party Politics* (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), Introduction and chapter 1 (pp. 1-32).

## Parties in the United States

### January 18: Origins of the Policy Party

John Aldrich, *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America* (Chicago, 1995), chapter 3 (pp. 68-96).

*Recommended:* Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House* (California, 1993).

### January 23: Origins of the Electoral Party

Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, chapter 4 (pp. 97-125).

*Recommended:* Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System* (California, 1969).

### January 25: Origins of the Power Party

Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, chapter 5 (pp. 126-156).

### January 30: U.S. Parties Today--Intro

Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, chapter 9 (pp. 277-296).

John Kenneth White and Daniel M. Shea, *New Party Politics* (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), chapter 4 (pp. 84-107).

*Recommended:* APSA Committee on Political Parties, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party

System," *American Political Science Review* (1950).

### February 1: U.S. Party Organizations

White and Shea, *New Party Politics*, chapters 5 and 7 (pp. 108-139 and 174-207).

### February 6: U.S. Party Identification

White and Shea, *New Party Politics*, chapter 6 (pp. 140-173).

*Recommended:* V.O. Key, Jr., "Secular Realignment and the Party System," *Journal of Politics* 21 (May 1959): 198-210; Norman Nie, Sidney Verba, and John Petrocik, *The Changing American Voter* (Harvard, 1976); Edward J. Carmines and James A. Stimson, "On the Structure and Sequence of Issue Evolution," *American Political Science Review* 80 (September 1986): 901-20; Michael B. McKuen, Robert S. Erikson, James A. Stimson, Paul R. Abramson, and Charles W. Ostrom, Jr., "Question Wording and Macropartisanship," *American Political Science Review* 86 (June 1992): 475-86.

### February 8: U.S. Policy and Campaign Finance

White and Shea, *New Party Politics*, chapters 8 and 9 (pp. 208-263).

**\*\*Due for next class:** a five-page personal essay expressing your point of view on U.S. political parties. Trace the evolution of your feelings toward parties from any early memories to the present. Against what standard have you evaluated them? Have your standards changed? Why (not)? In what ways has the information in the assigned reading reinforced your evaluation? In what ways has it led you to re-evaluate U.S. parties?

## Parties in Western Europe

### February 13: Approaches to the Study of Parties; Types of Parties

Alan Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* (Oxford, 1996), Introduction (pp. 1-13).

Richard Gunther and Larry Diamond, "Introduction," in Gunther and Diamond, eds., *Political Parties and Democracy* (Johns Hopkins, forthcoming).

*Recommended:* Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State* (Methuen, 1954); Angelo Panebianco, *Political Parties: Organisation and Power* (Cambridge, 1988); Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System* (Oxford, 1990); Herbert Kitschelt, *The Transformation of European Social Democracy* (Cambridge, 1994).

### February 15: The Policy Party in Europe

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, chapter 1 (pp. 17-62).

*Recommended:* Gary Cox, *The Efficient Secret: The Cabinet and the Development of Political Parties in Victorian England* (Cambridge, 1987); Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy* (Yale, 1997).

### February 20: The Electoral Party in Europe

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, chapter 2 (pp. 63-92).

### February 22: The Power Party in Europe

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, chapter 3 (pp. 93-123).

*Recommended:* Robert Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (Free Press, 1962); Joseph A. Schlesinger, "On the Theory of Party Organization," *Journal of Politics* 46:2 (May 1984): 369-400; Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, eds., *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies* (SAGE, 1994).

### February 27: European Party Competition and Public Policy

Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Richard I. Hofferbert, and Ian Budge, *Parties, Policies, and Democracy* (Westview, 1994), chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-35).

### March 1: Platforms and Models

Klingemann, Hofferbert, and Budge, *Parties, Policies, and Democracy*, chapters 3 and 8 (pp. 36-54 and 136-154).

**March 6: Midterm Exam** (based on material covered through February 22)

### March 8: Parties and Public Policy in Britain and Germany

Klingemann, Hofferbert, and Budge, *Parties, Policies, and Democracy*, chapters 4 and 11 (pp. 55-81 and 188-205).

### March 10-18: Spring Break

### March 20: Selection of Candidates and Leaders

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, chapter 9 (pp. 257-288).

Susan Scarrow, *Parties and Their Members: Organizing for Victory in Britain and Germany* (Oxford, 1996), chapter 3 (pp. 52-86).

*Recommended:* Richard Katz, *A Theory of Parties and Electoral Systems* (Johns Hopkins, 1980).

### March 22: Elections and Government Formation

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, chapters 10 and 11 (pp. 289-344).

*Recommended:* Ian Budge and Hans Keman, *Parties and Democracy: Coalition Formation and Government Functioning in Twenty States* (Oxford, 1990); Kaare Strom, *Minority Government and Majority Rule* (Cambridge, 1990).

### March 27: Types of Party Systems

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, chapter 5 (pp. 147-183).

*Recommended:* Giovanni Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (Cambridge, 1976); Peter Mair, *Party System Change* (Oxford, 1997), chapter 9 (pp. 199-223).

**March 29: European Party System Dynamics**  
Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, chapters 6 and 7 (pp. 184-244).

*Recommended:* Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction," in Lipset and Rokkan, eds., *Party Systems and Voter Alignments* (Free Press, 1967), pp. 1-64; Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (Harper and Row, 1957); Russell J. Dalton, Scott C. Flanagan, and Paul Allen Beck, eds., *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies: Realignment or Dealignment?* (Princeton, 1984); Ronald Inglehart, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society* (Princeton, 1990); Peter Mair, *Party System Change* (Oxford, 1997); Stefano Bartolini and Peter Mair, *Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability: The Stabilization of European Electorates 1885-1985* (Cambridge, 1990); Hans Daalder and Peter Mair, eds., *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change* (SAGE, 1983).

