

PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS IN EUROPE

Docent: Peter Mair (kamer 5.B31) Tel: 071-527 3908, privé: 023-525 8420; Spreekuur: Tuesday, 14.00-15.00

Schedule : Monday, 13 September – 13 December (13 September – 18 October in Room 5A42; 1 November – 13 December in Room SB47)

Time: 10.00 – 13.00

Format: 10.00-11.00: Lecture
11.00-12.00: Tutorial/Workgroup 1
12.00-13.00: Tutorial/Workgroup 2

Exam: 20 December, 1999, 10.00-13.00

Welcome to the vervolgcurcus, **Parties & Party Systems in Europe !**

As you will see from the attached schedule, the topics for most meetings of this course are divided into two parts. The first of these is the topic of the formal lecture to the class as a whole; the second is the topic for discussion in two separate and smaller tutorials or workgroups. Reading lists are assigned for each lecture and tutorial topic, although sometimes the reading lists for the lectures are more or less the same as those for the tutorials.

During the tutorials, two or more students will be required to make brief formal presentations on the particular topic to the class, usually in the form of two opposing positions on the question which is being discussed. The tutorial class as a whole will then go on to debate the issue, and all students will be expected to have read all the assigned material.

Assessment:

Apart from keeping up with the assigned reading, and contributing to the tutorial discussions, each student will be assessed on the basis of two written assignments. The first of these is a short mid-term essay (1,500 words) comparing the development of party systems in *three* European countries. *This essay should be submitted for assessment on Thursday, 28 October*, and will count for 25 per cent of the final mark. The second assessment is a formal written exam, which will be held on Monday, 20 December, and which will count for 75 per cent of the final mark.

Reading material:

As far as course reading is concerned, the weekly classes have a set of assigned literature, which is drawn from the course book, *The West European Party System* (Oxford, 1990), as well as from a course reader which has been specially prepared (*Partijen en Partijstelsels* - available from the reprokamer). Additional articles and book chapters are also assigned, and these are available in the article file which is available for consultation on the 5th floor. In addition, and as required background material, all students are expected read and study the collection of analyses of national party systems edited by Broughton and Donovan (*Changing Party Systems in Western Europe* (London: Pinter, 1999)). Material from this book is expected to inform the discussions in the tutorials, and it will also provide the basis for the mid-term essay. As you will see, a lot of reading is required!

Students are also encouraged to go beyond this basic reading list, and to delve further into the very large and varied literature on parties and party systems in western Europe in the form of both books and journal articles. For an overview which pays particular attention to the development of parties as organizations, see the national studies included in Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds), *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies* (London: Sage,

1994). For a good general overview of approaches to the study of parties and party systems, and one which offers a very useful supplement to the course literature, see Alan Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* (Oxford University Press, 1996). Finally, for a recent and sometimes quite advanced collection of papers devoted to measuring persistence and change in party systems, see Paul Pennings and Jan-Erik Lane (eds), *Comparing Party System Change* (London: Routledge, 1998) or my own *Party System Change* (Oxford, 1997)

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES AND TUTORIALS

Lectures:

13 September

Introduction & Planning

20 September

What is a Party and How Can Parties be Compared?

Reading: Daalder (1983); Janda (1993); Mair & Mudde (1998); Ware (1996a, 1996b)

27 September

The Rise & Decline of Parties: an overview

Reading: Daalder (1992); Poguntke (1996); Scarrow (1996); Schmitt & Holmberg (1995); Pizzorno and Flanagan & Dalton (pp. 61-72, 232-246 in Oxford Reader).

4 October: *no class (university closed)*

11 October

Inside Political Parties

Reading: Duverger, Neumann & Kirchheimer (pp. 37-60 in Oxford Reader); Katz (1990); Scarrow (1994)

18 October

Organizational Change and Adaptation

Reading: Katz & Mair (1995); Koole (1996); Panebianco (1988), plus reading of 11 October.

25 October: *no class (department closed)* Final preparation of mid-term essay

1 November

What Parties Want

Reading: Katz (1986; 1987); Laver & Schofield (1990a)

8 November

What is a Party System?

Reading: Bardi & Mair (1998); Daalder (1983); Eckstein (1968)

15 November

Classifying Party Systems

Reading: Duverger, Dahl, Blondel, Rokkan & Sartori (pp. 285-349 in Oxford Reader)

22 November

Stability & Change in Party Systems

Reading: Rose & Urwin, Pedersen & Wolinetz (pp. 185-207, 218-231 in Oxford Reader); Franklin et al (1992); Kitschelt (1997); Lane & Ersson (1997); Mair (1997); Donovan & Broughton (pp. 255-274 in Broughton and Donovan book, 1999)

29 November

European Party Systems and European Integration

Reading: Andeweg (1995); Bardi, (1994); Marks & Wilson (1999); Pedersen (1995)

6 December

Political Parties and the Structure of Competition

Reading: Katz & Mair (1995); Laver & Schofield (1990b); Sartori (pp. 75-77 in Oxford Reader)

13 December

Parties and Democracy

Reading: Deschouwer (1996); Mair (1995); Scarrow (1996)

20 December:

FINAL ASSESSMENT

Tutorials/workgroups:

20 September: **Organization and Planning**

27 September:

Are parties passé?

Reading: Daalder (1992); Poguntke (1996); Scarrow (1996); Schmitt & Holmberg (1995); Pizzorno and Flanagan & Dalton (pp. 61-72, 232-246 in Oxford Reader).

4 October - no class

11 October:

Do parties still need members?

Reading: Duverger, Neumann & Kirchheimer (pp. 37-60 in Oxford Reader); Katz (1990); Scarrow (1994)

18 October:

Does the analysis of Lipset & Rokkan still have something important to tell us about the present configuration of parties and party systems in modern Europe?

Reading: Lipset & Rokkan (pp. 91-138 in Oxford Reader)

25 October - no class

1 November:

What best explains party stability and change? Is it sociology or is it politics?

Reading: Franklin et al (1992); Sartori (pp. 150-182 in Oxford Reader)

8 November:

Are parties required if there is to be successful transition to and consolidation of democracy in newly-democratizing polities?

Reading: Heywood (1996); Lewis (1996); Morlino (1995); Schmitter (1998); Spourdalakis (1996)

15 November:

How important is the recent challenge to the established parties from the greens/new left, on the one hand, and from the extreme right, on the other?

Reading: Inglehart (pp 247-252, 266-282 in Oxford Reader); Ignazi (1992); Müller-Rommel (1998); Mudde (1996).

22 November:

At the end of the century, is there now real evidence of major aggregate electoral change in western European countries, or is it still a myth?

Reading: Rose & Urwin, Pedersen & Wolinetz (pp. 185-207, 218-231 in Oxford Reader); Franklin et al (1992); Kitschelt (1997); Lane & Ersson (1997); Mair (1997); Donovan & Broughton (pp. 255-274 in Broughton and Donovan book, 1999)

29 November:

Would a *European* party system enhance the legitimacy of the European Union?

Reading: Andeweg (1995); Bardi, (1994); Marks & Wilson (1999); Pedersen (1995)

6 December:

Do parties compete or collude with one another?

Reading: Katz & Mair (1995); Kitschelt (1997); Koole (1996); Laver & Schofield (1990a, 1990b)

Literature :

Required/Verplicht:

Books:

- David Broughton and Mark Donovan (eds), *Changing Party Systems in Western Europe* (London: Pinter, 1999) [paperback, available from Kooyker]
- Peter Mair (ed), *The West European Party System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) [paperback, available from Kooyker]. Cited in reading material as **Oxford Reader**.

Course Reader:

- *Partijen en Partijstelsels* - available from the reprovkamer.

Article File

- articles and chapters available for consultation on the 5th floor (these can usually also be found in the library, of course)

The full list of articles and chapter included in the course reader and/or in the article file is as follows; those marked with (*) are included in the course reader, and those marked with (#) are in the article file:

- # Andeweg, Rudy B. (1995): "The Reshaping of National Party Systems", *West European Politics*, 18:3, 1995, 58-78.
- # Bardi, Luciano (1994): "Transnational Party Federations, European Parliamentary Party Groups and the Building of Europarties", in Richard S Katz and Peter Mair, eds., *How Parties Organize* London, Sage, 1994.
- * Bardi, Luciano and Peter Mair (1998): 'The Parameters of Party Systems', unpublished manuscript.
- # Daalder, Hans (1983): 'The Comparative Study of European Parties and Party Systems', in Hans Daalder and Peter Mair (eds), *Western European Party Systems* (London: Sage, 1983), 1-27.
- * Daalder, Hans (1992): 'A Crisis of Party?', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 15:4, 1992, 269-87.
- # Deschouwer, Kris (1996): 'Political Parties and Democracy', *European Journal of Political Research* 29:3, 1996, 263-278.
- * Eckstein, Harry (1968): 'Party Systems', *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Crowell, Collier & Macmillan, 1968), Vol 11, 436-53
- # Franklin, Mark et al (1992): *Electoral Change: Responses to evolving social and attitudinal structures in western countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 3-57 and 383-431.
- * Heywood, Paul (1996): 'The emergence of new party systems and transitions to democracy: Spain in comparative perspective', in Geoffrey Pridham and Paul G. Lewis (eds), *Stabilising Fragile Democracies: comparing new party systems in Southern and Eastern Europe* (London, Routledge, 1996), 145-66.
- # Ignazi, Piero (1992): 'The Silent Counter-Revolution', *European Journal of Political Research* 22:1, 1992, 3-34.
- * Janda, Kenneth (1993): 'Comparative Political Parties: research and theory', in Ada W. Finifter (ed), *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II* (Washington D C: APSA, 1993), [163-91] 163-85

