

PhD in Political Science, European Studies and International Relations (PEI)

Academic Year 2015-2016

Course

Comparative Political Institutions

Instructors:

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Lecture Hours: Tuesday 10.00-12.00 (the course starts on January, 19, 2016)

Venue: Polo Mattioli, Università di Siena

Evaluation: Students' evaluation will be based for about 50% on class presentations and active attendance to seminars and about 50% on a term paper of about 6500/7000 words to be delivered by the end of the term.

Readings

Three classes of readings are proposed in this syllabus. A first class concerns the *Background readings*. These are pieces from general introductions to comparative politics (handbook, international encyclopediae, basic readings, etc.) which the instructors suggest in particular to the students who are not particularly familiar with the discipline. The *Core readings*, circulated on a weekly basis, will have to be studied and analysed by the students in order to prepare their presentations in class. Each week 2 to 3 core readings will be discussed.

Finally, some *Further readings* will be communicated in order to provide the students with a list of adequate and complementary pieces of researches devoted to the issues covered by the seminars.

Background readings

B. Badie, D. Berg_Schlosser & L. Morlino (eds.) *International encyclopedia of political science*, Sage, 2011. voci: *Political systems* (Keman), *Government* (von Beyme), *Representation* (Mastropaolo), *Leadership* (Verzichelli), *Executive* (Blondel), *Parties* (Seiler), *Party Systems* (Markowski).

C. Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution*

C. Boix e S. Stokes (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford, OUP, 2007.

J. Blondel, D. Malova F. Mueller-Rommel, (2007), *Governing New European Democracies*, Palgrave-McMillan

D. Caramani (ed.) *Comparative Politics*, Oxford, OUP, 2008.

- G. W. Cox. *Making votes count : strategic coordination in the world's electoral system*
- R. Elgie, ed., 1999, *Semi-presidentialism in Europe*, Oxford University Press.
- R. Katz e W. Crotty, *Handbook of Political Parties*. London, Sage, 2006.
- A. Lijphart, A. (1999) *Patterns of Democracy*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- R.E. Neustadt, 1990, *Presidential Power and Modern Presidents*, N.Y. Free Press.
- D. M. Olson, *Democratic Legislative Institutions A Comparative View*, M.E. Sharpe, London 1994
- G. B. Powell, Jr. *Elections as instruments of democracy : majoritarian and proportional visions*
- A. Przeworski... [et al.]. *Democracy and development : political institutions and material well-being in the world, 1950-1990*
- A. Renwick, *The Politics of Electoral Reform. Changing the Rules of Democracy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- G. Sartori (1994), *Comparative Constitutional Engineering*, London MacMillan.
- M. S. Shugart and J. M. Carey. *Presidents and assemblies: constitutional design and electoral dynamics*
- M. Tavits, 2009, *Presidents with Prime Ministers*, Oxford University Press.

Comparative Political Institutions

Outline

19 January (Luca Verzichelli): *Course Presentation. The study of Comparative Politics*
Comparative method and comparative approach. Units of analysis

Core readings (No students presentations this week)

- Lijphart, A. *Comparative politics and comparative method*, American Political Science Review, 1971
- Evan S. Lieberman. *Causal Inference in Historical Analysis: A Specification of Periodization Strategies*. in *Comparative Political Studies* 34 (9), 200, pp. 1011-1035.
- C. Lees (2006). *We are all comparativists now. Why and how single-country scholarship must adapt and incorporate the comparative politics approach*, in “Comparative Political Studies”, 39: pp.1084-1108.
- J. Blondel, *Comparative politics. Then and now*. In “Political Studies”, Volume 47, Issue 1, 1999, pp. 152–160,

Recommended readings

D. Caramani (ed.) *Comparative Politics*, Oxford, OUP, 2008, chs. 1,2,3.

Fabbrini/Moloutsis, *Comparative politics in* B. Badie, D. Berg_Schlosser & L. Morlino (eds.)
International Encyclopedia of political science, Sage, 2011, vol. 2

26 January (L. Verzichelli): *Democratic regimes. Then and Now*

Traditional and recent typologies of democratic regimes are at the core of this seminar. The different systems of government, such as Parliamentary and Presidential democracies or *hybrid* forms recently developed are considered in relation to their stability, their impact to government organization. The core readings poses some new questions to comparative empirical research: how different are democratic regimes, and how differently evolve?

