

Lectures and Seminars: ECPR Summer School on Political Parties and Democracy

September 7-22, 2013, Center for the Study of Democracy, Leuphana University Lüneburg, Germany

Monday, September 9

Political Parties and Democracy

Prof. Richard Katz, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

At least from the early 20th century, the thinking of empirical political scientists about democracy was primarily structured around the model of "democratic party government". In recent decades, this has increasingly been expressed in terms of a principal-agent model: the government administration is understood to be the agent of the ministry, which is the agent of the parties in parliament, which are the agents of the electorate, thereby rendering the entire system democratic. This lecture questions both the empirical aptness of the principal-agent approach, and its consistency within richer understandings of parties and democracy.

Readings:

- Biezen, Ingrid van and Michael Saward (2008): Democratic theorists and party scholars: Why they don't talk to each other, and why they should, in: *Perspectives on Politics*, 6 (1), pp. 21-35.
- Blyth, Mark and Richard S. Katz (2005): From catch-all politics to cartelisation, in: *West European Politics*, 28 (1), pp. 33-60.
- Katz, Richard S. (1997): *Democracy and Elections*. New York: Oxford University Press [chapter 3].
- Kitschelt, Herbert (2000): Citizens, Politicians, and Party Cartelization: Political Representation and State Failure in Post-Industrial Societies, in: *European Journal of Political Research*, 37 (2), pp. 149-79.
- Miller, Gary J. (2005): The political evolution of principal-agent models, in: *Annual review of Political Science*, 8, pp. 203-225.
- Strøm, Kaare (2000): Delegation and accountability in parliamentary democracies, in: *European Journal of Political Research*, 37 (3), pp. 261-289.

Tuesday, September 10

How Parties Govern – the Internal Organization of Party Government

Prof. Wolfgang C. Müller, University of Vienna

Party competition is constitutive for modern democracies, at the same time the division of parliament into competing political parties creates challenges for the governance of the country. Specifically, the challenges are providing stable government, arriving at government decisions, and making these decisions part and parcel of a coherent and effective government policy. The lecture discusses how political



parties organize government to overcome these challenges. It shows that what are remedies in some situations add to the problems in others.

Readings:

- Samuels, David J. and Matthew S. Shugart (2011): *Presidents, Parties, and Prime Ministers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Müller, Wolfgang C. and Kaare Strøm (eds., 1999): *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Müller, Wolfgang C. (2011): *Governments and bureaucracies*, in: Daniele Caramani (ed.), *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 141–161.

Wednesday, September 11

The Challenge to Parties' Public Policy Formation

Prof. Hans Keman, University of Amsterdam

In this lecture, public policy is seen as the systemic link to study democratic performance. If we see the relationship between politics and public policy in this way, then one can utilise the comparative variation in policy formation and performance by investigating to what extent parties and governments are responsive (to electoral and party preferences), representative (in party government) and accountable (through parliament). Using public policy analysis in this way signifies a new and fascinating trajectory in political science research. It opens avenues to investigate comparatively the extent to which democracies perform and whether they are capable to deliver what is promised and can be held responsible for what is delivered. In short: to acquire and develop legitimacy.

Readings:

- Budge, Ian, Hans Keman, Michael McDonald and Paul Pennings (2012): *Organizing Democratic Choice. Party Representation over time*. Oxford: Oxford University Press [chapter 4].
- Caramani, Daniele (ed., 2011): *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press [chapters 20-22].
- Castles, Francis G. (1998): *Comparative Public Policy: Patterns of Postwar Transformation*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Keman, Hans (2002): *Policy-making Capacities of European Party Government*, in: Kurt Richard Luther and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (eds.), *Political Parties in the New Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 207-245.
- Schmidt, Manfred G. (1996): *When Parties Matter*, in: *European Journal of Political Research*, 30 (2), pp. 155-183.

Monday, September 16

The Legal Regulation of Parties in European Democracies

Prof. Ingrid van Biezen, Leiden University

The question of how parties are, and ought to be, regulated, has assumed an increased importance in recent years, both within the scholarly community and among policy-makers and politicians. The increased importance of the law in describing, prescribing, or proscribing the operational activities and functions of political parties implies that the state is assuming an increasingly substantive role in the management of, and control over, their behavior and organization. This raises important questions and concerns, ranging from the motivations inspiring specific regulations, to their effect on the parties and the party systems, and the underlying conceptions of the role and place of



political parties in modern democracies. In this seminar we will analyze both the empirical dimensions of the process of party regulation as well as the normative conceptions of political parties and democracy underlying the legal rules.

Readings:

- Biezen, Ingrid van (2004): Political Parties as Public Utilities, in: *Party Politics*, 10 (6), pp. 701-722.
- Biezen, Ingrid van and Gabriela Borz (2012): Models of Party Democracy: Patterns of Party Regulation in Post-War European Constitutions, in: *European Political Science Review*, 4 (3), pp. 327-359.
- Karvonen, Lauri (2007): Legislation on Political Parties: A Global Comparison, in: *Party Politics*, 13 (4), pp. 437-455.
- Müller, Wolfgang C. and Ulrich Sieberer (2006): Party Law, in: Richard S. Katz and William Crotty (eds.), *Handbook of Party Politics*. London: Sage, pp. 435-445.
- Nassmacher, Karl-Heinz (2006): Regulation of Party Finance, in: Richard S. Katz and William Crotty (eds.), *Handbook of Party Politics*. London: Sage, pp. 446-455.
- Persily, Nathaniel and Bruce E. Cain (2000): The Legal Status of Political Parties: A Reassessment of Competing Paradigms, in: *Columbia Law Review*, 100 (3), pp. 775-812.

Wednesday, September 18

Towards a European Party Democracy?

