POL42460

UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL PARTIES

2023

Dr. Samuel A. T. Johnston
samuel.johnston1@ucd.ie
Office: G314, ART

Office Hours: Tuesdays 1:30pm - 3:30pm

Module Description

This course draws on political science research in order to understand what role political parties play in modern representative democracy, and what influence their internal organisation has on their ability to fulfil this role. Consequently, this module will probe some of the most important questions and concerns that continue to surround political parties. For example, what role are political parties supposed to play in representative democracy? Would it be better if parties withered away, to be replaced by other forms of interest aggregation and representation? Do the organisational choices of parties help them to fulfil this role, or hinder their ability to do so? Just how internally democratic are parties, and should we expect them to be more democratic? This course will provide an extensive overview of what role parties are supposed to fulfil in modern democracies, as well as prominent critiques and challenges to this role. In addition, it will probe the influence of party members, and how the organisational form of political parties has developed over time. By the end of the module, students will have a strong understanding of political parties in a comparative context, both in terms of their function and their internal life.

Learning Outcomes

On successful completion of this module, students should have an enhanced understanding of the following topics, and the relevant academic literature:
- The theoretical arguments for why parties are important in representative democracy and prominent critiques of parties and their role;
- The development of party organisations over time and the different models party organisation can follow;
- The role of party members in the internal life of political parties;
- The different forms of candidate selection within parties;
- How factionalism operates within parties;
- Discuss the current and future challenges facing political parties, including from alternative forms of governance.

Furthermore, by the end of this module, students should be able to:
- Critically engage with academic writings and theories;
- Explain key concepts about parties to others both verbally and in writing; and
- Utilise empirical evidence from political parties across representative democracies when engaging with, or developing, theories.

Seminars

The module follows a seminar format. This means that the module will be a discussion-focused module, where I will be moderating and directing the group's discussions, rather than presenting significant amounts of information to the class (as in a lecture-based format). However, a crucial part of understanding political parties is through developing knowledge of particular cases and thus I will provide a brief presentation at the start of each seminar where I will discuss some examples that tell us something important or interesting about that week's topic. Given this seminar format, you are required to come to the seminar prepared to discuss and critically analyse the readings, and to respectfully and constructively engage with the points made by your peers. To be able to do this requires you to read a considerable amount of material and think about what you have read prior to the seminar. Consequently, there is a significant element of self-directed learning to seminars, with discussion revolving around what the students find interesting and important, as far as possible. All students are required to attend all seminars, unless prior notification and a certified excuse is presented to the module lecturers. Students also need to demonstrate that they have completed the readings and have thought about the issues involved. The success of the module depends on the commitment of its students.

Unauthorized recording (video/sound/image) and reproduction of seminars is prohibited.

The seminars will be held on Tuesday 11am - 1pm in Room E2.18, SCE (O'Brien Science Centre East).

Week (Date)	Lecture Topic	Assignment
1 (23 – 27 Jan)	Introduction; Why Parties?	
2 (30 Jan – 3 Feb)	Critiques: Ostrogorski & Michels	
3 (6 – 10 Feb)	Models of Party Organisation	**Policy Memo Writing Discussion**
4 (13 – 17 Feb)	May's Law of Curvilinear Disparity	
5 (20 – 24 Feb)	Candidate Selection	
6 (27 Feb – 3 Mar)	Gender & Candidate Selection	
7 (6 – 10 Mar)	Factions	
8 (13 – 17 Mar)	Reading Week - No Seminar!	**Policy memos due by 11:59pm on 16th March.**
9 (20 – 24 Mar)	Why Be a Member?	**Proposal Writing Discussion**
10 (27 – 31 Mar)	Why do Parties Want Members?	
11 (3 – 7 Apr)	Party Identification	
12 (10 – 14 Apr)	Deliberation	
13 (17 - 21 Apr)	The End of Parties?	
14 (24 - 28 Apr)	Proposal Seminar	**Presentations**
15 (1 - 5 May)	End of term - no seminar!	**Research proposal due by 11:59pm on 5th May.**

Additional Contact Hours and Information

Office hours will be held every Tuesday, for the period 1:30pm to 3:30pm. Please contact me prior to office hours, so that I can allocate you a precise time, depending on how busy office hours are, and your own schedule. If there is something very specific you would like to discuss (e.g., comments on an assignment that you have handed in) then it might be useful to send me an email a little in advance, so that I have the material to hand.

If you have any questions or concerns, this syllabus should be your first port of call. It should contain most of the information that you need for the module, and additional information will also

be posted on Brightspace as and when required, so you should keep an eye on it. If you cannot find the answer to your question in the syllabus, then feel free to get in touch!

Whenever emailing me with regards to this module, please include the module code (**POL42460**) in the subject line.

Assessment

Students taking this module are evaluated using four different components:

1) Response Papers (15%)
2) Presentation (15%)
3) Policy Memo (20%)
4) Final Research Proposal (50%)

Response Papers (15%)

In order to prepare students for developing a full-length research proposal, each student will be required to submit **at least 3** response papers over the course of the term, where each response paper will take the form of a miniature research proposal. In the response paper, students will be expected to develop a rough idea for a potential research proposal related to that week's topic. Consequently, each response paper **should include** the following: a research question; what is novel about this proposal (the gap in the literature); at least one hypothesis; and how you would test this hypothesis. The word limit for each response paper is **500 words.** For the weeks that students wish to submit a response paper, the deadline is prior to the start of that week's seminar. Response papers submitted after the seminar begins **will not be accepted**. Response papers should be **submitted on Brightspace** (the Response Paper assignment submission slot allows you to submit multiple documents). Students can also submit an **optional fourth** response paper and, if they do, their mark will be based on the **top three** papers. Each response paper is worth 5% of the final grade, with all three response papers totalling 15% of the final grade.

