

**GOV 365Q (#38355): Comparative Political Parties  
Fall 2023**

**RLP 0.102  
M-W 11:30am-1:00pm**

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Office: BAT 3.124

Office hours: M 2:30-4pm, W 3-4:30pm, or by appointment

**Course Objectives and Outline:**

Political parties are central actors mediating voters' policy preferences and political outcomes. Therefore, their role in the practice of modern liberal democracy cannot be underestimated. As Robertson (1976) states, "to talk, today, about democracy, is to talk about a system of competitive political parties."

In this upper-level seminar, we will explore the vast literature on comparative political parties, party systems, and elections.

The course is scheduled into three parts. The first part is about understanding party systems, political parties, and where they come from. The second part of the course opens the black box of parties and focuses on party organizations: how do parties organize, who are the party members, who are the party leaders, who select them, and how has the party organization changed over decades? The third section then moves to election campaigns and governments and examines how parties form their policy proposals, how they compete with each other and with the new emerging populist niche parties, how they form governments and distribute the government portfolios among partners, and how they function in office.

Along the way, we will learn a lot about political parties and party systems of various advanced parliamentary democracies. Unfortunately, we do not have time to learn about less developed democracies around the world or much about the unique US system or parties. If you are taking this course to learn more about the US political parties or parties from less developed democracies, there are many other excellent courses offered at UT for those topics.

**Requirements:**

<b>Class participation:</b>	<b>100 points</b>
<b>Three midterms:</b>	<b>200 points each</b>
<b>Final paper:</b>	<b>300 points (one-page idea 50 points, literature review 100 points, final paper 150 points)</b>

### **Class participation (100 points):**

This is an upper-level seminar, and therefore, class participation is an important component of your final grade. The course will require a substantial amount of reading, which must be completed prior to the class period so that you participate actively.

Note that I make a strong distinction between attendance and participation. Attending every class, without ever speaking up does not constitute participation. If you do so, you will receive an F for this part of the class. To receive credit for participation, students are required to ask questions, raise issues, express opinions, etc. regarding the topics covered.

I reserve the right to occasionally call your name to discuss a topic or answer a question.

### **Three Midterms (200 points each)**

The in-class exams will be on October 2, October 30, and November 29 and have two parts: the first half of the exam will test your facts with multiple choice, fill-in-the-blank, bullet point questions. The second part of the exam will be composed of short-answer questions. The exams are not cumulative.

### **Final paper (300 points):**

Each student is required to write a final paper on a topic related to political parties and/or party systems. The paper should not be longer than 15 pages (double-spaced), or shorter than 10 pages (double-spaced), excluding the title page and the bibliography.

The paper must have a clear research question, a hypothesis and a theoretical argument, extensive literature review (from peer-reviewed academic articles and books), and evidence that supports your argument. More details about the final paper will be distributed and discussed in class later.

Students are expected to come up with a topic for their paper and write a one-page (double-spaced) description of the project **by the start of the October 18 class** (you must bring the one-page proposal to the class). I will then either approve your project or schedule an appointment with you to discuss the details of your suggested topic or an alternative project. You will receive 50 points of your whole paper grade from this one-page assignment. Every hour after the start of the October 18 class (11:30am) that you are late will cost you 10 points out of 50. You are welcome to come to my office hours or schedule an appointment to discuss the paper topic before the deadline.

The second deadline for the paper project is November 6 class. You must submit 3-6 double-spaced pages for the literature review on your paper topic. I will discuss more details in class. This document is due at the beginning of the class on November 6 in hardcopy format. 100 point of your paper will come from this assignment. Every hour after the start of the November 6 class (11:30am) that you are late will cost you 10 points out of 100 (e.g., if you turn in the literature review between 11:31am-12:30pm on November 6, your literature review will be graded out of 90).

**The paper is due on December 10, at noon by email only.** You will lose 20 points (out of 150) for every hour you are late after this deadline. That is, if you turn in the paper between 12:01pm and 1pm, I will grade the final paper out of 130 points. If you turn it in between 1:01pm and 2pm you will lose 40 points and your paper will be graded out of 110 points.

You must email me your paper. I will NOT accept a hardcopy of the paper. You will receive a confirmation email once I have your paper.

