This is an advanced introduction to the study of political parties and party systems for graduate students. The literature on these subjects is vast and we will not be able to cover all of the important themes. I have decided to highlight four main themes: party formation, organization, strategy, and institutionalization. These get at four subsequent themes: the number of parties, competitiveness, representativeness, and party system stability.

In giving a course like this, there is a tension between a focus on theory and on cases. Too much theory and you lose grounding in real world politics, but too much focus on cases and you end up without the essential tools to think about parties comparatively and synthetically. I have chosen to make this a course on theory; however, since it is important for you to get case material, I expect that you will read some of the recommended works each week or other supplemental materials on country cases.

**Grading.** Your responsibilities include the following main components.

1. Active participation in seminar discussion.
2. Each week, write a one-page reaction to the readings. This may be an analytic summary, a critique, or a combination of the two. E-mail me the summary by Monday at noon.
3. Option 1 is a concept paper, a data paper, and a book review.
   a. **Book review:** Decide on a book and tell me by February 7. Then, by February 21 (or sooner), hand in a 5-page paper (no longer!) that is modeled on a professional book review like one would find in a leading political science journals. For examples, consult *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly*, among others. Please choose one of the substantive books from the syllabus, not a technical one and not an edited volume. You may substitute a book not on the syllabus with permission, but I would prefer that you use one from the course.
   b. **Concept paper:** Decide on a concept and hand in a one-page prospectus by March 7. Then, by April 4, hand in a 8-10-page paper that analyzes a particular concept in the parties literature, including how it is used and measured by key authors, any problems with conceptualization and measurement, and ways that the concept could be improved. Some possibilities include party system institutionalization, social/political cleavage, ideology, and clientelism. For a good example, see Steven Levitsky “Levitsky, S. 1998. Institutionalization and Peronism: The Case, the Concept, and the Case for Unpacking the Concept” *Party Politics* 4(1):77-92 available at http://scholar.harvard.edu/levitsky/publications?sort=title&order=asc.
   c. **Data paper:** Decide on a topic and e-mail me a one-page prospectus by April 13. Then, by May 9 hand in a 8-10-page paper that tests a hypothesis found in the parties literature using qualitative or quantitative data. You might take a hypothesis that has been tested before and test it on a broader or different set of cases (i.e., a hypothesis that has been tested on Latin American cases that you instead test on Asian cases), a hypothesis with a dubious test that you want to replicate, or a hypothesis that has not been tested adequately or at all.
4. Option 2 is a book review (see above) and a 20-25-page research paper centered on an important issue in the parties literature. For the research paper, hand in a 2-3-page prospectus by March 7 that includes a statement of the question to be answered, why we should care about having an answer to this question, some plausible explanations, a research plan, and a preliminary bibliography of at least the main sources. I may ask you to re-write this prospectus as we fine-tune your topic. The final research paper is due May 9 and should include an explicit treatment of some aspect of party theory and the use of primary data. These data may be qualitative or quantitative. The paper may be broadly comparative or it may be grounded in a particular region or country. This option may be better suited to advanced students working on their dissertations or those who already have an idea for a conference paper or article manuscript that could be submitted to a journal.

**Readings:** Required readings are listed first along with recommended readings for each week. Some of the recommended readings are quite central; others are included as a sort of extended bibliography that you may want to consult if you have a particular interest in that theme. Required readings include downloadable articles,
book chapters (I can supply one copy of these to be passed around and copied), and the following books that are available for purchase at the Coop or elsewhere.


Course Outline by Week:
1. Introduction (January 24)
2. Why Parties (January 31)
3. Spatial Competition (February 7)
4. Programmatic Competition and Clientelism (February 14)
5. Institutions: Opportunities and Constraints on Party Formation and Competition (February 21)
6. From Local to National: How Party Systems Aggregate (February 28)
7. Social Cleavages with and without Strategic Politicians (March 7)
8. Political Recruitment and Intra-Party Politics (March 21)
9. Party Institutionalization (March 28)
10. Perspectives on Party Formation (April 4)
12. Dominant Party Systems (April 18)
14. Ethnic Parties (May 2)

1. Introduction and Overview (January 24)


2. Why Parties? (January 31)

Themes:
- What is a party and what is a party system?
- Why are parties generated? What purposes/functions do they serve?
- What is distinctive about parties vs. social movements and interest groups?
- What are the differences between internally and externally generated parties?
- Does the role and origin of parties differ between perfectly democratic and imperfectly democratic systems?
- Consider the disconnect between Aldrich and Shefter’s relatively parsimonious theories about party origins and the large array of empirical party types documents by Gunther and Diamond.

Readings:


Recommended:


3. Spatial Competition (February 7)

Themes:

- How does the basic spatial model of competition work? What are its moving parts? What are its assumptions about parties, about intra-party politics, and about voters?
- How do expectations change if we alter a) the number of competing parties; b) the number of salient dimensions of competition; c) the sequence of party entry; or d) voters’ decision functions?
- Note that the recommended readings contain many approaches to explaining the spatial model. Thus, if you have trouble with Hinich and Munger, you may especially want to consult Downs, Shepsle and Cohen, and Grofman.

Readings:


Recommended:


4. Programmatic Competition and Clientelism (February 14)

Themes:
- What is the difference between programmatic and clientelistic competition for a) party organization, b) voter representation, c) winning electoral strategies.
- Is patronage politics more the result of voters’ demands or politicians’ supply?
- How do electoral institutions affect the degree of clientelism in partisan competition?