Core readings

- A. Siaroff (2003), *Varieties of parliamentarism in the advanced industrial democracies*, in "International Political Science Review", 24: pp.445-464.
- Elgie, Robert. 2005. "From Linz to Tsebelis: Three Waves of Presidential/Parliamentary Studies?" *Democratization* 12: 106-122.
- Petra Schleiter & Edward Morgan-Jones. 2009. "Citizens, Presidents and Assemblies: The Study of Semi-Presidentialism beyond Duverger and Linz." *British Journal of Political Science* 39: 871-892.

Recommended readings

M. S. Shugart and J.M. Carey (1992), *Presidents and Assemblies*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, ch. 8 *Assessing the powers of the presidency* pp.148-166

S. W. Roper (2002), *Are all semipresidential systems the same ? A comparison of premier-presidential regimes*, in "Comparative Politics", 34: pp.253-272.

Sartori, Giovanni: *Comparative constitutional engineering – an inquiry into structures, incentives and outcomes*, New York University Press, New York: New York University Press 1994, Chapters 5,6,7.

2 February (A. Chiaramonte): Electoral systems and their consequences

The comparative study of electoral systems. The different types of electoral systems. The effects of electoral systems on party systems: Duverger's laws and beyond. The electoral reforms.

Core readings

Norris, P. [2004] *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behaviour*, CUP, ch. 2.

Riker, W. [1982], The Two-Party System and Duverger's Law: An Essay on the History of Political Science, in *American Political Science Review*, 76, pp. 753-766.

Cox, G. [1999], Electoral Rules and Electoral Coordination, in *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, pp. 145-161.

Katz, R.S. [2005], Why Are There So Many (or So Few) Electoral Reforms?, in *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, edited by M. Gallagher and P. Mitchell, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 57-76.

Recommended readings

Duverger, M. [1986], Duverger's Law: Forty Years Later, in *Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences*, edited by B. Grofman and A. Lijphart, New York, Agathon Press, pp. 69-84.

Sartori, G. [1994], *Comparative Constitutional Engineering. An Inquiry into Structures, Incentives and Outcomes*, Londra, MacMillan.

Lijphart, A. [1994], *Electoral Systems and Party Systems. A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Shugart, M.S. and Wattenberg, M.P. (eds) [2003], *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Shugart, M.S., [2005], Comparative Electoral System Research: The Maturation of a Field and New Challenges Ahead, in *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, edited by M. Gallagher and P. Mitchell, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 25-55.

Renwick, A. [2010], *The Politics of Electoral Reform. Changing the Rules of Democracy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

9 February (A. Chiaramonte): Party systems and party system change

Rokkan's cleavage theory. The traditional Sartori's classification of party systems and its (troublesome) application to contemporary party systems. Party system change.

Core readings

Lipset, M.S. and Rokkan, S. [1967], Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voters Alignments: An Introduction, in M.S. Lipset and S. Rokkan, *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*, New York: Free Press, pp. 1-64.

Sartori, G. [1976], A Typology of Party Systems, in *The West European Party System*, edited by P. Mair, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 316-349.

Mair, P. [1997], *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapters 4 & 9.

Ersson, S. and Lane, J.E [1998], Electoral instability and party system change in Western Europe, in *Comparing party system change*, edited by P. Pennings and J.E Lane, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 20-35.

Recommended readings

Pedersen, M. [1983], Changing patterns of electoral volatility in European party systems, 1948–1977: explorations in explanation, in *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*, edited by H. Daalder and P. Mair. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, Pp. 29–66.

Dalton, R.J., Flanagan, S.C., and Beck, P.A. (eds.) [1984], *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies: Realignment or Dealignment?*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bartolini, S. and Mair, P. [1990], *Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability. The Stability of European Electorates 1885–1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hug, S. [2001], *Altering Party Systems: Strategic Behavior and the Emergence of New Political Parties in Western Democracies*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kitschelt, H. [2004], *Diversification and reconfiguration of party systems in postindustrial democracies*, Bonn, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Dalton, R.J. [2004], *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

16 February (A. Chiaramonte): Elections, competition and voting

The model of political competition and electoral behaviour developed by Anthony Downs. Its limits and its alternatives. Party identification. Issue voting and economic voting.

