



Vrije Universiteit Brussel

20th ECPR Standing Group Summer School “Political Parties in Modern Democracies”

Academic Programme

With special thanks to:

- Académie Wallonie-Bruxelles
- Vrije Universiteit Brussel
- PARTIREP, Interuniversity research programme on Political Participation and representation
- Fonds de la recherche Scientifique (FNRS)
- The Institute for European Studies (IES)

PARTICIPANTS

Sarah Clayman

American University (School of Public Affairs), Washington, DC

Thesis topic: Explaining Nationalist Parties' Electoral Success and Failure in Europe

Paper title: Explaining Nationalist Parties' Electoral Success and Failure in Europe

Margret Hornsteiner

University of Bamberg

Thesis topic: Manifesto Formation Process – A determining factor for the quality of manifesto data

Paper title: Manifesto formation –A neglected field of intra-party competition

Willy Jou

University of California, Irvine, USA

Thesis topic: Left-Right Orientations in Eastern European and East Asian New Democracies.

Paper title: Examining the Relevance of the Left-Right Schema in the Voter-Party Linkage

Jesse Katala

Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, Humboldt Universität, Berlin

Thesis topic: German Political Parties and Multilateral Security Policy: Assessing Party Influence on National Executive Preferences

Paper title: German Political Parties and Multilateral Security Policy: Assessing Party Influence on National Executive Preferences

Sejin Koo

Texas A&M University

Thesis topic: Organizations of Political Parties and Internal Relationships between Party Members in New Democracies

Paper title: Ideological Partisanship in New Democracies: A Critical Case Test and a New Measure of Party Internal Coherence

Maité Leroy

Université Libre de Bruxelles

Thesis topic: The social democratic identity in Central Europe. A comparative analysis of social democratic parties through the political attitudes of their members

Paper title: Understanding social democratic 'identity' in Central and Eastern Europe

Sofie Marien

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Thesis topic: Political trust. An Empirical Investigation of the Causes and Consequences of Trust in Political Institutions in Europe

Paper title: The effect of the proportionality of election outcomes on citizens' political trust in Europe

Silviu-Dan Mateescu

National School of Political and Administrative Studies, Bucharest

Thesis topic: The Cartelization of Party Systems in Central and Eastern Europe

Paper title: The Cartelization of The Romanian Party System: A Case Study

Guilherme Reis

University Research Institute of Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ), with a Split Fellowship Program in Goethe-University Frankfurt am Main

Thesis topic: Social Democracy under Globalization: Party Governments in Europe and South America

Paper title: The degree of social democratic advance in European left-wing governments

Luana Russo

Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, Pisa, Italy

Thesis topic: From an Oligopolistic to a Competitive Political Market: The Case of Italy

Paper title: Measuring parties' flow-of-voting with the Goodman Model: The Case of Italy

Edalina Sanches

University of Lisbon, Portugal

Thesis topic: Parties and party systems in Third Wave African democracies.

Paper title: The dynamics of party competition in Africa: a theoretical approach

Patrícia Silva

University of Aveiro

Thesis topic: Political patronage as a partisan instrument in public policy

Paper title: Is the party over? Party patronage and government in Portugal, 1995-2005

João Vargas

University of Aveiro

Thesis topic: Activation and Deactivation Strategies of Religious Cleavage in Democratic Portugal (1975-2009)

Paper title: Bridging Structure and agency. De-activation and activation of religious cleavage in democratic Portugal

Mathieu Vieira

Université Libre de Bruxelles

Thesis topic: Cleavage Systems in Europe under the Combined Impact of Globalization and Europeanization

Paper title: Cleavage Systems in Europe under the Combined Impact of Globalization and Europeanization. A Framework for the Analysis.

