

Parties in the 21st Century

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Workshop Description and Format

This seminar aims to connect some of the classic works on parties and party systems with some of the last empirical and methodological work on parties.

The Workshop will start by contrasting two different theoretical frameworks for understanding and explaining political parties: parties as articulators/representatives of societal divisions (the “cleavage model”); and parties as rational/strategic actors in a multidimensional policy space (the “strategic model”). On the second day we will start by looking at how the design of democratic institutions – electoral systems and legislative-executive relations – shape party formation and party behaviour. We will then look at the emergence of “challenger parties”, with Professor Catherine de Vries, and how they have transformed party systems. The last session of the Workshop will consider the decline of mainstream parties and the theoretical causes and normative consequences of the fragmentation of party systems.

The workshop will be taught over two days:

Thursday 21 April (09:00-14:00), and

Tuesday 26 April (10:00-18:00).

Most of the sessions will be taught by Professor Simon Hix, with the exception of the second session on the second day, which will be taught by **Professor Catherine de Vries**, of Bocconi University.

Each two-hour session will start with a presentation, by Professor Hix or Professor de Vries, before opening up for discussion of the Key Readings and potential avenues for future research. In preparation for the workshop, participants will be expected to have read all the Key Readings. Additional Readings are listed for reference and for preparation of the assignment.

Writing Assignment

The assignment for the workshop is an 8 to 10-page (double-spaced) essay on one of the key topics of the course. The essay should discuss the classic works on a topic, how far recent contributions have taken the research forward, and an agenda for future research on the topic. **The assignment is due by 9 am Monday 13 May.**

Schedule

Day 1: Thursday, 21 April

09:00-11:00 SESSION 1 – Demand Side: Cleavage De-alignment and Re-alignment

11:30-12:00 Break

12:00-14:00 SESSION 2 – Supply Side: Strategic Parties in a Multidimensional Space

Day 2: Tuesday, 26 April

10:00-12:00 SESSION 3 – Parties and their Institutional Context

12:00-13:00 Break

13:00-15:00 SESSION 4 – Challenger Parties (with Catherine de Vries, Bocconi University)

15:00-15:30 Break

15:30-17:30 SESSION 5 – Democratic Fragmentation and Crisis of the Mainstream

Day 1: Thursday, 21 April

SESSION 1 – Demand Side: Cleavage De-alignment and Re-alignment

Key Readings

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>.

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.

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.

Additional 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.]

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.

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

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

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.

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.

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

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.

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.

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.

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

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

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

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.

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.

Anellia, Massimo, Italo Colantonea 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.

Ansell, Ben, Frederik Hjorth, Jacob Nyrop 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>.

SESSION 2 – Supply Side: Strategic Parties in a Multidimensional Space

Key Readings

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

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

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

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.

Shepsle, Kenneth A. (1991) *Models of Multiparty Electoral Competition*. Chur, NY: Harwood.

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

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

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.

Dixit, Avinash, and John Londregan (1996) The Determinants of Success of Special Interests in Redistributive Politics. *The Journal of Politics* 58(4) 1132-1155.

Besley, Timothy and Stephen Coate (1997) An Economic Model of Representative Democracy. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112(1) 85-114.

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.

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.

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.

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

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.

Dassonneville, Ruth, Patrick Fournier and Zeynep Somer-Topcu (2022) Partisan Attachments in a Multidimensional Space. *West European Politics*, forthcoming.

Day 2: Tuesday, 26 April

SESSION 3 – Parties and their Institutional Context

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.

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.

Additional Readings – Electoral Systems

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

Rae, Douglas W. (1967) *The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Cox, Gary W. (1990) Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems. *American Journal of Political Science* 34(4), 903-935.
[or Cox, Gary W. (1997) *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.]

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.

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.

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.

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.

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

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

Additional Readings – Legislative-Executive Design

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

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

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

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

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.

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

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.

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.

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

SESSION 4 – Challenger Parties (with Catherine de Vries, Bocconi University)

Key Readings

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

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.

De Vries Catherine E. and Gary Marks (2012) The Struggle over Dimensionality: A Note on Theory and Empirics. *European Union Politics* 13(2) 185-193.

Additional Readings

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

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

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.

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

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.

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.

SESSION 5 – Democratic Fragmentation and Crisis of the Mainstream

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.

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

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

Additional Readings – Party System Change/Fragmentation

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.

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

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.

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

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

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.

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

Additional Readings – Mainstream Parties

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

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

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.

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

Additional Readings – Normative Consequences

Anderson, Christopher J., André Blais, Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan and Ola Listhaug (2005) *Losers' Consent: Elections and Democratic Legitimacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hellwig, Timothy and David Samuels (2008) Electoral Accountability and the Variety of Democratic Regimes. *British Journal of Political Science* 38(1) 65-90.

Kim Jr., HeeMin and Richard C. Fording (2010) Electoral Systems, Party Systems, and Ideological Representation: An Analysis of Distortion in Western Democracies. *Comparative Politics* 42(2) 167-185.
