

PhD in Political Science, European Studies and International Relations (PEI)
Academic Year 2016-2017

Course
Comparative Political Institutions

Instructors:

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Lecture Hours: Tuesday 10.00-12.00 **OR** 16.00-18.00 (the course starts on January, 24, 2017)

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 encyclopaediae, 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

A. Lijphart, A. (2012) *Patterns of Democracy*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

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

Badie, B., 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).

Brooker, P. (2013), *Non democratic regimes*, Palgrave

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

Cheibub, J. A. (2007), *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

D. Caramani (ed.) *Comparative Politics*, Oxford, OUP, 2014 (3rd edition).

G. W. Cox. *Making votes count: strategic coordination in the world's electoral system*

M. Tavits, 2009, *Presidents with Prime Ministers*, Oxford University Press.

Muller, I.W. (2016), *What is populism?*, University of Pennsylvania Press

Norris, P. (2012), *Making Democratic Governance Work*, Cambridge

R. Katz e W. Crotty, *Handbook of Political Parties*. London, Sage, 2006.

Teorell, J. (2010), *Determinants of Democratization*, Cambridge

Tormey, S. (2015) *The end of representative democracy*, Wiley

Warm-up exercise:

Students are asked to prepare a preliminary set of readings on comparative method and comparative institutional analysis. The readings selected for this exercise are listed below. The discussion on these methodological readings will start during the third meeting (7 February 2017)

List of readings for the methodological warm-up exercise:

- D. Caramani (ed.) *Comparative Politics*, Oxford, OUP, 2014, chs. 1,2,3.

- Lijphart, A. *Comparative politics and comparative method*, American Political Science Review, 1971

- 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.

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

Syllabus structure

Seminar 1	Electoral systems and their consequences
Seminar 2	Party system and party system change
Seminar 3	Democratic regimes. Then and now
Seminar 4	New parties and party systems innovation
Seminar 5	Election, competition and voting
Seminar 6	Executives: formation, delegation and performance
Seminar 7	Legislatures: Functions, Roles, Procedures
Seminar 8	Democracy and political elites
Seminar 9	Populism and extremism. New political cleavages?
Seminar 10	Changes and challenges in contemporary democracies:

Comparative Political Institutions

Outline

(1) 24 January 2017, 10 a.m.

Alessandro Chiaramonte + Luca Verzichelli: Presentation of the Course

Alessandro 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.

(2) 31 January 2017. 10 a.m.

Alessandro 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 and deinstitutionalization.

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.

Chiaramonte, A. and Emanuele, V. [2015], Party System Volatility, Regeneration and De-Institutionalization in Western Europe (1945-2015), in *Party Politics*, first published online on August 25, 2015.

(3) 7 February 2017, 4 p.m.

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 pose some new questions to the comparative research on democracy: 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.
- Munck, Geraldo L., and Jay Verkuilen. 2002. 'Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices.' *Comparative Political Studies* 35: 5-34.

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

Cheibub, J.A. (2007), *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press., ch. 2

Lijphart, A. (2012), *Patterns of democracy*, Ch. 2 and 3.

(4) 14 February 2017, 10 a.m.

A. Chiaramonte: New parties and party system innovation

What is a 'new' political party? The emergence and success of new political parties in Western Europe. Party system innovation as the aggregate level of 'newness' recorded in a party system at a given election.

Core readings

Mair, P. [1993] Myths of electoral change and the survival of traditional parties, in *European Journal of Political Research*, 24(2): 121-133.

Sikk, A. [2005], How unstable? Volatility and the genuinely new parties in Eastern Europe, in *European Journal of Political Research*, 44: 391–412.

Barnea, S. and Rahat. G. [2011], Out with the old, in with the 'new': What constitutes a new party?, in *Party Politics*, 17(3): 303-320.

Tavits, M. [2008], Party Systems in the Making: The Emergence and Success of New Parties in New Democracies, in *British Journal of Political Science*, 38(1): 113–33.

Recommended readings

Bolleyer, N. [2013], *New Parties in Old Party Systems: Persistence and Decline in Seventeen Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harmel, R. [1985], On the Study of New Parties, in *International Political Science Review*, 6(4): 403-418.

Harmel, R. and Robertson, J.D. [1985], Formation and Success of New Parties. A Cross-National Analysis, in *International Political Science Review*, 6(4): 501-523.

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. [1988] Left-libertarian Parties: Explaining Innovation in Competitive Party Systems, in *World Politics*, 40(2): 194-234.

Kitschelt, H. [1995], *The Radical Right in Western Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Emanuele, V. and Chiaramonte, A. [2016]. A Growing Impact of New Parties: Myth Or Reality? Party System Innovation in Western Europe after 1945, in *Party Politics*, first published online on November 22, 2016.

(5) 21 February 2017, 10 a.m.

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.

(6) 28 February 2017, 4 p.m.

L. Verzichelli: Executives: formation, delegation, performance

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, ch. 1, 3.

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;

(7) 7 March 2017, 4 p.m.

Luca Verzichelli: Legislatures: Functions, Roles, Procedures

This seminar is about some recent phenomena characterising the institutional transformation of democratic legislatures. Are the representative assemblies still at the core of modern political systems? To what extent do they play similar roles?

Core readings

- Sieberer, U., 2011. The Institutional Power of Western European Parliaments: A Multidimensional Analysis. *West European Politics*, 34(4): 731–54.
- Saalfeld, T. and K. W. Strøm, Political Parties and Legislators, in S. Martin, T. Saalfeld, and K. W. Strøm (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*, Oxford, UP, pp. 376-399
- Andeweg, R. B. and Thomassen, J. J. A., 2005. Modes of Political Representation: Toward a New Typology. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 30, 507–28.
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Recommended readings

Olson, David. 1994. *Legislative Institutions: A Comparative View*. M.E. Sharpe.

Doering, H. (1995), *Parliaments and majority rule in Western Europe*, New York, St. Martin

(8) 14 March 2017, 4 p.m.

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

- Best, H. and L. Vogel, *The sociology of legislators and legislatures in The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*, 2014
- 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
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(9) 21 March 2017, 4 p.m.

L. Verzichelli: Populism and extremism. New political cleavages?

This seminar looks at a very recent and intrusive phenomenon: the end of the *freezing proposition* concerning the European party system would have determined the consequence of the emergence of new social and political cleavages in the Western democratic hemisphere.

Recent researches on the development of new party families, new and different types of single issue and anti-establishment parties, related to populism, extremism and «anti-party sentiments», will be presented.

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
- 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

(10) 28 March 2017, 4 p.m.

L. Verzichelli: Changes and challenges in contemporary democracies:

This seminar is dedicated to some of the most recent challenges for contemporary democracies. The return to «Democratic theory» and panorama on some recent contribution about the crisis of representative democracy and its consequence

Core readings

- Tormey, S. (2015) *The end of representative democracy*, Wiley, ch. 6.
- Merkel, (2014), W. Is there a Crisis of democracy? In *Democratic Theory*., Vol. 1, (2), pp.11-25
- Fukuyama, F. (2006), Identity, immigration, and liberal democracy, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 17, n. 2

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