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## **"Parties and Party Systems in New and Stable Democracies"**

### **I. General description of the theme**

The course reviews major theoretical approaches and empirical accomplishments in the field of comparative party systems and, in a way, of comparative politics in general. It provides insights into the functioning of categorically different entities: parties, party systems and contemporary democracies, and their relationships and mutual reinforcements. In brief, both static and dynamic aspects of parties and party systems are under scrutiny, and will be assessed in historical, cultural, institutional and agency perspectives.

The general theme is divided into several subtopics; one concentrates on the ontology of parties and their historical development; another – dwells on the links between parties, party systems and institutional arrangements that determine them. Part of the course focuses on the main political psychological issue – party identification. Due attention is also devoted to issues of party competition and government formation. Finally, we address in detail, party system institutionalization, party system change and their relationship to democratic consolidation.

### **II. Academic Aims**

1. To introduce both traditional, mainly theoretical approaches to the study of parties, as well as the more contemporary, empirically-based, data on parties, their development and the dynamics of party systems.
2. To familiarize students with methodological problems pertinent to the study of parties and party systems.
3. To compare the changes in party systems of the developed world with those of recently democratized countries.

### III. Learning Outcomes

Students should acquire the ability to:

1. understand basic concepts used in the comparative party systems subfield;
2. describe competently and discuss key phenomena such as parties, party systems, relationship between voters and politicians, the effects of electoral rules, etc.;
3. recognize the difference between stable and fragile party systems, especially to understand the difference between institutionalized, consolidated party systems and the ones that cannot claim consolidation;
4. analyze available literature and data alone

### IV. Course Requirements

- Credit requirements: final paper plus class participation
- *Class Participation* means: active discussion & position papers, sharing critical opinions, presentations; thorough familiarity with the required readings is expected and manifested by the students.
- *Position papers*: to be submitted at least a month before the end of the seminar to the instructor, not more than 2 pages each. Topics selected from the readings assigned, other than the ones presented in class. The papers have to discuss briefly the topic and raise problems encountered.
- *Class presentations*: selected and agreed with the instructor topics, to be presented at class (not longer than 15 minute introduction to the readings assigned for particular week, concluding with questions/problems to be vividly discussed at the seminar pertinent to the topic). Handouts to be send via email to other seminar participants at least 48 hours before the class.
- *Final paper*: an essay covering a topic related to the seminar main theme; not shorter than 3000 words. It can take the form of "critical review of the literature", the emphasis being on critical, that is not merely a summary of what has been written, but an elaboration of the major findings in the field accompanied by controversies and offered ways of solving problems, pointing the necessity of future research. The other form is "research paper", usually written (as if) for publication, that contains a short review of the theoretical background, major findings and the student's own proposal, including his or her own empirical analysis, with implications discussed at the end..

The course is 20 hours, 12x 100 minute meetings

## Topic one

### **Introduction: The State of the Discipline – Comparative Politics and Comparative Political Parties**

- Janda, Kenneth. 1993. 'Comparative Political Parties: Research and Theory', in: Ada W. Finifter, ed., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*. Washington DC: APSA, pp. 163- 91
- Montero, Jose Ramon & Richard Gunther. 2001. 'Introduction: Reviewing and Reassessing Parties', in: Richard Gunther, Jose R. Montero, Juan J. Linz, eds., *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-38

## Topic two

### **Political Parties: Genesis and Functions**

- Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, pp. 56-106
- Duverger, Maurice. [1951]; 1964. *Political Parties*. London: Methuen, 2<sup>nd</sup> revised English edition, pp. xxiii-xxxvii
- Dalton, Russell & Martin P. Wattenberg. 2000. 'Unthinkable Democracy: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies', in: Russell Dalton & Martin P. Wattenberg, eds. *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 79-128; 180-207
- [Ware, Alan. 1996. *Political Parties and Party Systems*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-16]
- [LaPalombara, Joseph & Myron Weiner. 1990. 'The Origin of Political Parties', in: Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*, New York: Oxford University Press]

## Topic three

### **Party Systems: Electoral Designs and Their Consequences**

- Grofman, Bernard & Arend Lijphart, eds. 1986. *Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences*. New York: Agathon Press, pp.1-68
- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-80; 249-64
- [Cox, Garry W. 1997, *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, pp. 3-68]

## Topic four

### **Party Identification [PID]: The Orthodoxy**

- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley, pp. 120-167
- Weisberg, Herbert & Steve Greene. 2003. 'The Political Psychology of Party Identification', in: Michael MacKuen & George Rabinowitz, eds. *Electoral Democracy*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, pp. 83-124

Topic five

### **Party Identification [PID]: The Controversies**

- Fiorina, Morris. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. Yale University Press, ch 4 (most important – pp.65-73)
- Gerber, Alan and Donald P. Green. 1998. 'Rational Learning and Partisan Attitudes', *American Journal of Political Science*, 42 (3): 794-818
- Rose, Richard. 1998. 'Negative and Positive Party Identification in Post-Communist Countries' *Electoral Studies* 17 (2): 217-234
- [Sanders, David, Jonathan Burton, and Jack Kneeshaw. 2002. 'Identifying the True Party Identifiers: A Question Wording Experiment'. *Party Politics* 8 (2): 193-205]
- [Achen, Christopher. 2002. 'Parental Socialization and Rational Party Identification', *Political Behavior* 24 (2): 151-70]

Topic six

### **Party Models: From Mass via Catch-All to Cartel**

- Kirchheimer, Otto.1966. 'The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems', in: Joseph LaPalombara & Myron Weiner, eds., *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, pp. 177-200
- Katz, Richard & Peter Mair. 2001. 'The Ascendancy of the Party in Public Office: Party Organizational Change in Twentieth-Century Democracies', in: Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero, Juan .J. Linz, eds, *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.113-35
- [Duverger, Maurice. 1990. 'Caucus and Branch, Cadre Parties and Mass Parties', in: P. Mair (ed), *The West European Party System*. (New York: Oxford University Press) ]

Topic seven

### **Parties and Electoral Change**

- Bartolini, Stefano. 2001. 'Electoral and Party Competition: Analytical Dimensions and Empirical Problems, in: Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero, Juan .J.Linz, eds, *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-38
- Dalton, Russell & Martin P. Wattenberg. 2000. 'Unthinkable Democracy: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies", in: Russell Dalton & Martin P. Wattenberg, eds. *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-18
- Mair, Peter, Wolfgang Mueller, Fritz Plasser, eds. 2004. *Political Parties and Electoral Change*. London: Sage, pp. 1-19; 264-74

Topic eight

### **Theories of Party Competition**

- Bartolini, Stefano & Peter Mair. 1990. *Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability: The Stabilisation of the European Electorates 1885-1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.193-211,
- Budge, Ian. & Dennis Farlie. 1983. 'Party Competition – Selective Emphasis or Direct Confrontation? An Alternative View with Data', in: Peter Mair & Hans Daalder, eds., *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*. London: Sage, pp. 267-306
- [Sani, Giovanni & Giovanni Sartori, 'Polarization, Fragmentation and Competition in Western Democracies', in: Peter Mair & Hans Daalder, eds., *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*. London: Sage, pp. 307-40 ]

Topic nine

### **Government Formation**

- Strom, Kaare. 2000. 'Parties at the Core of Government', in: Russell Dalton & Martin Wattenberg, eds., *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 180-207
- Iversen, Torben and David Soskice. 2006. 'Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More Than Others', *American Political Science Review*, 100 (2): 165-81

Topic ten

### **Party Systems in New Democracies**

- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1992. 'The Formation of Party Systems in East Central Europe', *Politics and Society* 20 (1): 7-50
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radoslaw Markowski, Gabor Toka. 1999. *Post-communist Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Topic eleven

### **Party System Institutionalization and Democratic Consolidation**

- Mainwaring, Scott & Timothy R. Scully, eds.1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP), pp. 1-34
- Mair, Peter. 2002. 'Comparing Party Systems', in: Lawrence LeDuc & Pippa Norris, eds. *Comparing Democracies 2*. London: Sage
- Mair, Peter. 2001. 'The Freezing Hypothesis: An Evaluation', in: Lauri Karvonen & Stein Kuhle, eds. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited*. London: Routledge

Topic twelve

### **Party System Change**

- Mair, Peter. 1997. *Party System Change*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 3-18; 93-119
- Gunther, Richard, Jose R. Montero & Juan J. Linz. 2002. *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*. Oxford - New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 39-57
- Tavits, Margit. 2007. 'Principle vs. Pragmatism: Policy Shifts and Political Competition', *American Journal of Political Science*. 51 (1): 151-65
- Enyedi, Zsolt. 2005. 'The Role of Agency in Cleavage Formation', *European Journal of Political Research*, 44 (5): 697-720

## **General Reading List**

Gunther, Richard, Jose R. Montero & Juan J. Linz. 2002. *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*. Oxford - New York: Oxford University Press

Dalton, Russell & Martin P. Wattenberg, eds. 2000. *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Mair, Peter, Wolfgang Mueller, Fritz Plasser, eds. 2004. *Political Parties and Electoral Change*. London: Sage