

# **European Multi-Party Systems: Parties, Elections and Governments**

Department of Government,  
London School of Economics and Political Science  
Reading List, 2<sup>nd</sup> Term 2004

**Teacher responsible:**

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**Abstract:** For better or worse representative democracy is virtually unthinkable without political parties. It is the competitive interactions of multiple parties in a wide range of electoral, parliamentary and governing arenas that generates much of the business and the high drama at the heart of representative politics. This course focuses on political *competition* amongst parties. Topics will include; parties as organisations; changing cleavage structures; electoral systems and strategic interaction; party system change and classification, and coalition governance. The primary focus is Western Europe, though reference will also be made to other competitive democracies.

## **Journals for this Course**

Especially:

European Journal of Political Research	EJPR
Party Politics	PP
West European Politics	WEP
British Journal of Political Science	BJPS

Also:

Electoral Studies	ES
Journal of Theoretical Politics	JTP
American Political Science Review	APSR
American Journal of Political Science	AJPS
Comparative Political Studies	CPS

## Seminars Topics and Schedule

**All seminars are on Mondays 2-4pm, in Room H105**

Week	Topic	Date	Page
1.	Course structure and set-up; Overview of the study of parties and party systems and	12 Jan	5
<b>PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS</b>			
2.	The Development and Functions of Political Parties (or what do parties want, how do they get it and how have they developed?)	19 Jan	7
3.	How are Parties Organised? A. Are we in danger of having Parties without Members? B. The Selection of Candidates and Leaders C. Money and Politics	26 Jan	9
4.	Cleavage Structures and Party System Stability.	2 Feb	12
5.	How do Party Systems Change? A. Theory: Organisational change, Dealignment and Value change. B. The Entry of New Parties (Greens, Left-Libertarian and the Extreme Right).	9 Feb	15
6.	Classifications of Party Systems. Why are Party Systems Different?	16 Feb	19
<b>ELECTORAL COMPETITION &amp; GOVERNMENTS</b>			
7.	How do Electoral Systems Structure Party Competition?	23 Feb	22
8.	How do Parties Win?: 1 - Electoral Competition	1 March	28
9.	How do Parties Win?: 2 – Making and Breaking Governments	8 March	31
10.	When Parties Win – Does it Make any Difference? Do Parties Matter? Policy and Office ‘Outputs’ from incumbency	15 March	36
	Additional topics		39

## READING LISTS

### Note

These reading lists are very extensive and are not intended as a mandatory labour sentence! It would be virtually impossible to read most of these items during this one term course. So concentrate on the essential readings and treat the rest as resource guides for further detailed work in the field, that might be useful for essays, dissertations, or future research (maybe a PhD!).

### Background

Peter Mair (ed, 1990), *The West European Party System*. Oxford UP. (a very useful ‘reader’ with excerpts from many of the most important works. A good value purchase. Listed as Mair 1990 in the reading lists).

Alan Ware (1996), *Political Parties and Party Systems*. Oxford UP. (Another very good purchase. Although aimed at advanced undergraduates this is a book worth having especially if unfamiliar with these topics. Many of the chpts in this book will be cited as good background reading for the seminar topics. From there move on to the essential readings). (Listed as Ware 1996 in reading lists).

Michael Gallagher, Michael Laver and Peter Mair (2001). *Representative Government in Modern Europe: Institutions, Parties and Governments*, Third Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill. (listed in the reading lists as GLM3). A very good undergraduate textbook.

### Especially Important Books for this Course

\*Russell Dalton and Martin Wattenberg (eds, 2000). *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford UP. [Dalton and Wattenburg 2000]

\*Kurt Richard Luther and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (2002, eds). *Political Parties and Democracy in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Luther et al 2002]

Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero and Juan Linz (2002, eds). *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New*. Oxford University Press. [Gunther et al 2002]

\*Michael Laver and Norman Schofield (1990) *MultiParty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. Oxford UP. (Already a classic – the best overview of coalition politics). (Listed in reading lists as Laver and Schofield 1990).

Jocelyn Evans (2004). *Voters and Voting: An Introduction*. London: Sage.

Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris (1996). *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. Sage. (listed as LeDuc et al).

Giovanni Sartori (1976) *Parties and Party Systems*: A Framework for Analysis. Cambridge UP. (a classic text on party system classifications, ‘rules for counting parties’ and much else besides).

\*Rein Taagepera and Matthew Shugart (1989) *Seats and Votes: The Determinants of Electoral Systems*. Yale UP.

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan (eds, 1967). *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross National Perspectives*. New York: Free Press. (especially the first chpt which may be the most cited work in the whole field of parties research – not an easy read though).

Lauri Karvonen and Stein Kuhnle (eds, 2000). *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited*. London: Routledge.

\*Peter Mair (1997), *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford UP. (a collection of Mair's writings that focuses on party *systems*, especially their persistence and change). Listed in reading lists as Mair 1997.

Michael Laver (1997), *Private Desires, Political Action: An Invitation to the Politics of Rational Choice*. Sage. Listed as Laver 1997.

Wolfgang Muller and Kaare Strom (eds 1999) *Policy, Office or Votes: How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*. Cambridge UP. (a collection of country chpts focusing on what motivates political parties and how they balance vote-seeking, office-seeking and policy-seeking goals in situations in which it is difficult to maximise all three simultaneously).

Hans Daalder and Peter Mair (eds, 1983) *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*. Sage

Gordon Smith (1989). *Politics in Western Europe*. London: Heinmann.

Klaus von Beyme (1985). *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. Aldershot: Gower.

## COLLECTIONS OF READINGS

### **Theory and general comparative works**

**Note:** these four volumes are weighty collections of important articles in their full non-abridged form ranging from about 1960 to the mid-1990s. Unless money is no object (they each cost about £100) and you enjoy carrying large bricks around – don't buy them! They can usefully be consulted in the BLPES library.

Steven Wolinetz (ed, 1998a). *Political Parties*. Dartmouth. (Listed as Wolinetz 1998a in reading lists).

Steven Wolinetz (ed, 1998b). *Party Systems*. Dartmouth. (Listed as Wolinetz 1998b in reading lists).

Ferdinand Muller-Rommel and Thomas Poguntke (eds, 1995). *New Politics*. Dartmouth.

Pippa Norris (ed, 1998). *Election and Voting Behaviour*. Dartmouth.

Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner (eds, 1966) *Political Parties and Political Development*, pp.3-42. Princeton UP. (while by now quite an old book it contains a large number of classic articles that are still much cited, if not so often actually read). Listed in the reading lists as LaPalombara and Weiner (1966).

### **Country by Country**

There are quite a few of these. The most recent are:

Paul Webb, David Farrell and Ian Holliday (2002, eds). *Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford UP.

David Broughton and Mark Donovan (eds 1999), *Changing Party Systems in Western Europe*. London: Pinter. (includes: Britain, Ireland, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Sweden, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain and Portugal).

Jan-Erik Lane and Paul Pennings (eds, 1998). *Comparing Party System Change*. London: Routledge.

Peter Mair and Gordon Smith (1989). *Understanding Party System Change*. Frank Cass.

Steven Wolinetz (ed, 1988). *Parties and Party Systems in Liberal Democracies*. London: Routledge. (most of the same countries as above, but includes USA and Canada but not Spain or Portugal).

References to the texts above will be listed by author and date in the reading lists that follow– for example – Wolinetz (1998).

Paul Webb, David Farrell, Ian Holliday (eds). *Political Parties at the Millennium: Adaptation and Decline in Democratic Societies* Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

### **SEMINAR READINGS WEEK BY WEEK**

#### **1. Overview**

Mair 1990, ‘Introduction’, pp.1-22.

Ware 1996, ‘Introduction’, pp.1-13.

Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner (1966), ‘The Origin and Development of Political Parties, in LaPalombara and Weiner (eds) *Political Parties and Political Development*, pp.3-42. Princeton UP. (a short extract of this in Mair 1990, pp.25-30).

Hans Daalder (1983), ‘The Comparative Study of European Parties and Party Systems: An Overview’ pp1-28 in Hans Daalder and Peter Mair (eds) *Western European Party*

*Systems: Continuity and Change*. Sage. (twenty years old now but still worth reading for an overview).

Jose Ramon Montero and Richard Gunther (2002) 'Introduction: reviewing and Reassessing Parties', in Gunther et al 2002.

Hans Daalder (2002), 'Parties: Denied, Dismissed, or Redundant? A Critique' ,in Gunther et al 2002.

Juan Linz (2002), 'Parties in Contemporary Democracies: Problems and Paradoxes', in Gunther et al 2002.

Richard Katz (1986), 'Party Government: A Rationalistic Conception', in Frances Castles and Rudolf Wildemann (eds). *The Future of Party Government*. Volume One.

Richard Katz (1986), 'Party Government and Its Alternatives', in Richard Katz (ed) *The Future of Party Government*. Volume Two.