### **IMPORTANT NOTE ON THE REQUIREMENTS:**

To receive credit for this course, students will need to...

- Complete all three midterm assignments, and
- Complete all elements of the research paper project, and

These requirements are critical: Even if you have enough points to pass the course, you need to complete these assignments to pass. Failure to do so will result in a failing grade.

### **Grading Scheme:**

In this course I will use the following grading scheme:

A	1000 – 933.34
A-	933.33 - 900
B+	899.99 – 866.70
B	866.69 – 833.34
B-	833.34 - 800
C+	799.99 – 766.70
C	766.69 – 733.34
C-	733.33 - 700
D+	699.99 – 666.70
D	666.69 – 633.34
D-	633.33 – 600
F	599.99 and below

There is no rounding up or down in this class. You get what you get.

### **Required Readings:**

Alan Ware. *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Oxford University Press.

The book should be available through the Longhorn Textbook Access (LTA) program, to significantly reduce the cost of digital course materials for students. You are automatically opted into the program but can easily opt-out (and back in) via Canvas through the 12th class day. If you remain opted-in at the end of the 5th class day you will receive a bill through your “What I Owe” page and have until the end of the 20th class day to pay and retain access. If you do not pay by the 20th class day, you will lose access to the materials and your charge will be removed.

There will be additional required articles/chapters. These readings are denoted with an asterisk (\*\*) in the syllabus, and will be available on Canvas in advance.

You must bring the readings to the class for the in-class discussion.

## **MAKE-UP EXAMS AND EXTENSION OF DEADLINES POLICY**

Make-up exams and extensions of paper deadlines will not be offered except in extremely rare circumstances. These extremely rare circumstances can be: (1) University sanctioned events (verification required) (2) extraordinary circumstances such as medical emergency, or (3) religious observances. Make-up exams and extension of deadlines requested for any other reason will be decided on a case-by-case basis and will be subject to a 20% grade penalty. **Vacations and early departure for breaks do not constitute legitimate reasons for extensions or make-up exams.** If you know you are going to miss an exam or a deadline, notify me as soon as possible BEFORE the exam and the deadline, no later than 14 days prior to the exam date or deadline.

## **AI Tools**

The use of artificial intelligence tools (such as ChatGPT) in this class is strictly prohibited. This includes using AI to generate ideas, to outline an approach, to answer questions, to solve problems, or to create original language. All work in this course must be your own or created in group work, where allowed.

## **Citation and Reference Guidelines for Written Work**

The papers, as well as the citations of articles and books in the body of the papers, and the list of citations or references at the end of the papers, should all adhere to formatting guidelines for all papers written for courses in the Government department. Those guidelines are presented in a memo that I will post to Canvas.

## **Academic Honesty and Plagiarism**

**University's Honor Code governs all work in this course.** As commonly defined, plagiarism consists of passing off as one's own the ideas, words, writings, etc., which belong to another. In accordance with the definition, you are committing plagiarism if you copy the work of another person and turn it in as your own, even if you should have the permission of the person. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with and observe university's policies against cheating and plagiarism. If you have any questions regarding academic honesty, please consult the university's Honor Code: <http://registrar.utexas.edu/catalogs/gi09-10/ch01/index.html>

## **Senate Bill 212 and Title IX Reporting Requirements**

Under Senate Bill 212 (SB 212), the professor and TAs for this course are required to report for further investigation any information concerning incidents of sexual harassment, sexual assault,

dating violence, and stalking committed by or against a UT student or employee. Federal law and university policy also requires reporting incidents of sex- and gender-based discrimination and sexual misconduct (collectively known as Title IX incidents). This means we cannot keep confidential information about any such incidents that you share with us. If you need to talk with someone who can maintain confidentiality, please contact University Health Services (512-471-4955 or 512-475-6877) or the UT Counseling and Mental Health Center (512-471-3515 or 512-471-2255). We strongly urge you make use of these services for any needed support and that you report any Title IX incidents to the [Title IX Office](#).

### **Students with Disabilities**

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. Among other things, this legislation requires that all students with disabilities be guaranteed a learning environment that provides for reasonable accommodation of their disabilities. If you have a learning or physical disability, or if you learn best utilizing a particular method, please discuss with me how I can best accommodate your learning needs. I will maintain the confidentiality of your learning needs. If appropriate, you should contact the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities, 471-6259, <http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/> to get more information on accommodating disabilities.

