



**19th ECPR Standing Group Summer School
'Political Parties and European Democracy'**

15-26 September 2009, European University Institute, Florence

ACADEMIC PROGRAMME

Session 1: Parties and Democracy

Lecturer: Richard S. Katz (John 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-a-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: Parties and Multi-level Politics

Lecturer: Kris Deschouwer (Free University 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

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

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

Session 3: The Role of Political Parties in the European Union

Lecturer: Anne Rasmussen (Leiden University)

Scholars have raised doubts about the ability of political parties to fulfil their traditional role as 'transmission belts' between citizens and legislators in the EU. We will discuss how the different institutional environment of the EU affects the assumptions and predictions of theories of political parties developed for the national context and discuss how political parties can influence EU legislative decision-making. We will distinguish between partisan effects in the electoral and legislative arena by considering partisan effects in all the most important EU institutions, i.e. the European Parliament, the European Commission, the Council of Ministers and the European Council. When studying EU party politics, we will make a clear distinction

between the effects of national parties, national party delegations and transnational party groups. The discussed empirical literature shows that, whereas parties play a role in most institutions, they are not always the dominant players, and their effect varies both across and within these institutions.

Core Reading

Bjorn Lindberg, Anne Rasmussen and Andreas Warntjen (2008), "Party Politics as Usual? The role of political parties in EU legislative decision-making" *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (8), 1107-26

Anne Rasmussen (2008), "Party Soldiers in a non-partisan Community? Party Linkage in the European Parliament" *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (8), 1164-83

Arndt Wonka (2008), "Decision-making Dynamics in the European Commission: partisan, national or sectoral?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (8), 1145-63

Sara Hagemann and Bjorn Hoyland (2008), "Parties in the Council?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (8), 1205-21

Jonas Tallberg and Karl Magnus Johansson (2008), "Party Politics in the European Council?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (8), 1222-42.

Session 4: State Intervention in Party Politics: The development of political parties as public utilities

Lecturer: Ingrid van Biezen (Birmingham)

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

Karvonen, Lauri (2007). Legislation on Political Parties: A Global Comparison, *Party Politics* 13/4: 437-455

Session 5: The Emergence of Euro-Parties

Lecturer: Luciano Bardi (University of Pisa)

The paper I will present addresses a number of aspects pertaining to organisational development of political parties in European democracies and to the genesis and progressive institutionalisation of their counterparts at the European level (Europarties henceforth). In particular, I argue that Europarties, in their current form, were created as an organisational response to changing systemic and societal conditions at the national and European levels. In fact, the development of Europarties, up to their full formal recognition through the so-called Europarty Statute, is in my view an organisational consequence of two main processes: the emergence at the national level of the cartel party organisational model and the increased importance of the European Union (EU) in Europe's multi-level system of governance. As a result of my analysis I come to the conclusion that Europarties appear to be elements and/or manifestations of the organisational development of political parties tout-court in European democracies multi-level political systems rather than organizations created for the performance of democratic functions at EU level. In particular, I build my argument on the following points: 1) Europarties are strong in the EP, where they exhibit strong cohesiveness and inclusiveness (that is ability to incorporate new national party delegations) but are very weak outside the EP, as demonstrated by the near non-existence of their external organisational structures; 2) Their powers and function-performing capacity are still very limited despite significant increases in the EP's powers and prerogatives; 3) Contrary to widely shared views in the literature, EP elections seem to be very disruptive events for Europarty institutionalisation; 4) Despite all of these weaknesses, with the approval of the Europarty Statute, there has been an acceleration in the formal recognition of Europarties as a result of actions taken by other potentially competing actors (national governments and parties).

Core Reading

Bardi L and Calossi E (2009) "Party responses to new challenges: the emergence of Europarties (Towards a new model of party organisation?)" in Cross W., DeBardeleben J., Pammett J. (eds.) *Activating the Citizen: Dilemmas of Citizen Participation in Europe and Canada* (forthcoming – final draft will be available April 30 2008)

Katz, R & P. Mair (1995) 'Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party', *Party Politics* 1: 5-28

Session 6: Party Government and Europeanisation

Lecturer: Peter Mair (European University Institute)

Party scholars have long been aware of the tensions that exist between the demands of representative government, on the one hand, and the constraints imposed by responsible government, on the other. Since the 1980s, however, not least as a result of a deepening European integration, these tensions have become substantially more acute. For a variety of reasons, partly to do with the parties themselves, and partly to do with the context in which they operate, it has become increasingly difficult for parties in government to function as representative agencies. At the same time, for a host of other reasons, these same parties face increasingly powerful constraints imposed by the demands of responsible government. In the past, this sort of tension was overcome through the mobilisation capacities of the parties themselves. Now, these capacities have waned, while the tension itself has become more acute. Other ways of coping with the problems have led to changes in party systems. This is reflected in the growing trend towards bipolar competition in many contemporary democracies, in which the primary contest revolves around a reinvigorated divide between government and opposition, and in which even multi-party systems begin to behave like majoritarian democracies. This session will deal with all of these issues, and will propose that there is a link between the changing structures of competition, on the one hand, and the shift in the role of parties, on the other, with more direct competition for office serving to enhance the procedural rather than the representative functions of parties. At the same time, there are limits to how well party systems can function in this way, and these do not bode well for the legitimacy of party government and party democracy.