Daniele Caramani and Simon Hug (1998), 'The Literature on European Parties and Party Systems since 1945: A Quantitative Analysis', *European Journal of Political Research* 33: 4, 497-524.

## **2. The Development and Functions of Political Parties (or what do parties want, how do they get it and how have they developed?)**

### **Background reading**

Ware 1996, Chapter 1 (Parties and Ideology, pp17-62) & chapter 2 (Supporters, Members and Activists, pp.63-72).

And/or GLM3 chapters 7 & 8, pp. 171-233.

### **Essential Reading**

1. Maurice Duverger (1954), 'Caucus and Branch, Cadre and Mass Parties' a short excerpt from Duverger's famous book (*Political Parties*) in Mair 1990, pp.37-45.
2. Otto Kirchheimer (1966), 'The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems', in LaPalombara and Weiner (1966), pp.177-200. (a shorter extract in Mair 1990, pp.50-60, 'The Catch-All Party').
3. Steven Wolinetz (1979), 'The Transformation of Western European Party Systems Revisited', *West European Politics* 2:1, 4-28. (an extract in Mair 1990, pp. 218-231).
4. Richard Katz and Peter Mair (1995), 'Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party' *Party Politics* 1:1, pp.5-28. (Reproduced as chpt 5 of Mair's 1997 book, and also in Wolinetz 1998a, chpt 20).

### **Additional Reading**

Richard Katz and Peter Mair (2002), 'The Ascendancy of the Party in Public Office: Party Organizational Change in Twentieth-Century Democracies', in Gunther et al 2002.

Steven Wolinetz (2002), 'Beyond the Catch-All Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies', in Gunther et al 2002.

Ruud Koole (1996), 'Cadre, Catch-all or Cartel? A Comment on the Notion of the Cartel Party', *Party Politics* 2:4, pp.507-23.

Richard Katz and Peter Mair (1996), 'Cadre, Catch-All or Cartel? A Rejoinder', *Party Politics* 2:4, pp.525-534.

Mair 1990, Part 1 'The Development of the Mass Party', excerpts from articles by Weber, Neumann and Pizzorno.

Mair 1997, chpt 2 ('Continuities, Changes and the Vulnerability of Party').

Richard Katz and Peter Mair (1993), 'The Evolution of Party Organizations in Europe: The Three Faces of Party Organization', *American Review of Politics*, 14, pp.593-617. (reprinted in Wolinetz 1998a)

Nathan Yanai (1999), 'Why Do Political Parties Survive: An Analytic Discussion', *Party Politics* 5:1, pp.5-17.

Angelo Panebianco (1988). *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. Cambridge UP.

Klaus von Beyme (1985). *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. London: Gower. Chpt 1, pp.1-28.

Richard Katz (1980). *A Theory of Parties and Electoral Systems*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP. Chapter 1, pp.1-16.

Gary Cox (1987). *The Efficient Secret: The Cabinet and the Development of Political Parties in Victorian England*. Cambridge UP.

### **3. How are Parties Organised? And How Do They Behave?**

#### Topics:

The internal organisation of parties; changing patterns of party membership; the selection of election candidates and party leaders; parties as campaigning organisations; who makes the key decisions within parties?; party behaviour and trade-offs between goals.

#### Presentation(s)

#### Presenter:

- 3a. Are we in danger of having Parties without Members?
- 3b. How are party Candidates and/or Leaders selected and why?
- 3c. How do parties make trade-offs between the central goals of vote, office and policy-seeking?

#### Chairperson/Discussant:

#### **Background reading**

Ware 1996, Chapter 2 (Supporters, Members and Activists, pp.72-92) and Chpt 3 (Party Organizatons, pp.93-123).

And/or GLM3 chapters 10 (Inside European Political Parties, pp. 271-299).

#### **Essential Reading**

1. Susan Scarrow (2000), 'Parties without Members? Party Organization in a Changing Electoral Environment', pp.79-101 in Dalton and Wattenberg (2000).
2. Michael Gallagher (1988), Introductory and concluding chpts in Michael Gallagher and Michael Marsh (eds, 1988) *Candidate selection in comparative perspective : the secret garden of politics*. Sage.
3. Kaare Strom (1990), 'A Behavioural Theory of Competitive Political Parties', *American Journal of Political Science* 34, pp.565-98.

#### **Additional Reading**

Russell Dalton, Ian McAllister and Martin Wattenburg (2002), 'Political parties and their Publics', in Luther et al 2002.

Thomas Poguntke (2002), 'Party Organisational Linkage: Parties Without Firm Social roots', in Luther et al 2002.

Richard Katz and Peter Mair (eds, 1994). *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies*. Sage (contains country chpts in 11 West European states plus the European Parliament and the USA).

Wolfgang Muller (2000), 'Political Parties in Parliamentary Democracies: Making Delegation and Accountability Work', *European Journal of Political Research*.

Angelo Panebianco (1988). *Political Parties: Organisation and Power*. Cambridge UP.

#### *Party Membership*

Peter Mair and Ingrid van Biezen (2001), 'Party Membership in Twenty European Democracies, 1980-2000', *Party Politics* 7:1, pp.5-21.

Knut Heidar (1994), 'The Polymorphic Nature of Party Membership', *EJPR* 25, pp.61-86.

Lise Togeby (1992), 'The Nature of Declining Party Memberships in Denmark: Causes and Consequences', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 15, pp.1-19.

Susan Scarrow (1996). *Parties and their Members: Organizing for Victory in Britain and Germany*. Oxford UP.

#### *Selection of Candidates and Leaders*

Paul Pennings and Reuven Hazan (eds, 2001). Special Issue of *Party Politics* 7:3 on 'Democratizing Candidate Selection: Causes and Consequences'. (five useful articles).

Pippa Norris (ed, 1997). *Passages To Power: Legislative Recruitment in Advanced Democracies*. Cambridge UP. (see especially introduction and conclusion).

R.K. Carty and Donald Blake (1999), 'The Adoption of Membership Votes for Choosing Party Leaders: The Experience of Canadian Parties', *Party Politics* 5:2, pp.211-224.

Michael Marsh (1993), 'Selecting the Party Leader'. A Special Issue of *EJPR* 24.

#### *Internal Power Structures and Decision-Making*

Susan Scarrow, Paul Webb and David Farrell (2000), 'From Social Integration to Electoral Contestation: The Changing Distribution of Power within Political Parties', pp.129-153 in Dalton and Wattenberg (2000).

Richard Katz (2002), 'The Internal Life of Parties', in Luther et al 2002.

John May (1973), 'Opinion Structure of Political Parties: The Special Law of Curvilinear Disparity', *Political Studies* 21, pp.135-51.

Herbert Kitschelt (1989), 'The Internal Politics of Parties: The Special Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited', *Political Studies* 37, pp. 400-21

Pippa Norris (1995), 'May's Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited: Leaders, Officers, Members and Voters in British Political Parties' *Party Politics* 1:1, pp.29-48.

Ingrid van Biezen (2000), 'On the Internal Balance of Party Power: Party Organizations in New Democracies', *Party Politics* 6:4, pp.395-417.

Susan Scarrow and Patrick Seyd (eds, 1999). Special Issue of *Party Politics* 5:3 on Party Democracy and Direct Democracy.

Shaun Bowler, David Farrell and Richard Katz (1999). *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

#### *Party election Campaigning*

David Farrell (2002), 'Campaign Modernization and the West European Party', in Luther et al 2002.

David Farrell and Paul Webb (2000), 'Political Parties as Campaign Organizations' pp.102-128 in Dalton and Wattenberg (2000).

David Farrell (1996), 'Campaign Strategies and Tactics', in LeDuc, Niemi and Norris (eds, 1996).

Shaun Bowler and David Farrell (eds, 1992). *Electoral Strategies and Political Marketing*. London: St Martin's Press/Macmillan. (especially introduction and conclusion by the editors; there are also 10 country chpt, Western Europe plus the USA and New Zealand

#### *Parties and Money*

Gary Cox and Michael Thies (1998), 'The Cost of Intraparty Competition: The Single Nontransferable Vote and Money Politics in Japan', *Comparative Political Studies* 31, pp.267-91.

#### *Political Parties, Democracy and Accountability*

Kris Deschouwer (1996), 'Political Parties and Democracy: A Mutual Murder?', *EJPR* 29, pp.263-78.

Wolfgang Muller (2000), 'Political Parties in Parliamentary Democracies: Making Delegation and Accountability Work', *European Journal of Political Research*.

## 4. Cleavage Structures and Party System Stability

3 February

We have pushed our attempt at a systematization of the comparative history of partisan oppositions in European polities up to some point in the 1920s, to the freezing of the major party alternatives in the wake of the extension of the suffrage and the mobilization of the major sections of the new reservoirs of potential supporters. Why stop there? Why not pursue this exercise in comparative cleavage analysis right up to the 1960s? The reason is deceptively simple: *the party systems of the 1960s reflect, with few but significant exceptions, the cleavage structures of the 1920s . . . the party alternatives, and in remarkably many cases the party organizations, are older than the majorities of the national electorates.*

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan (1967), 'Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments: An Introduction', pp.1-64 in S.M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan (eds) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*. New York: The Free Press.