### **Sharing of Course Materials is Prohibited:**

No materials used in this class, including, but not limited to, lecture hand-outs, videos, assessments (quizzes, exams, papers, projects, homework assignments), in-class materials, review sheets, and additional problem sets, may be shared online or with anyone outside of the class unless you have my explicit, written permission. Unauthorized sharing of materials promotes cheating. It is a violation of the University's Student Honor Code and an act of academic dishonesty. I am well aware of the sites used for sharing materials, and any materials found online that are associated with you, or any suspected unauthorized sharing of materials, will be reported to Student Conduct and Academic Integrity in the Office of the Dean of Students. These reports can result in sanctions, including failure in the course.

### **Emergency Evacuation Policy:**

In the event of a fire or other emergency, it may be necessary to evacuate a building rapidly. Upon the activation of a fire alarm or the announcement of an emergency in a university building, all occupants of the building are required to evacuate and assemble outside. Once evacuated, no one may re-enter the building without instruction to do so from the Austin Fire Department, University of Texas at Austin Police Department, or Fire Prevention Services office. Students should familiarize themselves with all the exit doors of each room and building they occupy at the university, and should remember that the nearest exit routes may not be the same as the way they typically enter buildings. Students requiring assistance in evacuation shall inform their instructors in writing during the first week of class. Faculty members must then provide this information to the Fire Prevention Services office by fax (512-232-2759).

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## **Course Schedule:**

Below is a tentative schedule of readings, topics and assignments that will be covered in the course. I reserve the right to make changes to the schedule, including the deadlines for the essays and the exam date, and it is the student's responsibility to be aware of these changes. Date changes will be announced in advance.

**All readings are required. Unless noted, please read them in the same order as listed below.**

**08/21, Monday:**                   **Introduction**  
  Ware: Introduction chapter

### **Module I: Party Systems and Political Parties: Origins and Evolutions**

**08/23, Wednesday:**               **Typologies of party systems**  
  Ware, ch.5, pp.147-175

**08/28, Monday:**               **Crash course on political parties and party systems with a few examples**  
  Ware, ch. 1, pp. 21-47

**08/30, Wednesday:**               **Where do political parties come from and how do party systems form? Part 1: Rational Choice Explanation**  
  \*\* Aldrich, John. 1995. *Why Parties?* University of Chicago Press.  
  Ch. 2

**09/06, Wednesday:**               **Where do political parties come from and how do party systems form? Part 2: Sociological explanations**  
  Ware ch. 6, pp. 184-190

**09/11, Monday:**               **Attend the talk by Professor Jae-Jae Spoon in BAT 5.108**

**09/13, Wednesday:**               **Where do political parties come from and how do party systems form? Part 3: Electoral Systems (1)**  
  \*\* Gallagher, Michael; Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. Ch. 11  
  \*\* Lachat, Romain, André Blas, and Ignacio Lago. 2015. “Assessing the Mechanical and Psychological Effects of District Magnitude.” *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties* 25 (3): 284–99.

**09/18, Monday:**               **Where do political parties come from and how do party systems form? Part 3: Electoral Systems (2)**  
  Gallagher, Michael; Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. Ch. 11

<b>09/20, Wednesday:</b>	<b>Review of the course material</b>
<b>09/25, Monday:</b>	<b>Where do political parties come from and how do party systems form? Part 3: Electoral Systems (3)</b> Gallagher, Michael; Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2011. <i>Representative Government in Modern Europe</i> . Ch. 11
<b>09/27, Wednesday</b>	<b>Party System Dynamics: Realignment-Dealignment</b> Ware, ch. 7: pp: 213-233
<b>10/2, Monday:</b>	<b>Midterm 1</b>

