

Seminar in Comparative Parties  
Pol. Sci. 6323  
Fall 1998  
Dr. Scarrow

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Throughout the past century, party politics has been one of the most prominent features of politics in most pluralist democracies (and elsewhere). Political observers have consequently focussed their attention on classifying party types, on distinguishing the origins of parties' support, and on identifying the impact of parties on political outcomes. Because the study of political parties goes back to the origins of the study of politics as a distinct discipline, the focus of the field has shifted several times. This seminar will provide opportunities to discuss many of the old and recent "classics" in the political parties field, and will also allocate time for critiquing some of the very latest research on political parties.

Many of the class discussions will compare relations between authors' approaches to their subject; thus, seminars will only be interesting if students do **all** the assigned reading each week!

Modern political parties developed earliest in Britain and the United States, and ever since these two countries have featured prominently in the literature on parties, with Britain as the model of a parliamentary system, and the United States as the model of presidential democracy. Everyone is expected to be able to use and understand British and US examples in class discussions. In addition, throughout the semester each student will focus on the parties and politics of a single country. You are expected to be able to discuss each week's reading in terms of how concepts might apply to developments in 'your' country. By the end of this course, you should feel confident to discuss the development of party organizations, of electoral rules, and of electoral support, in your chosen country.

#### Assignments

--3 short (2-3 page) response essays covering weekly reading. These are due no later than the class in which the pertinent reading is discussed. At least two of these papers should be completed before November 1. In weeks in which they write papers, students will also be expected to distribute questions for class discussion. (15% each).

--1 in-class critique of unpublished papers (with written summary of comments) (15%)

--A final research paper due December 11, 5 pm (40% of grade.) Paper proposals are due by October 21 (9<sup>th</sup> week of class).

#### Books available for optional purchase:

Alan Ware, Political Parties and Party Systems

Ian Budge and Hans Keman, Parties and Democracy

Michael Gallagher (et al), Representative Government in Modern Europe 2d ed.

Week 1 (Aug. 26):

### **Introduction & Organization**

Review of Parliamentary Systems & Party Families

Week 2 (Sept 2)

### **What is a Party?**

Morse, Anson (1896) "What is a Party?" Political Science Quarterly 11:68-81 (Reader)

Epstein, Leon (1964) Political Parties in Western Democracies, ch. 1

Schlesinger, Joseph (1994) Political Parties and the Winning of Office, ch 1.

Ware, Chapters 1-3

Week 3 (Sept. 9)

### **Parties and the Disputed Desirability of Party Government**

Washington, George (1796) "Farewell Address to Congress," (excerpt) Reader

Bagehot, Walter (1867) "The House of Commons," (excerpt) Reader

Bluntschli, Johan Caspar (1869), "What is the Meaning of a Political Party?" (Reader)

Wilson, Woodrow (1908) Party Government in the United States ch. 8

American Political Science Association, Towards a More Responsible Two-Party System, Pp. 1-24

Herring, Pendleton (1940) The Politics of Democracy ch. 7

Week 4 (Sept. 16):

### **Where Do Parties Come From? Sociological and Functional Explanations**

LaPalombara, Joseph and Myron Weiner (1966) 'The Origin and Development of Political Parties,' in LaPalombara and Weiner, eds. Political Parties and Political Development.

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan (1967) 'Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments,' in Lipset and Rokkan (eds.) Party Systems and Voter Alignments, pp. 1-33, 50-56.

Widfeldt, Anders. 1995. "Party Membership and Party Representativeness," Ch. 5 in Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs (eds.) Citizens and the State

Kitschelt, Herbert (1995) 'Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies,' Party Politics 1: 447-472.

Week 5 (Sept. 23)

### **Party Systems**

Sartori, Giovanni (1976) Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis, ch.5 &10.

F. A. Hermens (1972/1941) Democracy or Anarchy? ch 2.

George Hallett (1940) Proportional Representation -- The Key to Democracy ch. 1-2, 4-5

William Riker (1982) 'The 2-Party System and Duverger's Law,' American Political Science Review 76: 753-66.

Mauro Calise (1993) 'Remaking the Italian Party System,' West European Politics 16:545-60.

Ware Ch. 5-7

Week 6 (Sept. 30)

**Membership and Party Organization (I) -- Description, Classification, Assessment**

- Duverger, Maurice (1951) Political Parties, Book 1, ch. 1 and ch. 2 sec. I & II  
Neumann, Sigmund (1956) "Toward a Comparative Study of Political Parties," in  
Neumann, ed. Modern Political Parties  
Kirchheimer, Otto (1966) "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems,"  
in LaPalombara and Weiner, Political Parties and Political Development  
Seyd, Patrick and Paul Whiteley (1992) Labour's Grass Roots, chs. 2 & 3  
Look at types of data available in: Janda; Katz & Mair How Parties Organize

Week 7 (Oct. 7):

**Membership and Party Organization (II) -- The Economy of Membership**

- Wilson, James Q. (1962) The Amateur Democrat ch. 1, 12  
Ware, Alan (1992) 'Activist-Leader Relations and the Structure of Political Parties'  
British Journal of Political Science 22: 71-92.  
Schlesinger, Joseph (1984) 'On the Theory of Party Organization,' Journal of Politics 46:  
369-400  
Katz, Richard (1990) 'Party as Linkage: A Vestigial Function?' European Journal of  
Political Research 18: 143-61.  
Strom, Kaare (1990) 'A Behavioral Theory of Party Goals and Party Change,' American  
Journal of Political Science 34: 565-98.  
Carty, R.K. (1991) Canadian Political Parties in the Constituencies, ch. 3.