Core Reading:

Richard Bellamy, 2009. Democracy without Democracy? Can Democratic 'Outputs' be Separated from the Democratic 'Inputs' provided by Competitive Parties and Majority Rule? [Article Manuscript, to be made available later]

Peter Mair, 2008. The Challenge to Party Government. *West European Politics* 31:1-2, 211-234

Peter Mair and Jacques Thomassen, 2009. Electoral Democracy and Political Representation in the European Union [Article Manuscript, to be made available later]

B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre, 2006. Governance, accountability and democratic legitimacy. In Arthur Benz and Yannis Papadopoulos (eds.), *Governance and Democracy*. London: Routledge, 29-43

Jonas Tallberg and Karl Magnus Johansson, 2008. Party Politics in the European Council, *Journal of European Public Policy* 15:8, 1222-1242

Session 7: Europeanisation of National Political Parties

Thomas Poguntke (Bochum)

The greater powers that the European Parliament (EP) gained after the Single European Act, the Treaty on European Union and the Amsterdam Treaty, the extension of qualified majority voting in the Council of Ministers; and the ever growing number of policy areas that now fall under EU jurisdiction all mean that the

EU's multi-level system of governance has become increasingly relevant and important for national politics. In addition, increased European integration is likely to have had a continuing and growing impact on national political institutions.

Political parties are key political institutions. After all, they are central actors in the organization of modern democracy. It is only logical, therefore, to expect that national political parties will also be affected by increased levels of European integration. Furthermore, in addition to this 'general' impact of European integration, political parties are also likely to be particularly influenced by increased integration since they are the 'principal gatekeepers within the European electoral arena' (Peter Mair 2000), and since most politicians taking part in EU affairs are also *party* politicians (Simon Hix, 1999).

As yet, however, fairly little has been done to examine the effects of the EU on national political parties. This session will discuss findings from a large cross-national study which anticipated that increasing European integration has led to a shift in the balance of power within national political parties. In particular, we expected that two (partially overlapping) groups of actors in particular would have benefited:

The analyses show that, when they are involved in EU-level decision-making, party elites are relatively powerful vis-à-vis their national parties and that in a number of instances their intra-party power has also increased over time. National parties have, to some extent, attempted to constrain their elites but appear to be fighting a losing battle. Although there are some minor differences by country and by party, the empowerment of party elites is a general phenomenon. This research provides an empirical dimension to the existing research on the Europeanization of national politics parties and presents an important substantiation of the widely discussed democratic deficit that exists within the EU system of governance.

Core Reading

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

Ladrech, Robert (2007). 'National Political Parties and European Governance: The Consequences of "Missing in Action"', *West European Politics*, 30:5, 945-60.

Carter, E., Luther, K. R. & Poguntke, T. (2007) European Integration and Internal Party Dynamics. IN Poguntke, T., Aylott, N., Carter, E., Ladrech, R. & Luther, K. R. (Eds.) *The Europeanization of National Political Parties: Power and Organizational Adaptation*. London/New York, Routledge, pp. 1-27.

Harmel, R. (2002) Party Organizational Change: Competing Explanations? IN Luther, K. R. & Müller-Rommel, F. (Eds.) *Political Parties in the New Europe: Political and Analytical Challenges*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Session 8: Parties and Voters

Mark Franklin (European University Institute)

Political parties exist to contest elections, and preferably to win seats in a legislature. Often they additionally hope to win enough seats to be able to play a role in executive decision-making - to win outright control of the legislature or at least sufficient seats to become attractive as partners in a governing coalition. To achieve these aims they need to win the support of voters. And many voters are interested in exactly the same things: giving their support to the party they prefer so as to help it win control of the

legislature in their country - or at least to win sufficient seats to play a part in government decision-making. However, it is not the case that parties need to mobilize every vote from scratch at each election. Indeed, except for parties that are complete newcomers, a party can generally count on the unconditional support of many loyalists, which frees them to focus their attention on courting the support of additional voters - the uncommitted and those who may not be beyond hope of conversion. This session will focus on questions such as how party loyalty is acquired, the extent to which loyalty can be counted on, and the ways in which competition between parties can be conceptualized and understood, distinguishing between short-term fluctuations and long-term change.

Core reading

Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, especially Chaptres 3 and 8. New York: Harper Collins 1957

Cees van der Eijk and Mark Franklin, *Elections and Voters*, especially Chapters 4 and 7. London: Palgrave 2009

Wouter van der Brug, Cees van der Eijk and Mark Franklin, *The Economy and the Vote*, especially Chapters 6 and 7. New York: Cambridge University Press 2007

Session 9: The Domestic Party Politics of European Integration

Paul Taggart (Sussex University)

The party politics of European integration are often ignored. This session looks at the way in which the issue of European integration impacts on party politics in the domestic political systems of Europe. In doing this, we treat the European integration issue as a case study of how a new issue drops into domestic party politics and we consider the evidence comparatively. The two key elements of this session focus on how we can categorise different party positions on European integration and on how the issue fits in with (or does not fit in with) different party systems.

Core reading:

Hix, Simon (1999) 'Dimensions and Alignments in European Union Politics: Cognitive Constraints and Partisan Responses' *European Journal of Political Research* Vol.35, No.1, pp.69-106

Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe, Moira Nelson and Erica Edwards 'Party Competition and European Integration in the East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality' *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol.39, No. 2 155-175

Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart "Theorizing Party-Based Euroscepticism: Problems of Definition, Measurement and Causality" in Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart (eds.) *Opposing Europe? The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism* Volume 2 *Comparative and Political Perspectives*, pp.238-262

Summer School Faculty 2009

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Peter Mair is Professor of Comparative Politics at the European University Institute; co-Director of the ECPR Summer School on Parties; and co-Editor of the journal *West European Politics*.

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