*Due for next class:* a ten-page essay, building on the personal essay, which you are welcome to revise and recycle into this one. In this essay, you must state and defend a position supporting or opposing a reform of U.S. parties to make them more "European" in some sense. Be clear about what characteristics the proposed reform associates with European parties. How true is it that European parties are different from U.S. parties in these respects? Be clear about the standards you are using to defend U.S.-style parties and critique European-style parties, or vice versa.

## Latin American Parties

**April 3: Latin American Party Systems**  
Scott P. Mainwaring, *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil* (Stanford, 1999), chapter 2 (pp. 21-60).

*Recommended:* Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown*

*of Democratic Regimes: Chile* (Johns Hopkins, 1978); *Political Parties of the Americas* (Greenwood Press; 1982 edition ed. by Robert J. Alexander; 1992 edition ed. by Charles D. Ameringer); Timothy R. Scully, *Rethinking the Center: Party Politics in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Chile* (Stanford, 1992); Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America* (Stanford, 1994); Michael Coppedge, "The Evolution of Latin American Party Systems," in Scott Mainwaring and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *Politics, Society, and Democracy: Latin America* (Westview, 1998), pp. 171-206; Michael Coppedge, "The Dynamic Diversity of Latin American Party Systems," *Party Politics* 4:4 (October 1998): 547-568; Kevin J. Middlebrook, ed., *Conservative Parties, the Right, and Democracy in Latin America* (Johns Hopkins, 2000).

**April 5: Partyarchy in Venezuela**  
Michael Coppedge, *Strong Parties and Lame Ducks* (Stanford, 1994), chapters 2 and 3 (pp. 18-64).

*Recommended:* Daniel H. Levine, *Conflict and Political Change in Venezuela* (Princeton, 1973).

**April 10: Inside Acción Democrática**  
Coppedge, *Strong Parties and Lame Ducks*, chapters 4 and part of 5 (pp. 64-93 and 94-128 only).

*Recommended:* John Martz, *Acción Democrática: The Evolution of a Modern Political Party* (Princeton, 1966).

**April 12: Consequences for Venezuelan Democracy**  
Coppedge, *Strong Parties and Lame Ducks*, chapters 6 and 7 (pp. 136-182; you may skip pp. 163-174, "Reforming Presidential Partyarchy").

*Recommended:* Louis W. Goodman, Johanna Medelson Forman, Moisés Naím, Joseph S. Tulchin, and Gary Bland, eds., *Lessons of the Venezuelan Experience* (Woodrow Wilson Center, 1995); Jennifer McCoy, Andrés Serbin, William C. Smith, and Andrés Stambouli, eds., *Venezuelan Democracy Under Stress* (Transaction, 1995); Terry Lynn Karl, *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States* (California, 1997); Brian F. Crisp and Daniel H.

Levine, "Democratizing the Democracy? Crisis and Reform in Venezuela," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 40:2 (1998): 27-61; Jennifer L. McCoy, "Chávez and the End of 'Partyarchy' in Venezuela," *Journal of Democracy* 10:3 (July 1999): 64-77; Brian Crisp, *Democratic Institutional Design: The Powers and Incentives of Venezuelan Politicians and Interest Groups* (Stanford, 2000).

#### **April 17: Origins of Brazilian Parties**

Mainwaring, *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization*, chapter 3 (pp. 63-87).

*Recommended:* Thomas Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil 1930-1964: An Experiment in Democracy* (Oxford, 1967); Maria D'Alva Gil Kinzo, *Legal Opposition Politics Under Authoritarian Rule in Brazil: The Case of the MDB, 1966-1979* (St. Martin's, 1988).

#### **April 19: Brazilian Parties Since 1979**

Mainwaring, *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization*, chapter 4 (pp. 88-135).

*Recommended:* Margaret Keck, *The Workers' Party and Democratization in Brazil* (Yale, 1992).

#### **April 24: Brazilian Parties from Within**

Mainwaring, *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization*, chapter 5 (pp. 136-174).

*Recommended:* Barry Ames, "The Reverse Coattails Effect: Local Party Organization in the 1989 Brazilian Presidential Election," *American Political Science Review* 88:1 (March 1994): 95-111.

#### **April 26: Patronage, Clientelism, and Patrimonialism in Brazil**

Mainwaring, *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization*, chapter 6 (pp. 175-218).

*Recommended:* Barry Ames, "Electoral Rules, Constituent Pressures, and Pork Barrel: Bases of Voting in the Brazilian Congress," *Journal of Politics* 57:2 (May 1995): 324-43.

#### **May 1: Conclusion**

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, conclusion (pp. 377-382).

White and Shea, *New Party Politics*, conclusion, (pp. 302-315).

*Take-home final exam:* This is a 15- to 20-page essay extending your evaluation of parties to issues that emerge as salient in the Latin American context: institutionalization, clientelism, and personalism. Again, you are encouraged to revise and recycle your first two essays for this exam essay; but this time your goal is to define the kind of parties and party system that you would consider best for a democracy. (This "democracy" can be either a real one or a generic one; or you can prescribe different arrangements for different kinds of democracy.) Although this essay is speculative, it must make frequent reference to real-world parties and party systems in the U.S., Western Europe, and Latin America. It must also make prescriptions regarding a variety of party and system characteristics (hierarchy, discipline, fragmentation, polarization, etc., in addition to institutionalization, clientelism, and personalism). The essay is due on the date assigned to a final exam for this class.