### Topics:

What would constitute evidence of party system stability? How much 'stability' has there been? What is a political cleavage and to what extent have they been the foundation of party competition?; the Lipset-Rokkan 'freezing' thesis; Changes to Parties Versus Party System Change;

### Presentation(s)

### Presenter:

4a Outline and Evaluate the Lipset-Rokkan social cleavage 'freezing' thesis.

4b Is the class cleavage in decline? If so was does this mean for party competition

4c. If the class cleavage is in decline, does this mean that the labels 'Left' and 'Right' are less useful in describing/ analysing the nature of party competition?

### Chairperson/Discussant:

### **Background reading**

GLM3 chapter 9.

Ware 1996, Chapter 6.

### **Essential Reading**

1. Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan (1967), 'Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments: An Introduction', pp.1-64 in S.M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan (eds) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*. New York: The Free Press. (abridged in Mair 1990, pp.91-138).

2. Andrea Volkens and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (2002), 'Parties, Ideologies and Issues: Stability and Change in Fifteen European Party Systems 1945-1998', in Luther et al 2002.

## **Additional Reading**

Peter Mair (2000), 'The Freezing Hypothesis: An Evaluation', in Lauri Karvonen and Stein Kuhnle (eds, 2000). *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited*. London: Routledge

Peter Mair (1989), 'The Problem of Party System Change', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1:3, pp.251-76. (reproduced as chpt 3 in Mair 1997). (a possible substitute for item 2 immediately above).

Robert Harmel (2002), 'Party Organisational Change: Competing Explanations?', in Luther et al 2002.

Lauri Karvonen and Stein Kuhnle (eds, 2000). *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited*. London: Routledge. (a wide range of essays evaluating the Lipset-Rokkan freezing thesis).

Jocelyn Evans (2004). *Voters and Voting: An Introduction*. London: Sage. (chpt 3 'Social structural theories of voting').

Giovanni Sartori (1968), 'The Sociology of Parties: A Critical Review' reproduced in Mair 1990, pp.150-182.

Hans Daalder (1966), 'Party Elites, and Political Developments in Western Europe', pp. 43-77 in Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner (eds) *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton UP. (abridged in Mair 1990, pp. 78-90).

Michal Shamir (1984), 'Are Western European Party Systems "Frozen"??', *Comparative Political Studies* 17:1, pp.35-79.

Peter Flora, Stein Kuhnle and Derek Urwin (eds) *State Formation, Nation-Building and Mass Politics in Europe: The Theory of Stein Rokkan based on his Collected Works*.

## *Measuring Stability*

Richard Rose and Derek Urwin (1970), 'Persistence and Change in Western Party Systems since 1945', *Political Studies* 18:3, pp.287-319 (abridged in Mair 1990, 185-194; reproduced in full in Wolinetz 1998b). (one of the first and few attempts to empirically test Lipset-Rokkan).

Maria Maguire (1983), 'Is there Still Persistence? Electoral Change in Western Europe, 1948-79', pp.67-94 in Hans Daalder and Peter Mair (eds) *Western European Party Systems*.

Mogens Pederson (1979), 'The Dynamics of European party Systems: Changing Patterns of Electoral Volatility', *European Journal of Political Research* 7:1, pp.1-26. (reproduced in Wolinetz 1998b and abridged in Mair 1990, pp.195-207). (outlines Pederson's volatility index now widely used to measure electoral change).

Peter Mair (1983), 'Adaption and Control: Towards an Understanding of party System Change', pp. 405-29 in Daalder and Mair (eds, 1983) *West European Party Systems*. Sage. (abridged in Mair 1990, pp.208-17).

Ivor Crewe and David Denver (eds, 1985). *Electoral Change in Western Democracies: Patterns and Sources of Electoral Volatility*. London: Croom Helm.

Stefano Bartolini and Peter Mair (1990). *Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability: The Stabilisation of European Electorates, 1885-1985*. Cambridge UP.

### *Class Voting*

Kitschelt H. (1994), *The Transformation of European Social Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

G. Evans ed (1999) The End of Class Politics? Class Voting in Comparative Context, OUP.

Inglehart, Ronald, and J. Rabier (1986), 'Political Realignment in Advanced Industrial Society', *Government and Opposition* 21: pp. 456-80.

P. Nieuwbeerta, deGraaf N.D., Ultee W. (2000) The effects of class mobility on class voting in post-war Western industrialized countries European sociological review, Vol.16, No.4, pp.327- 348

Nieuwbeerta P., Ultee W., 'Class voting in Western industrialized countries, 1945-1990 systematizing and testing explanations', *European Journal of Political Research*, Jan 1999, Vol.35, No.1, pp.123-160.

Bartle J., 'Left-right position matters, but does social class? Causal models of the 1992 British general election', *British Journal of Political Science*, Jul 1998, Vol.28, No.3, pp.501-529.

G. Evans and P. Norris (eds) (1999), *Critical Elections: British Politics and Voters in Long Term Perspective* (London: Sage), Ch. 5.

Anthony Heath et al (1985) *How Britain Votes* (Oxford: Pergamon), Chs. 1-4.

Patrick Dunleavy (1989), 'The End of Class Politics?' in Alan Cochrane and James Anderson (eds.) *Restructuring Britain: Politics in Transition* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press).

## 5. How and Why do Party Systems Change?

As the role of parties continues to decline, we may ultimately witness the eclipse or replacement of parties by other institutions that more effectively link the citizen and his government. . . With the narrowing of party functions and the shift of party support bases from broad, cohesive social groups towards a more diverse array of loosely organised issue groups, the context of party competition is changing. . Ideological parties or highly disciplined parties with stable and strongly articulated preferences are apt to be small.

Scott Flanagan and Russell Dalton (1984), *Parties Under Stress: Realignment and Dealignment in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, *West European Politics* 7:1, pp.7-23.

Even now, in the 1990s, and despite all the myths of electoral change, they [parties] continue to be successful, and hence they continue to survive. . . The electoral balance now is not substantially different from that of thirty years ago, and, in general, electorates are not now substantially more volatile than they once were. Following Rokkan, the party alternatives of the 1960s were older than the majority of their national electorates. Thirty years on, these self same parties still continue to dominate mass politics in western Europe. Nowadays, in short, they are even older still.

Peter Mair (1992), ‘Myths of Electoral Change and the Survival of the ‘Old’ Parties’, *European journal of Political Research* 24:2 (reproduced in Mair 1997, pp.76-90).

### Topics:

‘Parties who used to derive their support from cohesive social groups based upon underlying social cleavages now rely only on loosely organised and transient value-sharing communities’. Discuss.

Consider this model of party system change: “Electoral change = cleavage change = party system change”. Is this an accurate explanation of the transformation of party systems?

### Presentation(s)

### Presenter:

5a. Evaluate the extent and causes of party system change.

5b. How successful have ‘new’ political parties been and what accounts for their success or failure? What is ‘new’ about ‘new politics’ agendas?

5c. Case Study of the Greens

5d. Case Study of the Extreme Right

Chairperson/Discussant:

**Background reading**

Ware 1996, Chapter 7

GLM3 chapter 9

**Essential Reading**

1. Scott Flanagan and Russell Dalton (1984), 'Parties Under Stress: Realignment and Dealignment in Advanced Industrial Democracies', *West European Politics* 7:1, pp.7-23. (reproduced in Wolinetz 1998b; abridged in Mair 1990, pp.232-46).
2. Peter Mair (1992), 'Myths of Electoral Change and the Survival of the 'Old' Parties', *European Journal of Political Research* 24:2 (reproduced in Mair 1997, pp.76-90).
3. Thomas Poguntke (1987), 'New Politics and Party Systems: The Emergence of a New Type of Party?', *West European Politics* 10, pp.76-88. (reproduced in Wolinetz 1998a).

**Additional Reading**

*Post-Materialism and 'Decline' of Old Cleavages*

Ronald Inglehart (1987), 'Value Change in Industrial Societies', *American Political Science Review* 81:4, pp.1289-303 (abridged in Mair 1990, 'From Class-Based to Value-Based Politics', pp.266-82).

Ronald Inglehart (1977). *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. PrincetonUP.

Gosta Esping-Anderson (1999), 'Politics without Class: Postindustrial Cleavages in Europe and America', in Herbert Kitschelt et al (eds) *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*. Cambridge UP.

Jocelyn Evans (2004). *Voters and Voting: An Introduction*. London: Sage. (chpt 3).

Hanspeter Kriesi (1998), 'The Transformation of Cleavage Politics: The 1997 Stein Rokkan lecture', *EJPR* 332, 165-85.

Russell Dalton, Scott Flanagan and Paul Allen Beck (eds, 1984). *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies: Realignment or Dealignment?* Princeton UP.