Tom Verthé

Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Thesis topic: The formation of pre-electoral alliances between political parties

Paper title: Does Size Matter? Exploring Joint List Formation in Flanders for the 2006 Municipal Elections

Summary of the programme

Monday 13 September

Pm Arrival of the Students, welcome drink

Tuesday 14 September: Session 1

Am Introduction (Kris Deschouwer & Jean-Benoit Pilet)

Am "Political Parties and Democracies" (Richard S. Katz)

Pm Presentation of Students papers (Leroy, Verthé)

Wednesday 15 September: Session 2

Am "Restructuring West-European Party Systems in the Age of Globalization" (Hanspeter Kriesi)

Pm Presentation of Students papers (Vargas, Viera)

Thursday 16 September: Session 3

Am "Parties and Party Systems in the New European Democracies" (Zsolt Enyedi)

Pm Presentation of Students papers (Sanches, Hornsteiner)

Friday 17 September: Session 4

Am "The Europeanization of Political Parties" (Elisabeth Carter)

Pm Presentation of Students papers (Jou, Silva)

Monday 20 September: Session 5

Am "Parties and Multi-Level Politics" (Kris Deschouwer)

Pm Presentation of Students papers (Clayman, Koo)

Tuesday 21 September: Session 6

Am "Political Parties and Electoral System Change" (David Farrell)

Pm Presentation of Students papers (Marien, Russo)

Pm Scientific publishing (Farrell, Deschouwer)

Wednesday 22 September: Session 7

Am "Political Parties and the State" (Ingrid van Biezen)

Pm Presentation of Students papers (Mateescu, Katala)

Thursday 23 September: Session 8

Am "Political Parties and the Challenge of Right Wing Extremism" (Nonna Mayer)

Pm Presentation of Students papers (Reis)

Friday 24 September: Session 9

Am "Political Parties and the Representation of Gender" (Petra Meier)

Pm Roundtable on 'Challenges to party democracy' and celebration of 20 years Party Summer School (Hans Keman, Lieven De Winter, Richard Luther, Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, Kris Deschouwer)

Saturday 25 September

Departure

DETAILED PROGRAMME

Session 1: Political Parties and Democracy

Lecturer: Richard Katz (Johns Hopkins University)

Contemporary understandings of democracy assign parties two related, but potentially contradictory, roles. On one hand, each party is expected to represent particular elements of society vis-à-vis the state; they are to be the agents of citizens and of groups in society, organizing and channeling their interests, and ultimately making demands of the state on their behalf. On the other hand, at least the parties that emerge victorious from elections are expected to take control of the state and actually govern. In doing so, however, they become captives of a number of normative and practical constraints limiting their capacity to satisfy the demands that they are also charged with making. The central argument that will inform this discussion is that there has been a long-term shift in emphasis from the first of these roles toward the second. As parties become increasingly orientated toward governing, and indeed become integrated into the apparatus of government, and as main-stream parties, whether through strategic choice or necessity, differ less and less from one another, traditional party channels for popular engagement in politics appear inadequate or even irrelevant to many people. While a panoply of interest organizations, citizen initiatives and other community-based forms of representation, as well as a range of “alternative” parties have arisen, the question remains whether these can adequately perform the functions required for a robust democratic politics.

Core reading:

Mark Blyth and Richard S. Katz (2005), “From Catch-all Politics to Cartelisation,” *West European Politics* 28 (1), 33-60.

Richard S. Katz (2006) “Party in Democratic Theory,” in Richard S. Katz and William Crotty (eds), *Handbook of Party Politics* (London: Sage), 34-46.

Arend Lijphart (1999), *Patterns of Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press), pp.258-300.

Giandomenico Majone (1994), “The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe,” *West European Politics* 17 (3), 77-101.

Hanna Fenichel Pitkin (2004), “Representation and Democracy: Uneasy Alliance,” *Scandinavian Political Studies* 27 (3), 335-42.

Mark Thatcher and Alec Stone Sweet (2002), “Theory and Practice of Delegation to Non-Majoritarian Institutions,” *West European Politics* 25 (1), 1-22.

Paul Hirst (2000), “Democracy and Governance,” in Jon Pierre (ed.), *Debating Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 13-35.