Core readings

Downs, A. [1957], *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, New York, Harper & Row, pp. 151-178.

Campbell, A., Converse, P.E., Miller, W.E. and Stokes, D. (1960), *The American Voter*, New York, Wiley, ch. 6.

Stokes, D. [1963], Spatial Models of Party Competition, in *American Political Science Review*, 57, 2, pp. 368-377.

Budge, Ian, and Dennis J. Farlie. *Explaining and predicting elections: Issue effects and party strategies in twenty-three democracies*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983, chapter 2.

Lewis-Beck, M. S. & Stegmaier, M. (2007). Economic models of voting. In R. J. Dalton & H-D. Klingemann (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behaviour*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 518-537.

Recommended readings

Lazarsfeld, P., Berelson, B. and Gaudet, H. [1944, 1968 3ed.], *The People's Choice. How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Inglehart, R. [1977], *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rabinowitz, G., & MacDonald, S.E. [1989], A Directional Theory of Issue Voting, in *American Political Science Review*, 83 (1), pp. 93-121.

Pizzorno, A. [1990], On Rationality and Democratic Choice, in *Individualism. Theories and Methods*, edited by P. Birnbaum and J. Leca, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 295-331.

Fuchs, D. and Klingemann, H.D. [1990], The Left-Right Schema, in *Continuities in Political Action*, edited by M.K Jennings and J.W. van Deth, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, pp. 203-234.

Dalton, R.J. [2000], The decline of party identifications, in *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, edited by R.J. Dalton and M.P. Wattenberg, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 19-36.

B. Grofman [2004], Downs and two-party convergence, in *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7, pp. 25-46.

23 February (L. Verzichelli)

Government structure, government performance and ministerial delegation

How does the cabinet work? How different is the link between parliaments and executives (within the universe of parliamentary democracy)? And what about the delegation from the Chief executive and his/her delegates? These questions have been deeply refurbished and reshaped during the past two decades, due to the evolution of neo-institutionalism, and to the large use of quantitative methods.

Core readings

- Bäck, H., Debus, M. and Dumont, P. (2011) 'Who gets what in coalition governments? Predictors of portfolio allocation in parliamentary democracies', *European Journal of Political Research*, 50(4), 441-78.
- Andeweg, R. Ministers as double agents? The delegation process between cabinet and ministers, *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 37, Issue 3, pages 377–395, May 2000
- Cheibub, J.A., S.Martin and B.E. Rasch (2015) "Government Selection and Executive Powers: Constitutional Design in Parliamentary Democracies." *West European Politics*, Vol 38(5): 969-996.

Recommended readings

A. Lijphart, A. (1999) *Patterns of Democracy*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. chs. 6-7

Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Müller and Torbjörn Bergman, eds., *Cabinets and Coalition Bargaining: The Democratic Life Cycle in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008

K. Strøm (2000), *Parliamentary government and delegation*, in T. Bergman, W. Muller and K. Strom, *Delegation and accountability in parliamentary democracies*, Oxford University Press, pp. 55-108;

1 March (L. Verzichelli)

Democracy and Political elites

Is the iron law of oligarchy a limit to democratic development? To what extent do elites affect the democratic consolidation and democratic transformations? These classic questions coming from the *elitist theory of democracy* have been evolved, during the XX century, in a number of empirical puzzles: are political elites similar across countries? What are their main lines of continuity. Are post-modern elite changes significantly different from those observed in the course of XX century?

Core readings

- J. Fischer, K. Dowding and P. Dumont, *The duration and durability of cabinet ministers*, 'International Political Science Review', 33/5, 2012
- Hazan, R.Y and G. Rahat (2010), *Democracy within parties: Candidate selection methods and their political consequences*, Oxford, Oxford University Press. Ch. 10
- Matland R.E. and D. T. Studlar (2004), *Determinants of legislative turnover: a cross-national analysis*, "British Political Science Journal", vol. 34, pp. 87-108

Recommended readings

- R. Putnam, *The comparative study of political elites*, Prentice Hall, 1976
- Cotta, M. and H. Best (eds.) *Democratic representation in Europe*, Oxford, OUP, 2007
- K. Dowding and P. Dumont (eds.), *The selection of Ministers in Europe. Hiring and Firing*, London, Routledge, 2009
- K. Dowding and P. Dumont (eds.), *The selection of Ministers in Europe around the world*, London, Routledge, 2015
- H. Best and L. Vogel, *The sociology of legislators and legislatures in The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*, 2014.