Russell Dalton (1984), 'Cognitive Mobilization and Partisan Dealignment in Advanced Industrial Democracies', *Journal of Politics* 46, pp. 264-84.

Paul Nieuwbeerta and Wout Ultee (1999), 'Class Voting in Western Industrialised Countries, 1945-1990: Systematizing and Testing Explanations', *EJPR*, 35:1, 123-60.

### *Theorising Party System Change*

Gordon Smith (1989), 'A System Perspective on Party System Change', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1, pp.349-63 (reproduced in Wolinetz 1998b).

Peter Mair (1989), 'The Problem of Party System Change', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1, pp.251-76 (reproduced in Wolinetz 1998b).

Michael Laver (1989), 'Party Competition and Party System Change: The Interaction of Coalition Bargaining and Electoral Competition', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1, pp.301-24 (reproduced in Wolinetz 1998b).

Herbert Kitschelt (1988), 'Left-Libertarian Parties: Explaining Innovation in Competitive Party Systems', *World Politics* 40, pp.194-234 (reproduced in Wolinetz 1998b).

Peter Mair (1997), *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford UP.

Peter Mair and Gordon Smith (eds, 1990). *Understanding Party System Change in Western Europe*. Frank Cass.

Steven Wolinetz (1979), 'The Transformation of Western European Party Systems Revisited', *West European Politics* 2:1, 4-28. (an extract in Mair 1990, pp. 218-231).

Steven Wolinetz (ed, 1988). *Parties and Party Systems in Liberal Democracies*. London: Routledge.

### *New Parties*

Piero Ignazi (1996), 'The Crisis of Parties and the Rise of New Political Parties', *Party Politics* 2:4, pp.549-66.

\* Peter Merkl and Leonard Weinberg (2003, eds). *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Frank Cass. (contains theory, comparative and individual country chpts).

Herbert Kitschelt and Staf Hellemans (1990), 'The Left-Right Semantics and the New Politics Cleavage', *Comparative Political Studies* 22:2, pp210-38.

Simon Hug (2000), 'Studying the electoral Success of New Political Parties: A Methodological Note', *Party Politics* 6:2, pp. 187-197. (concerning selection bias).

Piero Ignazi (1992), 'The Silent Counter-Revolution: Hypotheses on the Emergence of Extrem Right-wing Parties in Europe', *European Journal of Political Research* 22, pp.3-34.

Cas Mudde (1995), 'Right-Wing Extremism Analysed: A Comparative Analysis of the Ideologies of Three Alleged Right-Wing Extremist Parties', *EJPR* 27:2, 203-24.

Cas Mudde (1996), 'The Paradox of the Anti-Party Party: Insights from the Extreme Right', *Party Politics* 2:2, pp.265-76.

Pia Knigge (1998), 'The Ecological Correlates of Right-Wing Extremism in Western Europe', *EJPR* 34: 2, 249-79.

Thomas Poguntke and Susan Scarrow (1996). *The Politics of Anti-Party Sentiment*. A special issue of the European Journal of Political Research 29:3. (8 articles).

Simon Hug (1996), 'The Emergence of New Political Parties from a Game Theoretic Perspective', *EJPR* 29:2, 169-90.

Simon Hug (2001). *Altering Party Systems: Strategic Behavior and the Emergence of New Political Parties in Western Democracies*. University of Michigan Press.

M. Swyngedouw and Ivaldi G (2001), 'The Extreme-Right Utopia in Belgium and France: The Ideology of the Flemish Vlaams Blok and the French Front National', *West European Politics* 24:3, pp. 1-22.

## 6. Classifications of Party Systems. Why are Party Systems Different?

The two-party system seems to correspond to the nature of things, that is to say that political choice usually takes the form of a choice between two alternatives. A duality of parties does not always exist, but almost always, but almost always there is a duality of tendencies. Every policy implies a choice between two kinds of solution. . . This is equivalent to saying that the centre does not exist in politics . . .

In this connection we can construct a theoretical pattern which fits most of the facts if we take as our point of departure the idea that the two party system is natural, and then consider this fundamental tendency to be subject to modification as a result of two different phenomena: internal divisions and overlapping. . . inside all parties there are moderates and extremists, the conciliatory and the intransigent, the diplomatic and the doctrinaire, the pacific and the fire eaters. . . If the factions become exasperated and can no longer meet on common ground the basic tendency to dualism is thwarted and gives way to multipartism.

Maurice Duverger (1954). *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*, chpt 1.

### Topics:

Typologies and classifications of party systems. In what manner do party system differ? And why does it matter? Rules for counting parties, ideological polarisation and the structure of competition.

Before doing any reading, think about this:

Consider two hypothetical party systems. In country A two political parties receive 46% of the vote each and a further eight parties 1% each. In country B ten parties each have 10% of the vote. In each case there are ten political parties. Does it make much sense to describe both states as 'ten party systems'? Would you expect the competitive interactions and dynamic of competition to be very similar in each case?

### Presentation(s)

### Presenter:

- 6a. Outline and evaluate Sartori's approach to party system classification.
- 6b. What is the 'Centre' of a party system?  
How useful a concept is this?

### Chairperson/Discussant:

### **Background reading**

Ware 1996, Chapter 5.

Hans Daalder (1983), 'The Comparative Study of European Parties and Party Systems: An Overview' pp1-28 in Hans Daalder and Peter Mair (eds) *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*. Sage. (twenty years old now but still worth reading for an overview

### Essential Reading

1. Giovanni Sartori (1976). *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge UP, especially chpts 5-6 and 9 (abridged in Mair 1990, pp.316-49).
2. Peter Mair (1997), 'Party Systems and Structures of Competition', pp.199-223 in Mair 1997 (first published in LeDuc, Niemi and Norris (eds, 1996).

### Additional Reading

Steven Wolinetz (2002), 'Beyond the Catch-All Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies', in Gunther et al 2002.

Arend Lijphart (1999). *Patterns of Democracy*. Yale UP. (chpt 5 'Party Systems: Two-Party and Multi-Party Patterns').

Gordon Smith (1979), 'Western European Party Systems: On the Trail of a Typology', *West European Politics* 2, 128-42.

Jean Blondel (1968), 'Party System and Patterns of Government in Western Democracies', *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1, 180-203.

Gabriel Almond (1956), 'Comparative Political Systems', *Journal of Politics* 18:3, 391-409.

Arend Lijphart (1969), 'Typologies of Democratic Systems', *Comparative Political Studies* 1:1, 3-44.

Giacomo Sani and Giovanni Sartori (1983), 'Polarisation, Fragmentation and Competition in Western Democracies', in Hans Daalder and Peter Mair (eds) *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*. Sage.

Markku Laakso and Rein Taagepera (1979), 'Effective Number of Parties: A Measure with Applications to West Europe', *Comparative Political Studies* 12, 3-27.

Reuven Hazan (1996), 'Does Center Equal Middle? Towards a Conceptual Delineation, with Application to West European Party Systems', *Party Politics* 2:2, pp.209-228.

Reuven Hazan (1997), *Centre Parties: Polarization and Competition in European Parliamentary Democracies*. London: Pinter.

James Hanning (1984), 'Twenty Years of Polarized Pluralism – Giovanni Sartori, *Teoria dei partiti e caso Italiano*', EJPR 12, 433-443.

Ivo Daalder (1983), 'The Italian Party System in transition: The End of Polarised Pluralism?', WEP, July, 216-

Hans Daalder (1984), 'In Search of the Center of European Party Systems', APSR.

#### *Recent Reinterpretations?*

Pennings, Paul (1998), 'The Triad of Party System Change: Votes, Office and Policy', pp. 79-100 in Paul Pennings and J. E Lane (eds) *Comparing Party System Change*. Routledge.

Jocelyn Evans (2002), 'In Defence of Sartori: Party System Change, Voter preference Distributions and Other Competitive Incentives', *Party Politics* 8;2, pp.155-74.

## 7. How do Electoral Systems Structure Party Competition?

Not only are electoral systems the most manipulative instrument of politics; they also shape the party system and affect the spectrum of representation.

Giovanni Sartori, 1997. Comparative Constitutional Engineering. New York UP.

[Early writers] tended to be highly optimistic about the possibilities of bringing about changes in established party systems through electoral engineering. What they tended to forget was that parties once established develop their own internal structure and build up long-term commitments among core supporters. The electoral arrangements may prevent or delay the formation of a party, but once it has been established and entrenched, it will prove difficult to change its character simply through variations in the conditions of electoral aggregation. In fact, in most cases it makes little sense to treat electoral systems as independent variables and party systems as dependent. The party strategists will generally have decisive influence on electoral legislation and opt for the systems of aggregation most likely to consolidate their position . .

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan (1967), 'Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments: An Introduction', pp.1-64 in S.M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan (eds) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*. New York: The Free Press.

### Topics:

What are the consequences of particular electoral systems? How and why are particular systems chosen? How direct and mechanical is the connection between electoral and party systems? Are electoral systems in western democracies converging?