Week 8 (Oct. 14):

**Party Persistence and Party Decline**

- Flanagan, Scott and Russell Dalton (1984) "Party System Under Stress: Realignment and  
Dealignment in Advanced Industrial Societies," West European Politics 7: 7-24.  
Reiter, Howard (1989) 'Party Decline in the West: A Skeptic's View,' Journal of  
Theoretical Politics 1: 325-348.  
Webb, Paul (1995) 'Are British Political Parties in Decline?' Party Politics 1: 299-322.  
Franklin, Mark, Tom Mackie and Henry Valen, (1992) Electoral Change ch. 19 - 20.  
Dalton, Russell. 1998. "Parties without Partisans," Paper Presented at  
1998 Midwest Political Science Meetings.

Week 9 (Oct. 21)

**Do Parties Matter?**

- Van Arnhem & Schotsman, G. (1982) "Do Parties Affect the Distribution of  
Incomes?" in Castles, F. ed, The Impact of Parties. ch. 6  
Wellhofer, E. S. (1979) "The Effectiveness of Party Organization,"  
European Journal of Political Research 7:205-224  
Huckfeldt, R. and Sprague, J. 1992. "Political Parties and Electoral  
Mobilization: Political Structure, Social Structure and the Party  
Canvass," APSR 86:70-86.  
Budge, Ian and Keman, Hans. (1990). Parties & Democracy, ch. 1,2,5.  
Ware Ch. 11-12

Week 10 (Oct. 28)

**Membership and Party Organization (IV) -- Organizational Change and/or Decline**

- Panbianco, Angelo (1988/1982) Political Parties: Organization and Power ch. 13-14
- Wolinetz, Steven (1991) 'The Transformation of Western European Party Systems: The Catch-All Thesis Revisited,' West European Politics 14: 113-128.
- Katz, Richard and Peter Mair (1995) "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party" Party Politics 1: 5-28.
- Harmel, Robert and Ken Janda, (1994) "An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change," Journal of Theoretical Politics 6: 259-288.

Week 11 (Nov. 4)

**Membership and Party Organization (III) -- Members & Leaders**

- May, J. (1973) "Opinion Structure of Political Parties: The Special Law of Curvilinear Disparity", Political Studies 21: 135-151.
- Kitschelt, Herbert (1989) "The Internal Politics of Parties: The Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited," Political Studies 37:400-421.
- Norris, Pippa (1995) 'May's Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited: Leaders, Officers, Members and Voters in British Political Parties,' Party Politics 1: 29-48
- Michels, Robert (1915/1959) Political Parties, pt. 1 ch 9 ("Accessory Peculiarity of the Masses,") and pt. 6 ch 1 ("The Conservative Basis of Organization)
- Ware Ch. 9

Week 12 (Nov. 9)

**New Parties**

- Poguntke, Thomas (1987) "New Politics and Party Systems: The Emergence of a New Type of Party?" West European Politics 10: 76-88
- Kitschelt, Herbert (1989) The Logics of Party Organization, ch 1-2.
- Ignazi, Piero (1992) "The Silent Counter-Revolution", European Journal of Political Research 22: 3-34.
- Schedler, Andreas (1996) "Anti-political-establishment Parties" Party Politics 2:291-312.

Week 13 (Nov. 18)

**Party "Failure" and Alternatives to Parties**

- Lawson, Kay (1988) 'When Linkage Fails,' in Lawson Kay and Peter Merkl (eds) When Parties Fail, ch. 2.
- Pedersen, Mogens (1988) 'The Defeat of All Parties,' in Lawson Kay and Peter Merkl (eds) When Parties Fail, ch. 10
- Kitschelt, Herbert (1993) 'Social Movements, Parties, and Democratic Theory,' Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 528: 13-29.
- Robert Rohrschneider (1993) 'Impact of Social Movements on European Party Systems,' Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 528: 157-170.
- Mair, Peter (1995) 'Political Parties, Popular Legitimacy and Public Privilege,' West European Politics 18: 40-57

Week 14 (Nov. 25)

**Parties and Representative Government (II) -- Anti-Party Traditions**

Sartori, Giovanni (1976) Parties and Party Systems, ch. 1.

Daalder, Hans (1992) 'A Crisis of Party?' Scandinavian Political Studies 15: 269-288.

Poguntke, Thomas (1996) 'Anti-Party Sentiment -- Conceptual Thoughts and Empirical Evidence' European Journal of Political Research 29: 319-344.

Deschouwer, Kris (1996) 'Political Parties and Democracy: A Mutual Murder?' European Journal of Political Research 29: 263-278.

Week 15 (Dec. 3)

**Final Discussion & Presentations of Research in Progress**

Janda, K. 'Comparative Political Parties: Research and Theory' in Finifter, A. Political Science: The State of the Discipline (2nd ed.)