8 March (L. Verzichelli)

Parties as organizations

What is a political party? Why are modern democracies based on political parties? What is the internal organizational structure of political parties? In which way party organizations interact with the external environment? Old and new questions about the role of party organization in contemporary democracies

Core readings

- A. Panebianco *Political Parties. Organization and Power*, Cambridge, CUP, 1988: ch. 4.
- R. Katz & P. Mair “Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy. The Emergence of the Cartel Party”. *Party Politics*, 1 (1995), 5-28.
- Carty, K. (2004), *Parties as Franchise Systems: The Stratarchical Organisational Imperative*, in «Party Politics», 10, 1, pp. 5-24.
- I. van Biezen, P. Mair and T. Poguntke, *Going, going, . . . gone? The decline of party membership in contemporary Europe*, ‘European Journal of Political Research’ Volume 51, Issue 1, pages 24–56, January 2012

Recommended readings

- S. Bartolini, *The class cleavage*, Cambridge, 2000-
- S. Scarrow “The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Modern Political Parties: The Unwanted Emergence of Party-Based Politics” in R. Katz and W. Crotty *Handbook of Party Politics*, London, Sage, 2006: pp. 16-24.
- I. Van Biezen “On the theory and practice of party formation and adaptation in new democracies” *European Journal of Political Research* (2005), pp. 147-174.
- P. Ignazi “Il puzzle dei partiti: più forti e più aperti ma meno attraenti e meno legittimi” *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, XXXIV, 3, (2004), pp. 325-346.

15 March (L. Verzichelli)

New parties. New Cleavages?

The end of the *freezing proposition* and the emergence of new social and political cleavages in the Western democratic hemisphere. Recent researches on the development of new party families and different types of parties, related to populism, extremism and «anti-party sentiments».

Core readings

- Kriesi, H. et al. (2006), “Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared, in *European Journal of Political Research*, 45(6): 921– 956
- De Vries, C. and E.E. Edwards (2009), “Taking Europe To Its Extremes: Extremist Parties and Public Euroscepticism”, in *Party Politics* 15(1): 5-28.
- Mudde, Cas (2010) “The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy”, *West European Politics*, 33: 6, 1167 — 1186
- Rydgren, Jens. 2005. “Is Extreme Right-Wing Populism Contagious? Explaining the Emergence of a New Party Family.” *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 413-37.
- Mudde C. and C. Rovira Kaltwasser (2013). *Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America. Government and Opposition*, 48, pp 147-174.

Recommended readings

- Kitschelt, H. (2006), *Movement parties*, in R.S. Katz and W.J. Crotty (eds.), *Handbook of Party Politics*, London, Sage, pp. 278-290.
- Mair, P. (ed.) (1990), *The West European Party System*, Oxford University Press, Chapters 3, 5
- Mudde, C. (2007), *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge University Press.
- Ignazi, P. (1992), “The Silent Counter-Revolution. Hypotheses on the Emergence of Extreme Right-Wing Parties, “*European Journal of Political Research*”, 22: 3-34

22 March (L. Verzichelli)

Changes in contemporary representative democracies: personalisation and leader democracy.

Return to «Democratic theory» and panorama on some recent contribution about the crisis of representative democracy and its consequence

Core readings

- K. Goetz, *Governance as a path to Government*, West European Politics, Volume 31, Issue 1-2, (2008)
- Koroseny (2007), Political representation in Leader Democracy, “Government and opposition”, Vol. 40, n. 3, pp. 358-378
- L. Bennett, The Personalization of Politics. Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation. The annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, November 2012 vol. 644 no. 1 20-39
- D. Castiglione, Mark E. Warren, Rethinking Democratic Representation: Eight Theoretical Issues, 2008, mimeo. Available:

http://www.politics.ubc.ca/fileadmin/user_upload/poli_sci/Faculty/warren/Rethinking_Democratic_Representation_May_2006.pdf

Recommended readings

- P. Mair, *Ruling the Void*, London, Verso, 2013
- Pogunkte T. and P. Webb” *The Presidentialization of Politics*”, Oxford, OUP, 2005,
- B. Manin, *The principles of Representative democracy*, CUP, 1997