Session 2: Restructuring West-European Party Systems in the Age of Globalization

Lecturer: Hanspeter Kriesi (University of Zurich)

This session present the results of a project on the transformation of party systems, based on the analysis of the national elections of Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the UK in the 1970s, 1990s, and 2000s. The basic ideas have already been laid out in our two publications:

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier, Timotheos Frey 2008. *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge University Press.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier, Tim Frey 2006. 'Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: six European countries compared', *European Journal of Political Research*/ 45, 6: 921-957.

The point of departure is a Rokkanean perspective which assumes that the current processes of economic, cultural and political denationalization constitute a critical juncture which is transforming the structure of party competition in the West-European nation-states. The new populist right is expected to be the driving force of this transformation. With its appeal to the 'losers of globalization' in cultural terms, it is above all transforming the meaning of the cultural dimension of the competitive partisan space, and the configuration of the parties on the right. We try to substantiate these claims on the basis of data that go beyond the data used in the two previous publications.

Core reading:

Bornschier, Simon 2010. *Cleavage Politics and the Populist Right. The New Cultural Conflict in Western Europe*. Philadelphia: Temple University.

Kitschelt, Herbert 2007. 'Review Article: Growth and Persistence of the Radical Right in Postindustrial Democracies: Advances and Challenges in Comparative Research', *West European Politics*/ 30, 5: 1176 1206.

Mair, Peter 2009. *Representative versus Responsible Government*, *MPlfG Working Paper*/ 09/8.

Meguid, Bonnie M. 2005. 'Competition Between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success', *American Political Science Review*/ 99, 3: 34759.

Van der Brug, Wouter, Meindert Fennema and Jean Tillie 2005. 'Why Some Anti-Immigrant Parties Fail and Others Succeed. A Two Step model of Aggregate Electoral Support', *Comparative Political Studies*/ 38, 5: 53773.

Van der Brug, Wouter and Jost van Spanje 2009. 'Immigration, Europe and the 'new' cultural dimension. *European Journal of Political Research*.

Session 3: Parties and Party Systems in the New European Democracies

Lecturer: Zsolt Enyedi (Central European University – Budapest)

The status of political parties and the functioning of party systems in new European democracies have a number of distinctive features. Parties are typically weak on the ground but often lack domestic rivals in determining public policies, public agenda, and in some cases even national identities. Party systems are characterized by considerable fragmentation and volatility, but the intra-regional differences are larger than what one would expect given the common challenges and the similarity of historical backgrounds. Electoral accountability functions well: the electorates frequently oust the incumbents for weak performance. But only in a few countries do parties function as “political credit institutions” (Pizzorno): the level of turnout is low, the personalization of politics is high and corruption is endemic. Parties typically reach voters not through large scale bureaucratic organizations but through postmodern media politics, and, in certain instances, by sponsoring pseudo-civic movements.

The research on postcommunist countries has used the region as a laboratory to test a large number of hypotheses derived from the general political science literature. Most attention focused on phenomena that are particularly salient in these countries: volatility, new parties, questions of institutionalization and the colonization of state by parties. Given the elitist nature of the transition to democracy and of decision making, many findings underline the relevance of the supply side of politics. This session will focus on recent findings about the relations among party elites, ideological configurations - that often look idiosyncratic from the point of view of classical party families -, and the crystallization and change in fundamental party system attributes in Eastern Europe.

Core reading:

Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield 2009. Representational Consistency: Stability and Change in Political Cleavages in Central and Eastern Europe, *Politics & Policy*, Volume 37, No. 4: 667-690.

Zsolt Enyedi and Fernando Casal-Bertoa 2010. Patterns of Inter-Party Competition in Eastern Europe 1990-2009 in: Paul G. Lewis and Radoslaw Markowski (eds.) *Europeanising party politics? Comparative perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe after Enlargement*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Margit Tavits and Natalia Letki 2009. When Left Is Right: Party Ideology and Policy in Post-Communist Europe, *American Political Science Review*, 103(4): 555-569.

Scott Mainwaring and Mariano Torcal 2006. Party System Institutionalization and Party System Theory After the Third Wave of Democratization, in Richard S. Katz and William Crotty (eds.) *Handbook of Political Parties*. London: Sage Publications, 204-227.