## **Module II: Parties as Organizations**

<b>10/4, Wednesday:</b>	<b>Understanding parties as organizations</b> Ware ch. 2, pp: 63-83 ** Kölln, Ann-Kristin. 2016. "Party membership in Europe: Testing party-level explanations of decline." <i>Party Politics</i> 22: 465-477.
<b>10/9, Monday:</b>	<b>May's Law and The Problem of Membership</b> Ware ch. pp. 261-272 ** van Holsteyn et al. 2017. "From May's Laws to May's legacy: On the opinion structure within political parties." <i>Party Politics</i> 23:471-486.
<b>10/11, Wednesday</b>	<b>Party leadership change: reasons and consequences</b> ** Cozza and Somer-Topcu. 2021. "Membership vote for party leadership changes: Electoral effects and the causal mechanisms behind." <i>Electoral Studies</i> 71.  **Ennser-Jedenastik and Schumacher. 2021. "What parties want from their leaders: How office achievement trumps electoral performance as a driver of party leader survival" <i>European Journal of Political Research</i> 60: 114-130.
<b>10/16, Monday:</b>	<b>Changes in party organizations: cartel parties</b> **Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair. 1995. "Changing Models of Party Organization." <i>Party Politics</i> 1(1): 5-28.

## **Module III: Parties in Election Campaigns and Governments**

**10/18, Wednesday**

**Party ideologies and ideological change: The median voter theorem**

Ware, ch. 1 pp.18-21

Ware, ch. 11 pp.318-330

**One page paper topic/outline due on 10/18 (hardcopy at the beginning of the class)**

**10/23, Monday:**

**Party ideological change**

\*\*Adams James. 2012. "Causes and Electoral Consequences of Party Policy Shifts in Multiparty Elections: Theoretical Results and Empirical Evidence." *Annual Review of Political Science*

\*\* Somer-Topcu, Zeynep. 2015. "Everything to Everyone: The Electoral Consequences of Broad Policy Appeals in Europe" *American Journal of Political Science*.

**10/25, Wednesday:**

**Issue ownership**

\*\* Green, Jane and Sara B. Hobolt. 2008. "Owning the Issue Agenda: Party Strategies and Vote Choices in British Elections." *Electoral Studies* 27: 460-476.

**10/30, Monday:**

**Midterm II in class**

**11/1, Wednesday:**

**The Types of Niche Parties**

\*\* Golder, Matt. 2016. Far Right Parties in Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*. Pp. 478-482

\*\* Meyer, Thomas and Miller. 2015. "The niche party concept and its measurement." *Party Politics*.

**11/06: Monday:**

**The Rise of Niche Parties and Decline of Mainstream Parties**

\*\* Golder, Matt. 2016. Far Right Parties in Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*. Pp. 482-494

\*\* Tarik Abou-Chadi and Markus Wagner. "Losing the Middle Ground: The Electoral decline of Social Democratic parties since 2000."

**The 3-6 pages long literature review is due by 11/06 (hardcopy at the beginning of the class)**

**11/08, Wednesday:**

**Review of the course material**

<b>11/13, Monday:</b>	<b>How to compete with the new parties?</b> ** Meguid, Bonnie. 2005. "Competition between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy and Niche Party Success." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 99(3): 347-360. ** Abou-Chadi, Tarik. 2014. "Niche Party Success and Mainstream Party Policy Shifts – How Green and Radical Right Parties Differ in Their Impact." <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 46: 417-436.
<b>11/15, Wednesday:</b>	<b>Parties in government formation:</b> Ware ch. 11, 330-342 ** Raabe and Linhart. 2015 "Does substance matter? A model of qualitative portfolio allocation and application to German state governments between 1990 and 2010" <i>Party Politics</i> 21: 481-492.
<b>11/27, Monday:</b>	<b>Parties in government:</b> Ware ch. 12, pp. 349-367 ** Thomson, Robert et al. 2017. "The Fulfillment of Parties' Election Pledges: A Comparative Study on the Impact of Power Sharing." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> .
<b>11/29, Wednesday:</b>	<b>Midterm #3</b>
<b>12/4, Monday:</b>	<b>Party persistence and decline: Are parties still relevant? Do parties matter?</b> ** Dalton and Weldon. 2005. "Public Images of Political Parties: A Necessary Evil?" <i>West European Politics</i> 28: 931-951. ** Ignazi. 2014. "Power and the (il)legitimacy of political parties: An unavoidable paradox of contemporary democracy?" <i>Party Politics</i> 20: 160-169.
<b>12/10, Sunday, NOON</b>	<b><u>Your final papers are due by email only</u></b>