Party-system formation in Europe and the 'freezing hypothesis'

Session 01

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- 1 Introduction
- **2** Mapping the terrain
- 3 The origins of party-systems
- **4** European party-systems
- **5** The 'freezing hypothesis'
- **6** References

Introduction

Presentations

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- The course: what is it about and what are we going to do

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 - Wrap-up session

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 - ② Economic voting and the Great Recession: new politics in Southern Europe

Mapping the terrain

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 - The interaction of parties competing in the given electoral market. It is characterised by the number, size, and ideological preferences of the parties, among other aspects

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 party-system indicates levels of societal fragmentation and
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- In the end, party politics is a crucial aspect of political science: 'the science of (public) power'
- In this seminar, we will try to understand why European party-systems looks like they are today, considering how they were born and evolved, which surely help us to assess future events (although never fully predict them)

The origins of party-systems

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 - Institutional approaches
 - 2 The socio-historical approach, famously indebted to Lipset and Rokkan (1967)

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- Any other example of direct vs. indirect effect?



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- A cleavage is characterised by 1) a social divide of which citizens at each side develop 2) political consciousness
- Any example of what may be and what may not be a cleavage nowadays in any European country?



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- The first two cleavages would be directly influenced by social changes brought by the industrial (and liberal) revolutions
- The other two would be influenced by each national revolution, and it would depend on specific preconditions (e.g., strong privilege of the Catholic Church in Italy / strong minority elites in Spain)

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 - 1 The threshold of *legitimation* (i.e., opposition recognition)
 - 2 The threshold of incorporation (i.e., participation rights)
 - **3** The threshold of *representation* (i.e., institutional presence)
 - 4 The threshold of majority power (i.e., participation in government)
 - ¹Lipset and Rokkan mention (1) the traditions of decision-making in the polity, (2) the channels of expression and mobilization of protest, (3) the opportunities, the payoffs and the costs of alliances, (4) and the possibilities, the implications and the limitations of majority rule in the system

European party-systems

• The importance of **overlapping/coinciding** vs. **cross-cutting cleavages**, for example, on the strength of Socialist/Labor parties²:

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 - Protestant countries with the smoothest nation-building experience (e.g., Britain, Denmark, and Sweden) produced the most cohesive and integrated Socialist parties

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- What are the mechanisms underlying these processes?



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- There are typologies beyond the scope of this seminar that help to explain differences within clusters (e.g., consensual vs. majoritarian institutions)

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The 'freezing hypothesis'

The 'freezing hypothesis': the German case

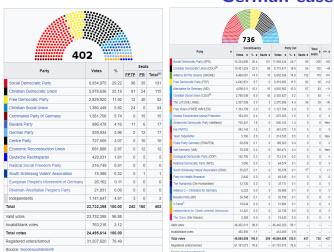


Figure 1: German Federal election results, images from Wikipedia

The 'freezing hypothesis': continuity between the 1920s and the 1960s

 "The authors conclude, perhaps too easily, that the current European party systems, with some exceptions, reflect the survival of the 'cleavage structures' of the 1920's in spite of the onslaught of Fascism and National Socialism and World War II" (Merkl, 1969)

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- Lipset and Rokkan highlight the shockingly pervasive stability of European party-systems despite intermittent wars, autocratic periods and revolutions
- But are European party-systems currently frozen? What does the case of Germany suggest to you?

The 'freezing hypothesis': let's debate!

• *Final activity!* Let's divide the class in two groups. You have 5-10 minutes to discuss potential explanations against or in favour of the freezing hypothesis, that is, why should we expect party-systems to remain 'frozen' until nowadays (or not). Someone from each group should summarise its main points and then we will briefly debate.

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- The activity begins now!

References

References I

- Boix, C. (2007). The emergence of parties and party systems. In *The oxford handbook of comparative politics*.
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