Session 4: The Europeanization of Political Parties

Lecturer: Elisabeth Carter (Keele University)

The increased geographic coverage and substantive scope of the European Union (EU) and the changing nature of the EU's decision-making processes have given rise to a vast body of research that addresses the interaction between European integration and national institutions, actors and policies. However, despite the abundance of such studies—subsumed under the rather amorphous heading of 'Europeanization'—we still have much to discover about the repercussions of growing European integration on political parties. This is surprising not least because the impact of increased integration on parties is likely to be felt in a number of areas, including in their policies or programmes, their organization, their behaviour vis-à-vis their competitors, their relations with government, and their relationships with parties in other countries (Ladrech 2002). In light of this, this session explores how increased European integration has affected national political parties. In particular, it focuses on the impact of European integration on the organization of national political parties and explores whether increased integration has altered the balance of power within party organizations. This is an important area of investigation because changes to the internal dynamics of political parties are likely to affect how the classic party goals of office, votes and policy are prioritized and pursued, and changes to these goals, or to the balance of these goals, are likely to have far reaching consequences for the quality and the accountability of democracy within the EU.

Core Reading:

Carter, Elisabeth and Thomas Poguntke (2010), 'How European Integration Changes National Parties: Evidence from a 15-Country Study', *West European Politics*, 33(2): 297-324.

Carter, Elisabeth, Kurt Richard Luther and Thomas Poguntke (2007) 'European Integration and Internal Party Dynamics', in Thomas Poguntke, Nicholas Aylott, Elisabeth Carter, Robert Ladrech and Kurt Richard Luther (eds), *The Europeanization of National Political Parties: Power and Organizational Adaptation*, pp. 1-27, Abingdon: Routledge.

Ladrech, Robert (2002) 'Europeanization and Political Parties: Towards a Framework for Analysis', *Party Politics*, 8(4): 389-403.

Poguntke, Thomas, Nicholas Aylott, Robert Ladrech and Kurt Richard Luther (2007), 'The Europeanisation of National Party Organizations: A Conceptual Analysis', *European Journal of Political Research*, 46(6): 747-71.

Session 5: Parties and Multi-Level Politics

Lecturer: Kris Deschouwer (Free University of Brussels)

Political parties developed in a very specific context: the process of democratisation of politics in national states. Party theory has therefore also very much focused on the national state as the implicit institutional environment in which party politics developed: cleavages and voting behaviour, electoral campaigns, government formation, party organization.

We are witnessing today a change in this institutional context. European integration and varying processes of decentralisation in national states are making the environment in which parties function more complex and fragmented. Party politics can be analyzed at the new European and regional levels, but the continuous interrelation of these levels of decision-making creates the need for an analysis of parties being involved at different levels simultaneously.

In this session we will look at three dimensions of party politics in multi-level settings:

1. The relation between parties and their institutional context: political parties as multi-level organizations
2. Multi-level electoral politics. Do all elections have the same relevance? How can one assess the difference between them? When and why do some elections become 'second order' elections?
3. Governing at more than one level: incongruent coalitions in regionalized states

Core reading:

DESCHOUWER Kris (2006), Political parties as multi-level organizations, in Richard Katz & William Crotty (eds), *Handbook of party politics*, Sage Publications, p. 291-300

DESCHOUWER Kris, The Regionalization of National Electoral Politics, in W. Swenden & B.Maddens; *Territorial party politics*, Palgrave: 47-62

HOPKIN, Jonathan (2003), Political Decentralization, Electoral Change and Party Organizational Adaptation. *European Urban and Regional Studies*.; 10: 227-237

JEFFERY Charlie & Dan HOUGH (2003), Regional Elections in Multi-Level Systems *European Urban and Regional Studies*, Jul 2003; 10: 199 - 212.