- # Katz, Richard S (1990): 'Party as Linkage', *European Journal of Political Research* 18:1, 1990, 143-61.
- # Katz, Richard S (1986): 'Party Government: a rationalistic conception', in Francis G. Castles and Rudolf Wildenmann (eds), *Visions and Realities of Party Government* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986), 31-71.
- * Katz, Richard S (1987): 'Party Government and Its Alternatives', in Richard S. Katz (ed), *Party Governments: European and American Experiences* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 1-26.
- * Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair (1994): 'Changing Models of Party Organization: the emergence of the cartel party', *Party Politics* 1:1, 1994, 5-28.
- * Kitschelt, Herbert (1997): 'European Party Systems: Continuity and Change', in Martin Rhodes et al (eds), *Developments in West European Politics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 131-150.
- # Koole, Ruud (1996): 'Cadre, Catch-All or Cartel?' *Party Politics* 2:4, 1996, 507-23.
- # Lane, Jan-Erik and Svante Ersson (1997): 'Parties and Voters: What Creates the Ties?', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 20:2, 1997, 179-96
- * Laver, Michael and Norman Schofield (1990a): 'What Are the Stakes?', in Michael Laver and Norman Schofield, *Multiparty Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 36-61.
- # Laver, Michael and Norman Schofield (1990b): 'Who Gets In?', in Michael Laver and Norman Schofield, *Multiparty Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 89-143.
- * Lewis, Paul G (1996): 'Introduction and Theoretical Overview', in Paul G. Lewis (ed.), *Party Structure and Organization in East-Central Europe* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1996), 1-19.
- * Mair, Peter (1997): 'Myths of Electoral Change', from Peter Mair, *Party System Change* (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1997), 76-90.
- * Mair, Peter (1995): 'Political Parties, Popular Legitimacy and Public Privilege', *West European Politics*, 18 (3), 1995, 40-57.
- # Mair, Peter and Cas Mudde (1998): "The Party Family and Its Study", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1, 1998, 211-229.
- # Marks, Gary & Carole Wilson (1999): "National Parties and the Contestation of Europe" in Thomas Banchoff and Mitchell P. Smith (eds), *Legitimacy and the European Union* (London: Routledge, 1999), 113-133.
- # Morlino, Leonardo (1995): 'Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in Southern Europe', in Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.), *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in comparative perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 315-88.
- # Mudde, Cas (1996): 'The Paradox of the Anti-Party Party: Insights from the extreme right', *Party Politics* 2:2, 1996, 265-76.
- # Müller-Rommel, Ferdinand (1998): "The New Challengers: Greens and Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe", *European Review* 6:2, 1998, 191-202.

- * Panebianco, Angelo (1988): 'Parties and Democracy', in Angelo Panebianco, *Political Parties: Organization and Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 262-74.
- # Pedersen, Mogens N. (1995). "Euro-parties and European Parties: New Arenas, New Challenges and New Strategies", in Svein S Andersen and Kjell A Eliassen (eds.), *The European Union: How Democratic Is It?* London: Sage, 1995, 15-39.
- # Poguntke, Thomas (1996): 'Anti-party sentiment: Explorations into a Minefield', *European Journal of Political Research* 29:3, 1996, 319-44.
- # Scarrow, Susan (1994): 'The "paradox of enrollment": assessing the costs and benefits of party memberships', *European Journal of Political Research* 25:1, 1994, 41-60.
- * Scarrow, Susan (1996): 'Politicians Against Parties', *European Journal of Political Research* 29:3, 1996, 297-317.
- # Schmitt, Hermann and Sören Holmberg (1995): 'Political Parties in Decline?', in Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs (eds), *Citizens and the State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 95-133.
- # Schmitter, Philippe C (1998): "Intermediaries in the Consolidation of Neo-Democracies: the role of parties, associations and movements". Unpublished manuscript
- * Spourdalakis, Michalis (1996): 'Securing Democracy in post-authoritarian Greece', in Geoffrey Pridham and Paul G. Lewis (eds), *Stabilising Fragile Democracies: comparing new party systems in Southern and Eastern Europe* (London, Routledge, 1996), 167-85.
- * Ware, Alan (1996a): 'Introduction' in Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1-13.
- # Ware, Alan (1996b): 'Parties and Ideology' in Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 17-62.