Prof. Thomas Poguntke, University of Düsseldorf

The lecture will focus on the role of political parties in European multilevel governance. We will concentrate on the extra-parliamentary linkage function of parties. This will include the contribution of Europarties and the way national political parties connect to the European level of governance. Inevitably, this will touch upon questions of democratic accountability and the quality of European democracy. The lecture will also report from on-going and past projects on Europarties and the Europeanization of national political parties.

Readings:

- Bardi, Luciano (2005): Parties and Party Systems in the European Union. National and Supranational Dimensions, in: Kurt Richard Luther and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (eds.), *Political Parties in the New Europe: Political and Analytical Challenges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 293-321.
- von dem Berge, Benjamin and Thomas Poguntke (2012): The Influence of Europarties on Central and Eastern European Partner Parties: A Theoretical and Analytical Model, in: *European Political Science Review / FirstView Article*, November 2012, pp. 1-24.
- Carter, Elisabeth and Thomas Poguntke (2010): How does European Integration Change National Political Parties? *West European Politics*, 33 (2), pp. 297-324.
- Poguntke, Thomas, Nicholas Aylott, Robert Ladrech and Kurt Richard Luther (2007): The Europeanization of National Party Organizations: A Conceptual Analysis, in: *European Journal of Political Research*, 46 (6), pp. 747-771.
- Tallberg, Jonas and Karl M. Johansson (2008): Party Politics in the European Council. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15 (8), pp. 1222-1242.



Wednesday, September 18

Challenges of Electronic Democracy to Parties in Contemporary Europe

Andrea Römmele, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin

The potential and the challenges of Digital Media in representative democracies will be the point of departure in this seminar. We will focus on how parties can and how parties have made use of social media so far. By doing so, we will distinguish between parties in established democracies, parties in the young democracies of Eastern Europe and Europarties. We will also have a closer look at how parties (especially party members) make use of social media in campaigns and what potential effect this has – does it mobilize beyond the base? The lecture will introduce participants to the major debates in the field and to ongoing research projects.

Readings:

- Bennett, W. Lance and Alexandra Segerberg (2012): The Logic of Connective Action, in: *Information, Communication & Society*, 15 (5), pp. 739-768.
- Gibson, Rachel K. (2009): New media and the Revitalisation of Politics, in: *Representation*, 45 (3), pp. 289-299.
- Gibson, Rachel K., Andrea Römmele, and Stephen Ward (eds., 2003): *Political Parties and New ICTs. A Special Issue of Party Politics*. London: Sage.
- Gibson, Rachel K., Kevin Gillan, Fabienne Greffet, Benjamin J. Lee and Stephen Ward (2013): Party Organizational Change and ICTs: The Growth of a Virtual Grassroots, in: *New Media and Society*, 15 (3) / first published online on September 6, 2012 as doi:10.1177/1461444812457329.
- Kersting, Norbert (ed.) (2012): *Electronic democracy. State of the art and future perspectives*. Opladen: Barbara Budrich Publishers.
- Prior, Markus (2007): *Post-Broadcast democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Thursday, September 19

Party Politics in New Democracies

Prof. Zsolt Enyedi, Central European University, Budapest

Research on new democracies requires different emphases, and, often, different conceptual and measurement tools than the analysis of established party systems. This session will discuss, using the general framework of institutionalization, volatility, closure and fragmentation of party systems, the success of new parties, the relations among party elites, the interplay between demand and supply of party politics, and the contribution of parties to the quality of representation and accountability in new democracies.

Readings:

- Kitschelt, Herbert, Kirk A. Hawkins, Juan Pablo Luna, Guillermo Rosas and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister (2010): *Latin American Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 14-68.
- Luna, Juan Pablo and David Altman (2011): Uprooted but Stable: Chilean Parties and the Concept of Party System Institutionalization, in: *Latin American Politics and Society*, 53 (2), pp. 1-28.
- Manning, Carrie (2005): Assessing African Party Systems after the Third Wave, in: *Party Politics*, 11 (6), pp. 707-727.
- Rohrschneider, Robert and Stephen Whitefield (2009): Representational Consistency: Stability and Change in Political Cleavages in Central and Eastern Europe, in: *Politics & Policy*, 37 (4), pp. 667-690.
- Sanchez, Omar (2009): Party Non-Systems: A Conceptual Innovation, in: *Party Politics*, 15 (4), pp. 487-520.



Friday, September 20

Right-wing extremist parties in the new Europe

Elisabeth Carter, Keele University

Extreme right parties have undergone a degree of 'mainstreaming' in the last twenty years. They have moderated their ideologies; they have broadened their policy portfolios; they have seen established parties co-opt some of their policies; and they have gained access to public office at local, regional, or even national level. This session explores whether, given this mainstreaming, it is still accurate to label these parties 'extremist'. Is this term still appropriate? Or should another be selected? Furthermore, does this suggest that our understanding of the meaning of (right-wing) extremism has also changed? And if so, how has it changed?

Readings

- Backes, Uwe (2011): *Political Extremes: A Conceptual History from Antiquity to the Present*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Carter, Elisabeth (2005): *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?* Manchester: Manchester University Press [especially chapter 2].
- Fennema, Meindert (1997): Some Conceptual Issues and Problems in the Comparison of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe, in: *Party Politics*, 3 (4), pp. 473-92.
- Hainsworth, Paul (2008): *The Extreme Right in Western Europe*. Abingdon: Routledge [especially chapter 1].
- Mudde, Cas (2007): *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [especially chapters 1 and 2].

A timetable of the summer school is available at:

http://www.leuphana.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Forschungseinrichtungen/zdemo/files/2013_Summerschool/Programme_01.pdf