Readings:


Lawson, Chappell and Kenneth F Greene “Self-Enforcing Clientelism” University of Texas at Austin, manuscript, 2011.

Note that because we only meet 14 rather than the usual 15 weeks this semester, I cut the week on models of voting behavior. At the beginning of class, I will present the basic ideological theory of voting behavior and talk about one fairly easy way to add clientelist payoffs to this model. This is not the only way to think about clientelism, of course. If you have extra time this week, read Adams, James, Samuel Merrill III, and Bernard Grofman. A Unified Theory of Party Competition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, Chs. 1-5, 11 and Conclusion. Recommended readings on policy-based models of voting behavior follow.

Recommended on clientelism:

Kitschelt, Herbert “Linkages Between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities” Comparative Political Studies 33 No. 6/7, August/September 2000 845-879.
Lemarchand, René and Keith Legg (1972) “Political Clientelism and Development: A Preliminary Analysis”,


Robinson, James and Thierry Verdier "The Political Economy of Clientelism" mimeo.


Recommended on policy-based models of voting behavior:


Lewis, Jeff and Gary King "No Evidence of Directional vs. Proximity Voting" Political Analysis 8, 1 (1999), pp. 21-33.


5. Institutions: Opportunities and Constraints on Party Formation and Competition (February 21)

Themes:
- How do electoral institutions affect the number of parties? Do they tell us anything about the minimum number of entrants?
- How do electoral institutions affect the type and organization of political parties, the mode of competition?
- How does government format (presidentialism vs. parliamentarism) affect these same issues?
- What other institutions might matter?
- Are electoral institutions exogenous or endogenous to partisan competition? (read Boix in recommended readings if you have time).

Readings:


Recommended:


Jones, Mark P. "Electoral institutions, social cleavages, and candidate competition in presidential elections" *Electoral Studies*, 2003.


### 6. From Local to National: How Party Systems Aggregate (February 28)


Recommended:


7. Social Cleavages with and without Strategic Politicians (March 7)

Themes:
- What constitutes a social cleavage? Are there different modal patterns of cleavages in Western Europe and the developing world, either historically or contemporarily?
- What do we know about how social cleavages are translated into political cleavages?
- How does change in social cleavages affect political competition?
- How does the presence/absence of salient social cleavages affect political competition, party organization, and political representation?

Readings:


Recommended:


8. Political Recruitment and Intra-Party Politics (March 21)
Themes:
- Why do activists and candidates join political parties and why do they switch parties?
- How can their various motivations help us understand party formation and party decline?
- What do their various goals tell us about intra-party conflict, party organization, and party strategy?

Readings:
Review section in Aldrich from week 1 on participation (i.e. R=PB+D-C).


Likely one more reading, TBD

Recommended:
9. Party Institutionalization (March 28)

Themes:
- What is institutionalization?
- How does low institutionalization affect the mode or style of competition? How does it affect political representation and social choice?
- Do all developing democracies have low levels of party institutionalization?
- What are the possible fixes for low institutionalization?
- Note that the concept of institutionalization encompasses various component measures and there is a literature on each – see recommended readings below for a few examples.


Recommended:


10. Perspectives on Party Formation (April 4)

Themes:
- Why do new parties emerge?
- What are the constraints on their formation and what constitutes an opportunity (think of institutions, social cleavages, and the spatial model)?
- What is the role of the established parties and other established organizations in helping/hindering new party formation?
- What does the institutional and political environment tell us about the organizational form of new parties?

Readings:


Recommended:


Themes:
- How do realignments come about and who/what causes them?
- Is cleavage change exogenous or endogenous to political competition?
- How much flexibility do strategic politicians have in manipulating cleavages (create, selectively mobilize)?
- Who manipulates cleavages (social movements, political entrepreneurs, party leaders, party activists, winners, losers)? How do the strategies of winners and losers differ?

Readings:


Book manuscript or article on party system collapse by Jason Seawright or Jana Morgan, TBD.

Recommended:


12. Dominant Party Systems (April 18)

Themes:
- What is a dominant party system in relation to a fully competitive democracy and a one-party regime?
- How do parties maintain dominance once established?
- How do opposition parties form and grow in these systems?
- Can we make generalizations across dominant party systems or do social cleavages and institutional features better account for the variance?

Readings:
Greene, Kenneth F. Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico’s Democratization in Comparative Perspective. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. [you can skim/skip chs. 7-8 if you are pressed for time]


Recommended:


Themes:
- How do postcommunist party systems differ from party systems in the established democracies or in other post-authoritarian systems?
- What is the relative importance of pre-communist legacies, communist legacies, social cleavages, and post-transition institutions in determining the characteristics of party systems?
- How does the post-communist experience compare to other new democracies?

Required:


Recommended:


Kitschelt, Herbert and Regina Smyth “Programmatic Party Cohesion In Emerging Postcommunist Democracies: Russia in Comparative Context” Comparative Political Studies 35, 10 (December 2002), pp. 1228-1256.


Mcfaul, Michael. "Explaining Party Formation and Nonformation in Russia: Actors, Institutions, and Chance" Comparative Political Studies 34, 10 (December 2001), pp. 1159-1187.


14. Ethnic Parties (May 2)

Themes:
- How did new parties form and enter competition in established party systems?
- What is the effect of established parties’ strategies, electoral systems, social cleavages?
- Who votes for ethnic parties?

Required:


Recommended:


