

## Parties and Party Systems

[Version: 13 September 2022]

### Professor Simon Hix

Office: Villa Sanfelice (SF021)

E-mail: [simon.hix@eui.eu](mailto:simon.hix@eui.eu)

Contact: [Jennifer.Dari@eui.eu](mailto:Jennifer.Dari@eui.eu)

### Seminar dates and times

The seminar meets on **Thursdays at 11:00-13:00**. The first seminar will be on **6 October**, and the final seminar will be on **8 December**.

### Course Description and Format

This seminar combines an introduction to some of the “classic” works on parties and party systems (such as Lipset and Rokkan, Downs, Mair, Laver, Kitschelt, etc.), as well as an analysis of some of the latest research in this field. The seminar will start by looking at the emergence of modern political parties in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. We will then move on to look at the two main sides of party systems: (1) the “demand side” – the development, de-alignment and re-alignment of cleavages between parties and social groups; and (2) the “supply side” – the organisation and behaviour of parties as strategic actors in a multi-dimensional space. The seminar will then examine how the “institutional” design of democracy shapes party development and party competition, including electoral systems, legislative-executive relations, and coalitions and government formation. We will conclude by looking at the rise of populism and the fragmentation of party systems.

The seminar discussion will focus on the evolution of knowledge on a particular topic, and how the research frontier may be taken forward in an area. Participants will be expected to carefully explain and dissect the theoretical ideas, research design and empirical analysis in the papers each week. EVERYONE is expected to read all of the **KEY READINGS** each week, and be ready to discuss them.

### Writing Assignment

The assignment for the course will be an 8 to 10-page (double-spaced) paper on one of the topics of the course. The paper should cover at least two things: (1) a critical review of the

theoretical approaches, research designs, and/or empirical findings of at least two papers on the topic; and (2) a discussion of a research agenda for progressing knowledge on the topic. **The assignment is due by the end of the day on Friday 10 December.**

## **Seminar Topics & Readings**

### **Session 1. (6 October) Emergence of Parties and Party Competition**

#### ***Key Readings:***

Dewan, Torun, Jaakko Meriläinen and Janne Tukiainen (2020) Victorian Voting: The Origins of Party Orientation and Class Alignment. *American Journal of Political Science* 64(4) 869-886.

Daron Acemoglu, Giuseppe De Feo, Giacomo De Luca, Gianluca Russo (2022) War, Socialism, and the Rise of Fascism: an Empirical Exploration, *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 137(2) 1233-1296.

Boix, Carles and Zsuzsana Magyar (2022) The Rise of Swedish Social Democracy. *British Journal of Political Science*, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123422000102>.

#### ***Additional Readings:***

LaPalombara, Joseph and Myron Weiner (1990) The Origin of Political Parties, in Peter Mair (ed.) *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ziblatt, Daniel (2017) *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Caramani, Daniele (2004) *The Nationalization of Politics: The Formation of National Electorates and Party Systems in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bartolini, Stefano (2000) *The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980: The Class Cleavage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aldrich, John H. (2011) *Why Parties? A Second Look*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair (1995) Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party. *Party Politics* 1(1) 5-28.

## **Session 2. (13 October) Demand Side 1: Cleavages and De-Alignment**

### **Key Readings:**

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan (1967) Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments: An Introduction. In Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan (eds.) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York, NY: Free Press. [abbreviated version in: Peter Mair (ed.) (1990) *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 91-111.]

Mair, Peter (1998) On the Freezing of Party Systems, in Peter Mair, *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, <https://doi.org/10.1093/0198295499.003.0001>.

Inglehart, Ronald F. (2008) Changing Values among Western Publics from 1970 to 2006. *West European Politics* 31(1-2) 130-146.

### **Additional Readings:**

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

Franklin Mark (1992) The Decline of Cleavage Politics, in Mark Franklin, Thomas T. Mackie, Henry Valen (eds) *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Efff, Martin (2007) Social structure and electoral behavior in comparative perspective: the decline of social cleavages in Western Europe revisited. *Perspectives on Politics* 5(2) 277-294.

Knutsen, Oddbjørn (2006) *Class Voting in Western Europe: A Comparative Longitudinal Study*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.

Alford, Robert (1962) A Suggested Index of the Association of Social Class and Voting. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 26: 417-412.

Dalton, Russell J. (2002) Political Cleavages, Issues, and Electoral Change. In Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris (eds.) *Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Inglehart, Ronald (1977) *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

---

### **Session 3. (20 October) Demand Side 2: Re-Alignment**

#### ***Key Readings:***

Gethin, Amory, Clara Martínez-Toledano, Thomas Piketty (2022) Brahmin Left Versus Merchant Right: Changing Political Cleavages in 21 Western Democracies, 1948-2020. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 137(1) 1-48.

Colantone, Italo and Piero Stanig (2018) The Trade Origins of Economic Nationalism: Import Competition and Voting Behavior in Western Europe. *American Journal of Political Science* 62(4) 936-953.

Marks, Gary, David Attewell, Liesbet Hooghe, Jan Rovny and Marco Steenbergen (2022) The Social Bases of Political Parties: A New Measure and Survey. *British Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming, <https://doi:10.1017/S0007123421000740>.

#### ***Additional Readings:***

Dalton, Russell J. (2018) *Political Realignment: Economics, Culture, and Electoral Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gallego, Aina, Thomas Kurer and Nikolas Schöll (2022) Neither Left-Behind nor Superstar: Ordinary Winners of Digitalization at the Ballot Box. *Journal of Politics* 84(1) 418-436.

Thomas Kurer and Palier, Bruno (2019) Shrinking and shouting: the political revolt of the declining middle in times of employment polarization. *Research and Politics* 6(1) <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168019831164>.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks (2018) Cleavage Theory meets Europe's Crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the Transnational Cleavage. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(1) 109-135.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Simon Hix (2021) Brahmin Left Versus Merchant Right? Education, Class, Multiparty Competition, and Redistribution in Western Europe. *British Journal of Sociology* 72(1) 79-92.

Bornschieer, Simon, Silja Häusermann, Delia Zollinger and Céline Colombo (2021) How 'Us' and 'Them' Relates to Voting Behavior: Social Structure, Social Identities, and Electoral Choice. *Comparative Political Studies* 54(12) 2087-2122.

Häusermann, Silja (2020) Dualization and Electoral Realignment. *Political Science Research and Methods* 8(2) 380-385.

---

## **Session 4. (27 October) Strategic Parties 1: The Spatial Model**

### **Key Readings:**

Miller, Gary and Norman Schofield (2003) Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States. *American Political Science Review* 97(2) 245-260.

Oesch, Daniel and Line Rennwald (2018) Electoral Competition in Europe's New Tripolar Political Space: Class Voting for the Left, Centre-Right and Radical Right. *European Journal of Political Research* 57(4) 783-807.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier and Timotheos Frey (2006) Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compared. *European Journal of Political Research* 45(6) 921–956.

### **Additional Readings:**

Downs, Anthony (1957) *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York, NY: Harper.

McKelvey, Richard D. (1976) Intransitivities in Multidimensional Voting Models and Some Implications for Agenda Control. *Journal of Economic Theory* 12(3) 472-482.

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

Laver, Michael (2005) Policy and the Dynamics of Political Competition. *American Political Science Review* 99(2) 263-281.

Benoit, Kenneth and Michael Laver (2006) *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*. London: Routledge.

Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara, Ian Budge and Michael D. McDonald (2006) *Mapping Policy Preferences II: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments in Eastern Europe, European Union, and OECD 1990-2003*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McCarty, Nolan, Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal (2008) *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury and Gerard Roland (2006) Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament. *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2) 494–511.

Schofield, Norman and Itai Sened (2010) *Multiparty Democracy: Elections and Legislative Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dassonneville, Ruth, Patrick Fournier and Zeynep Somer-Topcu (2022) Partisan Attachments in a Multidimensional Space. *West European Politics*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2022.2087387>.

## **Session 5. (3 November) Strategic Parties 2: Parties as Entrepreneurs**

### **Key Readings:**

Hobolt, Sara B. and Catherine E. De Vries (2015) Issue Entrepreneurship and Multiparty Competition. *Comparative Political Studies* 48(9) 1159-1185.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Lukas Stoetzer (2020) How Parties React to Voter Transitions. *American Political Science Review* 114(3) 940-945.

Bischof, Daniel and Markus Wagner (2020) What Makes Parties Adapt to Voter Preferences? The Role of Party Organization, Goals and Ideology. *British Journal of Political Science* 50(1) 391-401.

### **Additional Readings:**

De Vries, Catherine E. and Sara B. Hobolt (2020) *Political Entrepreneurs: The Rise of Challenger Parties in Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow and Garrett Glasgow (2004) Understanding Change and Stability in Party Ideologies: Do Parties Respond to Public Opinion or to Past Election Results? *British Journal of Political Science* 34(4) 589-610.

Pardos-Prado, Sergi (2015) How Can Mainstream Parties Prevent Niche Party Success? Center-Right Parties and the Immigration Issue. *Journal of Politics* 77(2) 352-367.

Meguid, Bonnie M. (2005) Competition Between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success. *American Political Science Review* 99(3) 347-359.

Tavits, Margit (2006) Party System Change: Testing a Model of New Party Entry. *Party Politics* 12(1) 99-119.

Tavits, Margit (2008) Party Systems in the Making: The Emergence and Success of New Parties in New Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science* 38(1) 113-133.

Meyer, Thomas M. and Markus Wagner (2013) Mainstream or Niche? Vote-Seeking Incentives and the Programmatic Strategies of Political Parties. *Comparative Political Studies* 46(10) 1246-1272.

Wagner, Markus and Thomas M. Meyer (2017) The Radical Right as Niche Parties? The Ideological Landscape of Party Systems in Western Europe, 1980-2014. *Political Studies* 65(1) 84-107.

Williams, Laron K. and Guy D. Whitten (2015) Don't Stand So Close to Me: Spatial Contagion Effects and Party Competition. *American Journal of Political Science* 59(2) 309-325.

## **Session 6. (10 November) Institutions 1: Electoral Systems**

### **Key Readings:**

Calvo, Ernesto and Jonathan Rodden (2015) The Achilles Heel of Plurality Systems: Geography and Representation in Multiparty Democracies. *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4) 789-805.

Fiva, Jon and Simon Hix (2021) Electoral Reform and Strategic Coordination. *British Journal of Political Science* 51(4) 1782-1791.

Huber, John D. (2012) Measuring Ethnic Voting: Do Proportional Electoral Laws Politicize Ethnicity? *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4) 986-1001.

### **Additional Readings:**

Boix, Carles (1999) Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies. *American Political Science Review* 93(3) 609-624.

Cox, Gary W. (1997) *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.]

Duverger, Maurice (1954) *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*. New York, NY: Wiley.

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) 165-181.

Carey, John M. and Simon Hix (2011) The Electoral Sweet Spot: Low-Magnitude Proportional Electoral Systems. *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2) 383-397.

Clark, William Roberts and Matt Golder (2006) Rehabilitating Duverger's Theory, Testing the Mechanical and Strategic Modifying Effects of Electoral Laws. *Comparative Political Studies* 39(6) 679-708.

Golder, Matt and Jacek Stramski (2010) Ideological Congruence and Electoral Institutions. *American Journal of Political Science* 54(1) 90-106.

Shugart, Matthew S. and Rein Taagepera (2017) *Votes from Seats: Logical Models of Electoral Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## **Session 7. (17 November) Institutions 2: Legislative Politics**

### **Key Readings:**

Huber, John D. (1996) The Vote of Confidence in Parliamentary Democracies. *American Political Science Review* 90(2) 269-282.

Hix, Simon and Abdul Noury (2016) Government-Opposition or Left-Right? The Institutional Determinants of Voting in Legislatures. *Political Science Research and Methods* 4(2) 249-273.

Laver, Michael and Kenneth A. Shepsle (1990) Coalitions and Cabinet Government. *American Political Science Review* 84(3) 873-890.

### **Additional Readings:**

Carey, John (2007) Competing Principals, Political Institutions, and Party Unity in Legislative Voting. *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1) 92-107

Shugart, Matthew and John Carey (1992) *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kam, Christopher J. (2009) *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dewan, Torun and Arthur Spirling (2011) Strategic Opposition and Government Cohesion in Westminster Democracies. *American Political Science Review* 105(2) 337-358.

Benedetto, Giacomo and Simon Hix (2007) The Rejected, the Ejected, and the Dejected: Explaining Government Rebels in the 2001-2005 British House of Commons. *Comparative Political Studies* 40(7) 755-778.

Tsebelis, George (1995) Decision Making in Political Systems: Veto Players in Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, Multicameralism and Multipartyism. *British Journal of Political Science* 25(3) 289-325.

Cox, Gary W. and Mathew D. McCubbins (2005) *Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury and Gérard Roland (2005) Power to the Parties: Cohesion and Competition in the European Parliament, 1979-2001. *British Journal of Political Science* 35(2) 209-234.



## **Session 8. (24 November) Party Families 1: Explaining Populist Parties**

### **Key Readings:**

Kurer, Thomas and Briitta van Staalduinen (2022) Disappointed Expectations: Downward Mobility and Electoral Change. *American Political Science Review*, forthcoming, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055422000077>.

Bolet, Diane (2020) Local Labour Market Competition and Radical Right Voting: Evidence from France. *European Journal of Political Research* 59(4) 817-841.

Ansell, Ben and Asli Cansunar (2021) The Political Consequences of Housing (Un)Affordability. *Journal of European Social Policy* 31(5) 597-613.

### **Additional Readings:**

Bolet, Diane (2021) Drinking Alone: Local Socio-Cultural Degradation and Radical Right Support—The Case of British Pub Closures. *Comparative Political Studies* 54(9) 1653-1692.