MAIR, Peter (2000) "The Limited Impact of Europe on National Party Systems", *West European Politics*, 23:27-51

REIF, K.-H. & SCHMITT, H. (1980) "Nine second order national elections. A conceptual framework for the analysis of European election results", *European Journal of Political Research*, 8, 3-44

Session 6: Political Parties and Electoral System Change

Lecturer: David Farrell (University of Manchester)

What role have/do parties play in (1) the design and (2) the reform of electoral systems? The first of these questions relates to ongoing debates over Duverger's laws about how electoral systems determine party systems (seen generally as the closest thing there is in political science to a 'social scientific law'). There are debates over the direction of causality, and particularly over whether the laws have things the wrong way around (or 'upside down'). The second question refers to reform of existing electoral systems. Given that electoral system determines who wins power, parties (certainly the established ones) are very nervous about any changes that might be proposed. Nowhere else does that adage of 'turkeys not voting for Christmas' fit better than this, which helps to explain why large-scale reform of electoral systems in established democracies remains rare. But changes there have been, and certainly there are plenty of instances (some still ongoing) about possible future reforms. Inevitably the available theoretical frameworks (most notably those from a rational choice tradition) place parties centre stage in the analysis.

Core reading:

Benoit, Ken (2007), 'Electoral Laws as Political Consequences: Explaining the Origins and Change of Electoral Institutions', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10: 363-90.

Blais, Andre (ed.), (2008), *To Keep or to Change First Past the Post? The Politics of Electoral Reform* (OUP)

Colomer, Josep (2005), 'It's Parties that Choose Electoral Systems (or, Duverger's Laws Upside Down)', *Political Studies*, 53: 1-21.

Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell (eds), (2005, 2008), *The Politics of Electoral Systems* (OUP)

Renwick, Alan (2010), *The Politics of Electoral Reform: Changing the Rules of Democracy* (CUP)

Session 7: Political Parties and the State

Lecturer: Ingrid van Biezen (Leiden University)

In contemporary democracies, it can be argued that political parties are best understood in terms of their increasingly strong and permanent linkages with the state, while their linkages with society have become weaker and more contingent. In this context, two key developments should be emphasized: on the one hand, parties have become more dependent on the state, especially in financial terms; on the other, they are also increasingly managed by the state through public laws, regulations and the national constitution. The increased involvement of the state in the affairs and activities of political parties, whereby they become subject to a regulatory framework which grants them an official status as part of the democratic state and are financed increasingly through state subsidies, has contributed to the development of parties as a special type of public utility.

The notion of parties as public utilities implies that parties are seen to perform important functions which are indispensable and valuable for democracy, and which benefit the community as a whole. On this view, the value of their services justifies financial support from the state. Moreover, because of their special role in representative democracy, the internal affairs and external activities of political parties should be regulated and monitored, both to enforce the accurate management of their activities and to ensure that they perform their unique democratic services properly and effectively. Relative to other types of organizations, therefore, political parties deserve a privileged status in public law. This session explores the development of parties as public utilities in modern European democracies, focusing in particular on their public funding and regulation by the state.

Core reading:

Avnon, Dan (1995). 'Parties Laws in Democratic Systems of Government', *Journal of Legislative Studies* 1/2: 283-300.

Biezen, Ingrid van (2004). 'Political Parties as Public Utilities', *Party Politics*, 10/6: 701-722.

Biezen, Ingrid van (2008). 'State Intervention in Party Politics: The Public Funding and Regulation of Political Parties', *European Review* 16/3 (2008), pp. 337-353.

Biezen, Ingrid van, and Petr Kopecký (2007). 'The State and the Parties: Public Funding, Public Regulation and Rent-Seeking in Contemporary Democracies' *Party Politics* 13/2: 235-254.

Karvonen, Lauri (2007). *Legislation on Political Parties: A Global Comparison*, *Party Politics* 13/4: 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', *Columbia Law Review* 100/3: 775-812

Session 8: Political Parties and the Challenge of Right Wing Extremism

Lecturer: Nonna Mayer (Centre d'Etudes Européennes de Sciences Po)

Since the eighties, one of the main political changes in Western Europe has been the electoral upsurge of “extreme “or “radical” right-wing parties, such as the French National Front, the Flemish Vlaams Belang, the Austrian FPÖ, or the Danish Dansk Folkeparti . The aim of this presentation is to outline the nature, the explanatory factors and the political impact of these parties on the existing party order. We will start with the uneasy task to define what is an extreme right wing party, and their different types. Then drawing from comparative surveys we will outline the main theories explaining their electoral support and their empirical validation. Last we will see the strategies adopted by the mainstream parties in response and how they contribute to the success or decline of the extreme right parties.

Core reading:

Arzheimer, K., 2009, “Contextual Factors and the Extreme Right Vote in Western Europe, 1980-2002”, *American Journal of Political Science* (54)

Golder M. 2003, “Explaining variations in the success of extreme right parties in Western Europe”, *Comparative political studies*, vol.36 (2), 432-466

Kessler A.E. and Freeman G. P. 2005, “Support for Extreme Right-wing parties in Western Europe: individual attributes, political attitudes and national context”, *Comparative European Politics*, 2005, 3:261-288.

Lubbers M., Gisjberts M. and Scheepers P.2002, ‘Extreme Right Voting in Western Europe’, *European Journal of Political Research*, 41:345-378

Mayer N. 2009, “Right-wing Extremism and Ethnocentrism in Western Europe”, Marcel Alexandre Niggli (dir.), *Right-wing extremism in Switzerland. National and international perspectives*, Baden Baden, Nomos, 115-125.

Mudde C.1996 ‘The war of words defining the extreme right party family’, *West European Politics* 19(2): 225-248

Van der Brug W., Fennema M., Tillie J. 2005 , “Why Some Anti-immigrant Parties Fail and Others Succeed. A Two-step Model of Aggregate Electoral Support”, *Comparative Political Studies*, 38,5, 2005, pp. 537-573.

Van der Brug W., van Spanje J. 2004, “The strategy of a ‘cordon sanitaire’: consequences for anti immigrant parties” (ECPR Joint sessions, Uppsala, Sweden)

Session 9: Political Parties and the Representation of Gender

Lecturer: Petra Meier (University of Antwerp)

The last two decades saw an increasing interest in the position of women in politics and in the representation of gender in public policies. Political parties are important players in these matters, given the role they fulfill in recruiting and selecting candidates and in making public policies. This session focuses on the nexus of political parties and gender, more particularly on how gender interacts with processes of representation in political parties and in party politics. In their seminal work of 1993, Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris present a framework for studying and understanding political parties and the representation of gender that still holds today. Starting from that framework, we look into three issues, political parties as gendered gate keepers to elected office; structures and dynamics in the representation of gender within political parties; and political parties and the representation of gender in public policies. The session will address issues such as: Under what conditions do women gain seats in elected office? Why and how are political parties specific gate keepers when it comes to women? Which role do party structures, characteristics and processes play in these matters? Why do some parties promote a gender balance? How do they do it? What accounts for these differences in attitudes? What effects do party systems have on the representation of gender? Does a change in the representation of gender make parties change?

Core reading:

Childs, Sarah. 2008. *Women and British Party Politics. Descriptive, substantive and Symbolic Representation*. London: Routledge, pp. 59-90 (chapter 3: Women's legislative recruitment).

Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2006. *Challenging Parties, Changing Parliaments. Women and Elected Office in Contemporary Western Europe*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, pp. 18-39 (chapter 2: Opportunity Structures: The Key to Women's Access).

Kunovich, Sheri and Pamela Paxton. 2005. "Pathways to Power: The Role of Political Parties in Women's National Political Representation". *American Journal of Sociology* 111: 505-552.

Round Table: Challenges to party democracy

Participants: Hans Keman, Richard Luther, Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, Lieven De Winter, Kris Deschouwer

Core reading:

Luther, K.R. & Müller-Rommel, F. (2005), Parties and party research in the new Europe, in *Political Parties in the New Europe: Political and Analytical Challenges*, Oxford: Oxford University, Press,