#### Presentation(s)

#### Presenter:

7a. 'The choice of electoral systems makes little real difference to the nature of party competition and the structure of the party system' Discuss.

7b. Examine two countries that have implemented major reforms to their electoral systems. What were the aims of the reforms and were they realised? Were there any important unintended consequences?

7c. Evaluate the Additional (Mixed) Member System

#### Chairperson/Discussant:

#### **Background reading**

GLM 2001, Chapter 11  
Ware 1996, Chapter 10.

### Essential Reading

1. Arend Lijphart (1990), 'The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws, 1945-85', *APSR* 84, pp.481-96. (reprinted in Norris 1998; see also Lijphart's book listed below, esp chpt 2 and 7).
2. Andre Blais and Louis Massicotte (1996), 'Electoral Systems', in LeDuc et al.

### Additional Reading

Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell (eds, forthcoming). *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford University Press.

David Farrell (2001). *Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction*. London: Macmillan.

Rein Taagepera and Matthew Soberg Shugart (1989). *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. Yale UP.

Arend Lijphart (1994). *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990*. Oxford UP.

Giovanni Sartori, (1997). *Comparative Constitutional Engineering*. New York UP.

Paul Mitchell (2000), 'Voters and their Representatives: Electoral Institutions and Delegation in Parliamentary Democracies', *European Journal of Political Research* 37:3, 335-51.

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

Michael Gallagher (1997), 'Electoral Systems and Voting Behaviour', in Martin Rhodes, Paul Heywood and Vincent Wright (eds) *Developments in West European Politics*. Mcmillan.

Kenneth Shepsle and Mark Bonchek (1997). *Analysing Politics*. W.W Norton (esp chpt 7 and also 6).

Michael Gallagher (1992), 'Comparing Proportional Representation Electoral Systems: Quotas, Thresholds, Paradoxes, and Majorities', *British Journal of Political Science* 22, 469-96.

Arend Lijphart and Bernard Grofman (1984, eds). *Choosing an Electoral System: Issues and Alternatives*. New York: Praeger.

Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart (1986, eds). *Electoral Laws and their Political Consequences*. New York: Agathon Press.

Gary Cox (1997). *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Cambridge UP.

Andre Blais (1988), 'The Classification of Electoral Systems', EJPR 16, 99-110.

Richard S. Katz (1997). *Democracy and Elections*. Oxford UP.

G. Bingham Powell, Jr. (2000). *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. Yale UP.

Matthew Shugart and Martin Wattenberg (2001, eds). *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?*. Oxford UP.

Shaun Bowler and Bernard Grofman (2000, eds). *Elections in Australia, Ireland and Malta under the Single Transferable Vote*. University of Michigan Press.

Andrew McLaren Carstairs (1980). *A Short History of Electoral Systems in Western Europe*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Michael Gallagher and Pier Vincenzo Uleri (1996). *The Referendum Experience in Europe*. Macmillan.

Michael Dummett (1997). *Principles of Electoral Reform*. Oxford UP.

Andrew Reynolds and Ben Reilly (1997). *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design*. Stockholm, IDEA.

Andre Blais and R.K. Carty (1987), 'The Impact of Electoral Formulae on the Creation of Majority Governments', *Electoral Studies* 6, 209-18.

Andre Blais and R.K. Carty (1988), 'The Effectiveness of Plurality Rule', BJPS 18, 550-3.

Neal Jesse (2000), 'A Sophisticated Voter Model of Preferential Electoral Systems', in Shaun Bowler and Bernard Grofman (2000, eds). *Elections in Australia, Ireland and Malta under the Single Transferable Vote*. University of Michigan Press.

*Benoit, Kenneth* (2001) District magnitude, electoral formula, and the number of parties, EJPR 39:2, 203-224.

### *But Does Electoral Engineering Work? – Recent Changes*

Patrick Dunleavy and Helen Margetts (1996), 'Understanding the Dynamics of Electoral Reform', *International Political Science Review* 16.1, 9-29.

### ***United Kingdom***

Patrick Dunleavy and Helen Margetts (1999), 'Mixed Electoral Systems in Britain and the Jenkins Commission on electoral Reform', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 1, 12-38.

David Farrell and Michael Gallagher (1999), 'British Voters and their Criteria for Evaluating Electoral Systems', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 1, 293-316.

Jenkins Commission (1998), *The Report of the Independent Commission on the Voting System*. London: The Stationery Office.

Hain Peter (1986). *Proportional Mis-Representation: The Case Against PR in Britain* Hants: Wildwood House.

Pinto-Duschinsky M. (1999), 'Send the Rascals Packing: Defects of Proportional Representation and the Virtues of the Westminster Model', *Representation* 36: pp. 117-26.

G. Bingham Powell (1999), Westminster Model vs. PR: Normative and Empirical Evidence', *Representation* 36:127-32.

### ***Italy***

Mark Donovan (1995), 'The Politics of Electoral Reform in Italy', *International Political Science Review* 16, 47-64.

Leonardo Morlino (1996), 'Crises of Party of Change of Party System in Italy', *Party Politics* 2:1, pp. 31-53.

Richard Katz (1996), 'Electoral reform and the Transformation of Party Politics in Italy', *Party Politics* 2:1, pp. 5-30.

Stefano Bartolini and Roberto D'Alimonte (1998), 'Majoritarian Miracles and Question of Party System Change', part of a special issue of EJPR 34, 151-69 on the 1996 Italian elections the second since the electoral reform.

Richard Katz (2000), 'Reforming the Italian Electoral Law, 1993', in Matthew S. Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.), *Mixed Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Roberto D'Alimonte (2000), 'Mixed Electoral Rules, Partisan Realignment and Party System Change in Italy', in Matthew S. Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.), *Mixed Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### ***Japan***

Peter Mair and Tomokazu Sakano (1998), 'Japanese Political Realignment in Perspective: Change or Restoration?', *Party Politics* 4:2, pp.177-202.

Michael Gallagher (1998), 'The Political Impact of Electoral System Change in Japan and New Zealand, 1996', *Party Politics* 4:2, pp.203-228.

Steven Reed and Michael Thies (2000), 'The Causes of Electoral Reform in Japan', in Matthew S. Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.), *Mixed Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Steven Reed and Michael Thies (2000), 'The Consequences of Electoral Reform in Japan', in Matthew S. Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.), *Mixed Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **New Zealand**

J. Boston et al (1996, eds). *New Zealand under MMP: A New Politics?* Auckland: Auckland University Press.

J. Boston et al (1998), 'Enthusiasm and entropy: New Zealand's experience with PR', *Representation* 35:1, pp. 32-40.

J. Vowles (1995), 'The Politics of Electoral Reform in New Zealand', *International Political Science Review* 16: pp. 95-115.

J. Vowles, P. Aimer, S. Banducci, and J. Karp (1998, eds). *Voters' Victory? New Zealand's First Election Under Proportional Representation.* Auckland: Auckland University Press.

J. Vowles (2000), 'Introducing Proportional Representation: The New Zealand Experience', *Parliamentary Affairs* 53: 4.

Fiona Barker and Elizabeth McLeay (2000), 'How Much Change? An Analysis of the Initial Impact of PR on the New Zealand Parliamentary Party System', *Party Politics* 6:2, 131-154.

Denemark D. (2000), 'Choosing MMP in New Zealand: Explaining the 1993 Electoral Reform', in Matthew S. Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.), *Mixed Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fiona Barker et al (2000), 'An Initial Assessment of the Impact of MMP in New Zealand', in Matthew S. Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.), *Mixed Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **Israel**

Reven Hazan (2000), 'The Unintended Consequences of Extemporaneous Electoral Reform: The 1999 Elections in Israel', *Representation* 37:1, 39-47.

Gideon Rahat (2000), 'The Politics of Reform in Israel: How the Israeli Mixed System Came to Be' Matthew S. Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.), *Mixed*

*Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reuven Hazan (2000), 'The Israeli Mixed Electoral System: Unexpected Reciprocal and Cumulative Consequences', in Matthew S. Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.), *Mixed Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

H. Diskin and A. Diskin (1995), 'The Politics of Electoral Reform in Israel', *International Political Science Review* 16, 31-45.

Reuven Hazan (1996), 'Presidential Parliamentarism: Direct Popular Election of the prime Minister, Israel's New Electoral and Political System', *Electoral Studies* 15, 21-37.

Giovanni Sartori (2000), 'The Party Effects of Electoral Systems', in Reuven Hazan and Moshe Maor (eds). *Parties, Elections and Cleavages: Israel in Comparative and Theoretical Perspective*. London: Frank Cass.

## 8. How do Parties Win?: 1 - Electoral Competition

Our main thesis is that parties in democratic politics are analogous to entrepreneurs in a profit-seeking economy. So as to attain their private ends, they formulate whatever policies they believe will gain the most votes, just as entrepreneurs produce whatever products they believe will gain the most profits for the same reason.

Anthony Downs (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*.

### Topics:

How do parties compete? How do parties strike trade-offs between vote, office and policy-seeking behaviours?

Proximity, salience and directional theories of electoral competition.

Are the electoral judgements of voters on parties mostly prospective or mostly retrospective?

### Presentation(s)

### Presenter:

8a. Explain and compare proximity and directional models of voting.

8b. Do parties actually compete on ideological grounds?  
Is party competition uni-dimensional or multi-dimensional?

8c. Are there any non-ideological bases of party competition and how significant are they?

### Chairperson/Discussant:

### **Background reading**

Laver 1997 Ch 4 ('Political entrepreneurs, politicians and parties') and 6 ('Party competition').

Ware 1996, Chapter 11

### **Essential Reading**

1. Samuel Merrill III and Bernard Grofman (1999). *A Unified Theory of Voting: Directional and Proximity Spatial Models*. Cambridge UP. (esp chpts 1-3).
2. Paul Warwick (2002), 'Towards a Common Dimensionality in West European Policy Spaces', *Party Politics* 8:1, 101-122.

## Additional Reading

Wolfgang Muller and Kaare Strom, 'Political Parties and Hard Choices', in Muller and Strom (eds 1999) *Policy, Office or Votes: How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*. Cambridge UP.

Kaare Strom (1990), 'A Behavioural Theory of Competitive Political Parties', *American Journal of Political Science* 34, pp.565-98.

Jocelyn Evans (2004). *Voters and Voting: An Introduction*. London: Sage.

Stefano Bartolini (2002), 'Electoral and party Competition: Analytic Dimensions and Empirical Problems', in Gunther et al 2002.

R. Kenneth Carty and D. Munroe Eagles (2003, eds) special issue of *Party Politics* 9:5, on 'Party Organisation and Campaigning at the grass roots'.

David Mayhew (1974). *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. Yale UP.

### *Spatial and Directional Theories of Voting*

Kenneth Shepsle and Mark Bonchek (1997). *Analysing Politics*. W.W Norton (esp chpt 5).

Samuel Merrill III and Bernard Grofman (1999). *A Unified Theory of Voting: Directional and Proximity Spatial Models*. Cambridge UP.

Jocelyn Evans (2004). *Voters and Voting: An Introduction*. London: Sage. (esp chpts 4 'Rational choice theories of voting' and chpt 5 'Issues and space: proximity and directional theories of voting'). Less technical than Merrill and Grofman.

Michael Laver (1997). *Private Desires, Political Action: An Invitation to Rational Choice Theory*. London: Sage.

Rabinowitz, George and S.E. Macdonald (1989), 'A directional theory of issue voting', *APSR* 83: 93-121.

Macdonald, Stuart, George Rabinowitz and Ola Listaug (1998), 'On attempting to rehabilitate the proximity model: sometimes the patient just can't be helped', *Journal of Politics* 60: 653-90.

Melvin Hinich and Michael Munger (1997). *Analytic Politics*. Cambridge UP (esp chpt 2).

Harold Hotelling (1929), 'Stability in Competition', *Economic Journal* 30, 41-57. (while this article has nothing directly to do with politics it is the classic article on which spatial modelling was based, leading to Downs . . .).

Anthony Downs (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row. (esp. Chapters 3, 8 and 9).

Melvin Hinich and Michael Munger (1996). *Ideology and the Theory of Political Choice*. University of Michigan Press.

Patrick Dunleavy (1991). *Democracy, Bureaucracy and Public Choice*. Harvester Wheatsheaf.

### *Dimensionality*

Paul Warwick (2002), ‘Towards a Common Dimensionality in West European Policy Spaces’, *Party Politics* 8:1, 101-122.

Francis Castles and Peter Mair (1984), ‘Left-Right political scales: some “Expert” judgements’, *EJPR* 12, pp. 73-88.

Matthew Gabel and John Huber (2000), ‘Putting parties in their place: inferring Left-Right ideological positions from party manifesto data’, *AJPS* 44, pp. 94-103.

Michael Laver and John Garry (2000), ‘Estimating policy positions from political texts’,, *AJPS* 44, pp. 619-34.

## 9. How do Parties Win?: 2 – Making and Breaking Governments

In n-person, zero-sum games, where side payments are permitted, where players are rational, and they have perfect information, only minimal winning coalitions occur.

William Riker (1962). *The Theory of Political Coalitions*. Yale UP.

### Topics

How do you win the coalition game?

Who breaks coalitions, and why?

Government Termination and Electoral Losses

Is winning ever like losing, and losing like winning!?

### Presentation(s)

### Presenter:

9a. Outline and evaluate the main theories of government formation

9b. How and why do governments end and what are the consequence

### Chairperson/Discussant:

### **Background reading**

GLM 2001, Chapter 12

### **Essential Reading**

1. Michael Laver and Norman Schofield (1990) *MultiParty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. Oxford UP. (esp chpts 4-5).
2. Michael Laver and Kenneth Shepsle (1998), 'Events, Equilibria and Government Survival', *American Journal of Political Science* 42:1, 28-54.

### **Additional Reading**

*From Elections to Government Formation*

Wolfgang Muller and Kaare Strom (2000, eds). *Coalition Governments in Western Europe*. Oxford UP.

Warwick, Paul (1996), 'Coalition Government Membership in West European Parliamentary Democracies', *British Journal of Political Science* 26, 471-99.

Paul Mitchell (2001), 'Coalition Formation in West European Parliamentary Democracies: Overview of the Field and Multivariate Analysis', annual conference of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30. (available from Mitchell's homepage).

Michael Laver (1997). *Private Desires, Political Action: An Invitation to Rational Choice Theory*. London: Sage. (esp chpt ?)

Martin, Lanny and Randolph Stevenson (2000), 'Government Formation in Parliamentary Democracies', *AJPS*.

Strøm, Kaare (1990), *Minority Government and Majority Rule*. Cambridge: CUP.

Strøm, Kaare, Ian Budge and Michael Laver (1994), 'Constraints on Cabinet Formation in Parliamentary Democracies', *American Journal of Political Science*, 38:2, 303-35.

Laver, Michael and Kenneth Shepsle (1996), *Making and Breaking Governments: Cabinets and Legislatures in Parliamentary Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Browne, Eric (1973). *Coalition Theories: A Logical and Empirical Critique*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

De Swaan, Abram (1973). *Coalition Theories and Cabinet Formations*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Franklin, Mark and Thomas Mackie (1983), 'Familiarity and Inertia in the Formation of Governing Coalitions in Parliamentary Democracies'. *British Journal of Political Science*, 13, 275-98.

Franklin, Mark and Thomas Mackie (1984), 'Reassessing the Importance of Size and Ideology for the Formation of Governing Coalitions in Parliamentary Democracies'. *American Journal of Political Science*, 28:4, 671-92.

Grofman, Bernard (1989), 'The Comparative Analysis of Coalition Formation and Duration: Distinguishing Between-Country and Within-Country Effects', *British Journal of Political Science*, 19, 291-302.

Laver, Michael (1974), 'Dynamic Factors in Government Coalition Formation'. *European Journal of Political Research*, 2

Laver, Michael and W. Ben Hunt (1992), *Policy and Party Competition*. New York: Routledge.

Laver, Michael and Kenneth Shepsle (1999a), 'Understanding Government Survival: Empirical Exploration or Analytic Models?', *British Journal of Political Science* 29, 395-401.

Laver, Michael and Kenneth Shepsle (1999a), 'Government Formation and Survival: A Rejoinder to Warwick's Reply', *British Journal of Political Science* 29, 412-15.

Riker, William (1962). *The Theory of Political Coalitions*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Taylor, Michael and Michael Laver (1973), 'Government Coalitions in Western Europe'. *European Journal of Political Research*, 1, 205-48.

Warwick, Paul (1999a), 'Ministerial Autonomy or Ministerial Accommodation? Contested Bases of Government Survival in Parliamentary Democracies', *British Journal of Political Science* 29, 369-94.

Warwick, Paul (1999b), 'Getting the Assumptions Right: A Reply to Laver and Shepsle', *British Journal of Political Science* 29, 402-12.

Kaare Strom (1997), 'Democracy, Accountability, and Coalition Bargaining: The 1996 Stein Rokkan lecture', *EJPR* 31: 1-2, 47-62.

Michael Laver and Kenneth Shepsle (2000), 'Ministrable and Government Formation: Munchkins, Players and Big Beasts of the Jungle', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 12:1, 113-124.

### *Government Termination*

Michael Laver and Norman Schofield (1990) *MultiParty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. Oxford UP. (chps 6-8).

Warwick, Paul (1994). *Government Survival in Parliamentary Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laver, Michael and Kenneth Shepsle (1996), *Making and Breaking Governments: Cabinets and Legislatures in Parliamentary Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lupia, Arthur and Kaare Strøm (1995), 'Coalition Termination and the Strategic Timing of Parliamentary Elections', *American Political Science Review*, 89:3, 648-665.

Rose, Richard and Thomas Mackie (1983), 'Incumbency in Government: Asset or Liability', in Hans Daalder and Peter Mair (eds) *West European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*. London: Sage.

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Browne, Eric, J. Frendreis, and D. Gleiber (1988), 'Contending Models of Cabinet Stability: Rejoinder to Strom', *American Political Science Review*, 82:3, 930-41.

Druckman, James (1996), 'Party Factionalism and Cabinet Durability', *Party Politics*, 2, 397-407.

Grofman, Bernard and Peter Van Rozendaal (1994), 'Towards a Theoretical Explanation of Premature Cabinet Termination: With Application to Post-War Cabinets in the Netherlands', *European Journal of Political Research*, 19, 291-302.

King, Gary, James Alt, Nancy Burns and Michael Laver (1990), 'A Unified Model of Cabinet Dissolution in Parliamentary Democracies', *American Journal of Political Science*, 34, 846-71.

Taylor, Michael and Valentine Herman (1971), 'Party Systems and Government Stability', *American Political Science Review*, 65, 28-37.

Arco Timmermans (1998), 'Conflicts, Agreements, and Coalition Governance', *Acta Politica* 33:4, 409-432.

Kaare Strom and Stephen Swindle (2000), 'The Strategic Use of Parliamentary Dissolution Powers'. Typescript.

Paul Warwick (1992), 'Rising Hazards: An Underlying Dynamic of Parliamentary Government', *AJPS* 36:4, 857-76.

John Robertson (1983), 'The Political Economy and the Durability of European Coalition Cabinets', *The Journal of Politics* 45, 932-57.

Hanne Marthe Narud and Galen Irwin (1994), 'Must the breaker Pay? Cabinet Crises and Electoral Trade-Offs', *Acta Politica* 29, 265-84.

Christopher Anderson (1995), 'The Dynamics of Public Support for Coalition Governments', *Comparative Political Studies* 28:3, 350-83.

*Debate on the Laver-Shepsle Portfolio Allocation Approach:*

Warwick, Paul (1999a), 'Ministerial Autonomy or Ministerial Accommodation? Contested Bases of Government Survival in Parliamentary Democracies', *British Journal of Political Science* 29, 369-94.

Laver, Michael and Kenneth Shepsle (1999a), 'Understanding Government Survival: Empirical Exploration or Analytic Models?', *British Journal of Political Science* 29, 395-401.

Warwick, Paul (1999b), 'Getting the Assumptions Right: A Reply to Laver and Shepsle', *British Journal of Political Science* 29, 402-12.

Laver, Michael and Kenneth Shepsle (1999b), 'Government Formation and Survival: A Rejoinder to Warwick's Reply', *British Journal of Political Science* 29, 412-15.

Patrick Dunleavy with S. Bastow, 'Modelling coalitions that cannot coalesce: A critique of the Laver-Shepsle approach', *West European Politics*, (2001), vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 1-26.

## 10. Parties In Government.

From the point of view of describing and of justifying representative democracy, the relationship between party and government policy is obviously crucial. If a party says one thing to the voters and then goes into a government which does something quite different, then its supporters have been disfranchised (at least as far as getting their preferred policies enacted) just as effectively as if they never had a vote in the first place.

Michael Laver and Ian Budge (1992). *Party Policy and Government Coalitions*. Macmillan.

### Topics:

Do Parties make a Difference? If so in what ways? Or is everything important already decided/committed by institutions and bigger processes?

What happens after government formation? The 'life' of cabinet governments.

### Presentation(s)

### Presenter:

10a. Do Parties Matter? Policy and Office 'Outputs'.

10b. Do parties that 'break' governments lose votes?

### Chairperson/Discussant:

### **Background reading**

GLM 2001, Chapter 13  
Ware 1996, Chapter 12

### **Essential Reading**

1. Manfred Schmidt (1996), 'When Parties Matter: A Review of the Possibilities and Limits of Partisan Influence on Public Policy'. *EJPR* 30, 155-183.
2. Kaare Strom and Stephen Swindle (2002), 'Strategic Parliamentary Dissolution', *American Political Science Review* 96:3, pp.575-92.

### **Additional Reading**

Michael Laver and Ian Budge (1992, eds). *Party Policy and Government Coalitions*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Hans Keman (2002). 'Policy-Making Capacities of European Party Government', in Luther et al 2002.

Andre Blais, Donald Blake and Stephanie Dion (1993), 'Do Parties make a Difference? Parties and the Size of Government in Liberal Democracies', *American Journal of Political Science* 37, 40-62.

Andre Blais, Donald Blake and Stephanie Dion (1996), 'Do Parties make a Difference? A Reappraisal', *AJPS* 40:2, 514-520.

Kaare Strom (2000), 'Parties at the Core of Government', in Russell Dalton and Martin Wattenberg (eds). *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford UP.

Amie Kreppel (1997), 'The Impact of Parties in Government on legislative Output in Italy', *EJPR* 31:3, pp.327-50.

Miki Caul and Mark Gray (2000), 'From Platform Declarations to Policy Outcomes: Changing Party Profiles and Partisan Influence over Policy', in Russell Dalton and Martin Wattenberg (eds). *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford UP.

Richard Rose (1980). *Do Parties Make a Difference?* Chaham House.

Alexander Hicks and Duane Swank (1992), 'Politics, Institutions, and Welfare Spending in Industrialised Democracies, 1960-82', *APSR* 86.

Lawrence LeDuc (1996), 'Elections and Democratic Governance', in Lawrence LeDuc et al (eds) *Comparing Democracies*. Sage.

Ian Budge and Hans Keman (1990). *Parties and Democracy: Coalition Formation and Government Functioning in Twenty States*. Oxford UP. (esp chpts5-7).

Manfred Schmidt (1996), 'When Parties Matter: A Review of the Possibilities and Limits of Partisan Influence on Public Policy', *EJPR* 30: 2, 155-83.

Richard Katz (1986), 'Party Government: A Rationalistic Conception', in Frances Castles and Rudolf Wildemann (eds) *The Future of Party Government*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Arend Lijphart (1999). *Patterns of Democracy*. Yale UP. (esp chpts 15-16).

Amie Kreppel (1997), 'The Impact of Parties in Government on Legislative Output in Italy', *EJPR* 31:3, 327-50.

Castles F. (1994), 'The Policy Consequences of Proportional Representation: A Sceptical Commentary', *Political Science* 46: 161-171.

Thomas Saalfeld (2000), 'Members of Parliament and Governments in Western Europe: Agency Relations and Problems of Oversight', *EJPR* 37:3, 353-76.

Rudy Andeweg (2000), 'Ministers as Double Agents? The Delegation Process between Cabinet and Ministers', *EJPR* 37:3, 377-95.

Wolfgang Muller and Kaare Strom (eds 1999) *Policy, Office or Votes: How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*. Cambridge UP.

Hanne Marthe Narud (1996), 'Party Policies and Government Accountability: A Comparison between The Netherlands and Norway', *Party Politics* 2:4, pp.479-506.

Rose, Richard and Thomas Mackie (1983), 'Incumbency in Government: Asset or Liability', in Hans Daalder and Peter Mair (eds) *West European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*. London: Sage.

Hanne Marthe Narud and Galen Irwin (1994), 'Must the Breaker Pay? Cabinet Crises and Electoral Trade-offs', *Acta Politica* 29, pp.265-284.

Morris Fiorina (1981). *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven: Yale UP.

Francis Castles (1982), 'The Impact of Parties on Public Expenditure', in Francis Castles (ed) *The Impact of Parties*. Sage.

Schmidt, Manfred G (2002) Political performance and types of democracy: Findings from comparative studies *EJPR*, 41:1, 147-64

Michael Laver and Kenneth Shepsle (1999), 'Government Accountability in Parliamentary Democracy', in Adam Prezeworski et al (eds) *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*. Cambridge UP.

*Divided Government*

Morris Fiorina (1996). *Divided Government*. Allyn and Bacon.

David Mayhew (1991). *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking and Investigations, 1946-1990*. Yale UP.

David Epstein and Sharyn O'Halloran (1999). *Delegating Powers: A Transaction Cost Politics Approach to Policy Making under Separate Powers*. Cambridge UP.

Robert Elgie (2001, ed). *Divided Government in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford UP. (covers 9 countries).

## Additional Topics From Previous Years

### A. What is different about Ethnic Party Systems in deeply divided societies?

Although a party only represents a part, this part must take a *non-partial* approach to the whole.

Giovanni Sartori (1976). *Parties and Party Systems*. p.26.

The surest way to kill the idea of democracy in a plural society is to adopt the Anglo-American electoral system of first-past-the-post.

Sir Arthur Lewis (1965). *Politics in West Africa*. Oxford UP, p.71.

The challenge is to take an environment conducive to ethnic and racial allegiances in the party system and create incentives for parties to bid for floating voters who would otherwise vote their group identity. From what we know of the politics of severely divided societies, the choice may well be to see voters floating in the political system or floating in the river.

Donald Horowitz (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. California UP.

#### Topics:

Party and Electoral competition in (malfunctioning) liberal democracies with ethno-national parties.

#### Presentation(s)

#### Presenter:

How does the nature of parties and party competition change in ethno-nationally divided states?

#### Chairperson/Discussant:

#### **Background reading**

#### **Essential Reading**

1. Donald Horowitz (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. California UP. (chpt 7 and 8).
2. Paul Mitchell (1999), 'The Party System and Party Competition' in in Paul Mitchell and Rick Wilford (eds), *Politics in Northern Ireland*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
3. Donald Horowitz (1991). *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*. California UP. (esp chpt 6).

## **Additional Reading**

Donald Horowitz (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. California UP. Part Three 'Party Politics and Ethnic Conflict'.

Kurt Richard Luther (1999), 'A framework for the comparative analysis of political parties and party systems in consociational democracy', in Kurt Richard Luther and Kris Deschouwer (eds) *Political Parties In Consociational Democracy*. London: Routledge.

Steve Wolinetz (1999), 'The consociational party system', in Kurt Richard Luther and Kris Deschouwer (eds) *Political Parties In Consociational Democracy*. London: Routledge.

Arend Lijphart (1986), 'Proportionality by Non-PR Methods: Ethnic Representation in Belgium, Cyprus, Lebanon, New Zealand, West Germany and Zimbabwe', in Grofman and Lijphart (eds) *Electoral Laws and their Political Consequences*. New York: Agathon Press.

Andrew Reynolds and Ben Reilly (1997, eds). *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design*. Stockholm: IDEA Handbook Series 1.

Diamond, Larry and Marc Plattner (1996, eds). *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, Second Edition. Johns Hopkins University Press. (see especially the chpts in Part Two).

Sartori, Giovanni (1997). *Comparative Constitutional Engineering: An Inquiry into Structures, Incentives and Outcomes*. New York University Press. (Part One).

Donald Horowitz (1991). *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*. California UP. (esp chpt 6).

Sisk, Timothy and Andrew Reynolds (1998). *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Richard Luther and ???  
Belgium??

### *Northern Ireland*

Evans, Geoffrey and Mary Duffy (1997), 'Beyond the sectarian divide: the social bases and political consequences of nationalist and unionist party competition in Northern Ireland', *British Journal of Political Science* 27, pp.47-81.

McAllister, Ian and Sarah Nelson (1979), 'Modern developments in the Northern Ireland party system', *Parliamentary Affairs* 32:3, pp. 279-316.

Paul Mitchell (1999), 'The Party System and Party Competition' in in Paul Mitchell and Rick Wilford (eds), *Politics in Northern Ireland*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Paul Mitchell (2001), 'Transcending an Ethnic Party System? The Impact of Consociational Governance on Electoral Dynamics and the Party System', in Rick Wilford (ed) *Aspects of the Belfast Agreement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mitchell, Paul (1991), 'Conflict Regulation and Party Competition in Northern Ireland', *European Journal of Political Research*, 20, pp.67-92.

Mitchell, Paul (1995), 'Party Competition in an Ethnic Dual Party System', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 18:4, pp.773-796.

O'Leary, Brendan (1991), 'Party support in Northern Ireland, 1969-1989', pp. 342-357 in John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary (eds) *The Future of Northern Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

O'Leary, Brendan and John McGarry (1993). *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland*. London: The Athlone Press.

O'Leary, Brendan and Geoffrey Evans (1997), 'The 1997 Westminster election in Northern Ireland: *La fin de siècle*, the twilight of the second protestant ascendancy and Sinn Féin's second coming', *Parliamentary Affairs* 50:4, 672-80.

Paul Mitchell, Brendan O'Leary and Geoffrey Evans (2001), 'Northern Ireland: Flanking Extremists Bite the Moderates and Emerge in Their Clothes', *Parliamentary Affairs*.

Mitchell, Paul and Gordon Gillespie (1999), 'The Electoral Systems', chpt 4 in Paul Mitchell and Rick Wilford (eds), *Politics in Northern Ireland*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Brendan O'Leary (1999), 'The Implications for Political Accommodation in Northern Ireland of Reforming the Electoral System for the Westminster Parliament', *Representation* 35, 106-13.

Richard Sinnott (1998), Centrist Politics Makes Modest but Significant Progress: Cross-Community transfers were Low', *Irish Times*, 29 June 1998.

Geoffrey Evans and Brendan O'Leary (2000), 'Northern Irish Voters and the British-Irish Agreement: Foundations of a Stable Consociational Settlement?', *Political Quarterly* 71, 78-101.

## **B. Is anything different about the Post-Communist Party Systems of East-Central Europe?**

It can be argued that post-communist Europe represents what is really the first case of European democratisation occurring in the effective absence of a real civil society. . . newly democratising electorates in general, and post-communist electorates in particular, are less likely to be underpinned by a strong cleavage structure, and in this sense are less likely to be easily stabilised or frozen.

Peter Mair (1997). *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford UP. p.178-181.

Many features of the East European party systems resemble attributes of established Western democracies . . . As in Western Europe, voters' socio-demographic position in society influences their ideological outlook in ways systematically related to their material self-interests. . . But whereas in Western Europe the increasing importance of voters' issue positions for their electoral choice results from an erosion of affective party identifications and cultural milieu-based subconscious commitments to a party, in Eastern Europe issue positions count because voter identifications and party-affiliated socio-cultural milieus had rather little chance to emerge.

Herbert Kitschelt et al (1999). *Post-Communist Party Systems*. Cambridge UP, p.402.

### Topics:

Is the Lipset-Rokkan social cleavage model of any relevance in analysing Europe's party system in post-Communist countries?

Are parties and electoral behaviour similar or different?

Can party politics stabilise given the 'triple transition'?

Are parties likely to be programmatic or clientelist or charismatic/authoritarian?

What if any programmatic cleavages can we expect to see emerge and structure competition in Post-Communist democracies?

Presentation(s)

Presenter:

11. What, if anything is different about post-Communist Party Systems?

Chairperson/Discussant:

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## Background reading

GLM 2001, Chapter 15

### Essential Reading

1. Geoffrey Evans and S. Whitefield (1993), 'Identifying the Bases of Party Competition in Eastern Europe', *British Journal of Political Science*, 23:4, 521-48 - an incisive discussion; relates post-communist party development to Lipset & Rokkan.
2. Herbert Kitschelt (1995), 'Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies: Theoretical Propositions', *Party Politics* 1:4, 447-72

### Additional Reading

Herbert Kitschelt et al (1999). *Post-Communist Party Systems*. Cambridge UP. (esp chpt 2, 8, 10 and 11).

Peter Mair (1997), 'What is different about Post-Communist Party Systems?', chpt 8 in Mair *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford UP.

Michael Waller (1995). Special Issue of *Party Politics* 1:4 on Party Politics in Eastern Europe.

Robert Harmel and Jan Sundberg (2001). Special Issue of *Party Politics* 7:5 on 'Change in the Role of Parties in Democratization'.

Herbert Kitschelt (1992), 'The Formation of Party Systems in East Central Europe', *Politics and Society* 20:1, 7-50.

Richard Rose (1995), 'Mobilising Demobilised Voters In Post-Communist Societies', *Party Politics* 1:4, 549-63.

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Paul Lewis (2001), 'The "Third Wave" of Democracy in Eastern Europe: Comparative perspectives on Party Roles and Political Development', *Party Politics* 7:5, 543-65.

P. Lewis, *Political Parties in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*, Routledge 2000, Chapter 5 and *passim*.

James Toole (2000), 'Government Formation and Party System Stabilization in East Central Europe', *Party Politics* 6:4, pp. 441-61.

D.Olson (1998), 'Party Formation and Party System Consolidation in the New Democracies of Central Europe', *Political Studies*, 46/3

G.Wightman (ed.)(1996), *Party Formation in East-Central Europe: Post-Communist Politics in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria* : London.

Petr Kopecky (1995), 'Developing Party Organisations in East-Central Europe: What Type of Party is Likely to Emerge?', *Party Politics* 1:4, 515-34.

Paul Lewis (2001). *Party Development and Democratic Change in Post-Communist Europe: the First Decade*. London: Frank Cass.

*On the former communist parties:*

M.Orenstein (1998), 'A Genealogy of Communist Successor Parties in East Central Europe and the Determinants of their Success', *East European Politics and Societies*, no.3: 472-499.

J.Ishiyama (1999), 'Sickles into Roses: The Successor Parties and Democratic Consolidation in Post-Communist Politics', *Democratization*, 6/4 (Winter): 52-73; *OR*:

J.Ishiyama & A.Bozoki (2001), 'Adaptation and Change: Characterising the Survival Strategies of the Communist Successor Parties', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 17/3, Sept.: 32-51.

A.Bozoki (1997), 'The Ideology of Modernisation and Materialism', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 7/3 (September).

I.Szelenyi, E.Fodor & E.Hanley, 'Left Turn in Communist Politics: Bringing Class Back In?', *East European Politics & Societies*, Winter 1997: 190-224.