Anellia, Massimo, Italo Colantone and Piero Stanig (2021) Individual Vulnerability to Industrial Robot Adoption Increases Support for the Radical Right. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118(47) 1-8.

Engler, Sarah and David Weisstanner (2021) The Threat of Social Decline: Income Inequality and Radical Right Support. *Journal of European Public Policy* 28(2) 153-173.

Colatone, Italo and Piero Stanig (2018) Global Competition and Brexit. *American Political Science Review* 112(2) 201-218.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Thomas Kurer (2021) Economic Risk within the Household and Voting for the Radical Right. *World Politics* 73(3) 482-511.

Kurer, Thomas (2020) The Declining Middle: Occupational Change, Social Status, and the Populist Right. *Comparative Political Studies* 53(10-11) 1798-1835.

Mutz, Diana C. (2018) Status Threat, Not Economic Hardship, Explains the 2016 Presidential Vote. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115(19) E4330–E4339.

Mudde, Cas (2004) The Populist Zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition* 39(4) 541-563.

Ansell, Ben, Frederik Hjorth, Jacob Nystrup and Martin Vinæs Larsen (2022) Sheltering Populists? House Prices and the Support for Populist Parties. *Journal of Politics*, forthcoming, <https://doi.org/10.1086/718354>.

Kitschelt, Herbert and Anthony J. McGann (1997) *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

## **Session 9. (1 December) Party Families 2: Decline of Mainstream Parties**

### **Key Readings:**

Gidron, Noam and Daniel Ziblatt (2019) Center-Right Political Parties in Advanced Democracies. *Annual Review of Political Science* 22(1) 17-35.

Benedetto, Giacomo, Simon Hix and Nicola Mastrococco (2020) The Rise and Fall of Social Democracy, 1918-2017. *American Political Science Review* 114(3) 928-939.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Markus Wagner (2020) Electoral Fortunes of Social Democratic Parties: Do Second Dimension Positions Matter? *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(2) 246-272.

### **Additional Readings:**

Gidron, Noam (2022) Many Ways to Be Right: Cross-Pressured Voters in Western Europe. *British Journal of Political Science* 52(1) 146-161.

Kitschelt, Herbert (1993) Class Structure and Social Democratic Party Strategy. *British Journal of Political Science* 23(3) 299-337.

Gingrich, Jane and Silja Häusermann (2015) The Decline of the Working-Class Vote, the Reconfiguration of the Welfare Support Coalition and Consequences for the Welfare State. *Journal of European Social Policy* 25(1) 50-75.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Markus Wagner (2019) The Electoral Appeal of Party Strategies in Post-Industrial Societies: When Can the Mainstream Left Succeed? *Journal of Politics* 81(4) 1405-1419.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Markus Wagner (2020) Electoral fortunes of social democratic parties: do second dimension positions matter?. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(2) 246-272.

Przeworski, Adam and John Sprague (1986) *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

---

## **Session 10. (8 December) Party System Fragmentation**

### **Key Readings:**

Li, Yuhui and Matthew S. Shugart (2016) The Seat Product Model of the Effective Number of Parties: A Case for Applied Political Science. *Electoral Studies* 41(1) 23-34.

Dassonneville, Ruth and Ian McAllister (2020) The Party Choice Set and Satisfaction with Democracy. *West European Politics* 43(1) 49-73.

Lindvall, Johannes (2017) Economic Downturns and Political Competition Since the 1870s. *Journal of Politics* 79(4) 1302-1314.

### **Additional Readings:**

Laakso, Markka and Rein Taagepera (1979) The Effective Number of Political Parties: A Measure with Application to Western Europe. *Comparative Political Studies* 12(1) 3-27.

Ordeshook, Peter C. and Olga V. Shvetsova (1994) Ethnic Heterogeneity, District Magnitude, and the Number of Parties. *American Journal of Political Science* 38(1) 100-123.

Coleman, Stephen (1995) Dynamics in the Fragmentation of Political Party Systems. *Quality & Quantity* 29, 141-155.

Dassonneville, Ruth and Marc Hooghe (2017) Economic Indicators and Electoral Volatility: Economic Effects on Electoral Volatility in Western Europe, 1950-2013. *Comparative European Politics* 15(6) 919-943.

Koedam, Jelle (2022) A Change of Heart? Analysing Stability and Change in European Party Positions. *West European Politics* 45(4) 693-715.

Cheibub, José Antonio, Thiago Moreira, Gisela Sin and Keigo Tanabe (2022) Dynamic Party System Fragmentation. *Electoral Studies* 76, No. 102440.

Valentim, Vicente and Elias Dinas (2020) Does Party-System Fragmentation Affect the Quality of Democracy? Available at SSRN: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3533378>.

---