Presentation (15%)

In most fields that students will seek to enter after their Masters, presenting their work to an audience, and trying to convince that audience of the merit of their position, is going to be a key skill. This is a skill that may require practice to develop. Consequently, in the final seminar (**25th April**), all students will present their research proposal idea. The presentation should be a **maximum of 10 minutes**. If you wish to use slides, please **email them to me before the beginning of the seminar**. In this presentation, you are expected to convince the audience that they should be interested in your research proposal, and to clearly articulate the various different parts of your proposal. In addition, we will also leave time for a question and answer session so that students are able to receive feedback on their idea from each other. For this assignment, students will be assessed on the clarity and coherence of their presentation, their ability to stick to the time limit, the design of their slides (if these are used), and their ability to respectfully and constructively engage with each other's presentation. Consequently, the proposal's level of development or persuasiveness is **not** being assessed here, but your **presentation and participation skills** are. This presentation is worth 15% of the final grade

Policy Memo (20%)

Usually, a policy memo is a brief document that provides recommendations and/or analysis to a particular audience (e.g., CFO in a firm, government minister, MP, etc.).

For this course, students will write a policy memo of **2,000 words** for the leader of a political party of their choice. This paper is worth 20% of the overall grade for the course.

Students should do the following in their memos:

- Identify a specific change to the party's internal organisation that you would like to see. What is this change, and what was the party's initial organisation in this regard? This change can be related to anything that we have discussed in this module, such as the models of party organisation, the size and power of the party membership, candidate selection procedures, the use of gender quotas, etc.

- Explain why this change should be made (why is the topic important, what is your concern with the party's current organisational structure?)

- Explain what the impact of this change would be (e.g., what specific individuals or groups within the party are likely to benefit, will it benefit the party as a whole, how likely is the reform to pass?)

Further instructions regarding the policy memo can also be found on Brightspace. Please consult these prior to writing your paper. I will provide a discussion of what is expected from a policy memo and how it should be structured during the seminar on **7th February** (i.e., during Week 3).

The deadline for the policy memo is **11.59pm on 16th March 2023.** The policy memo should be submitted on Brightspace.

Final Research Proposal (50%)

Students will submit a single, well-developed research proposal on a topic relevant to the literature that we have covered in this module. This paper should be **5,000 words** (excluding the bibliography), and should analyse an issue of importance relating to the internal life of political parties or their function that merits academic research. The analysis should be original and should include an evaluation of approaches to understanding, resolving, or further investigating the question. This paper is not a literature review and marks will be awarded for applying original ideas or approaches to established thoughts on the issue. The lecturer will provide plenty of advice and help in choosing a topic and an appropriate research methodology. It is important that students begin to think about the topic they wish to write about immediately, as this is not a trivial undertaking. Identifying a good research question from the start will save much work down the line. The deadline for the final paper is **23:59pm on Friday 5th May 2023**. The research proposal will be submitted through Brightspace.

I will provide a discussion of what is expected from a research proposal and how it should be structured during the seminar on **21st March** (i.e., during Week 9).

Policies on assessment

Submission of coursework assignments

The response paper, policy memo, and final research proposal must be submitted on Brightspace. In order to do this, you will need to have access to the module on Brightspace. **It is the responsibility of students to ensure that they are enrolled in the module and can access the course material**.

If you are not enrolled in the module, then you should contact me as a matter of urgency, and I will add you to the class.

Academic honesty and plagiarism

The university takes plagiarism very seriously. There are severe penalties associated with passing someone else's work off as one's own. Remember that careless note-taking can lead to this happening: you must enclose direct quotations in quotation marks, and even when paraphrasing, ensure that a reference is provided.

The university's policy regarding plagiarism can be found at: https://hub.ucd.ie/usis/!W_HU_MENU.P_PUBLISH?p_tag=GD-DOCLAND&ID=222. The library also has a useful guide to academic integrity and how to avoid plagiarism: https://libguides.ucd.ie/academicintegrity.

Careless note-taking or rushing to get an assignment submitted is no excuse for committing plagiarism and where it is detected, it will be responded to with appropriate severity.

Late assignments

All late work, unless excused **in advance** by the module lecturer, will be penalised, where the penalties will follow UCD's guidelines (https://hub.ucd.ie/usis/!W_HU_MENU.P_PUBLISH?p_tag=GD-DOCLAND&ID=137.). If the work is submitted within 5 working days of the deadline, its grade will be reduced by **one grade point** (e.g., B- to C+). If the work is submitted between 5 and 10 working days of the deadline, its grade will be reduced by **two grade points** (e.g., B- C). If the work is submitted more than 10 working days after the deadline, it will **neither be accepted nor graded**. There are many reasons why a student may not be able to submit an assignment on time and I am happy to make reasonable accommodations where they are appropriate. However, it is rarely reasonable to get in touch after the assignment deadline or just a few hours beforehand to request an extension.

Please don't leave requests until the last minute!

Finally, make sure to save and back-up your work. There are many ways to ensure that you never lose your work, including Dropbox, Google Drive, or even good old-fashioned USBs. Consequently, computer crashes or failure to back up your work will not count as acceptable excuses for late submission.

Disability policy

Students with a disability that is liable to impact their ability to participate fully in all aspects of this – or any other – course are encouraged to register with the university, which will seek to support and to ensure that accommodations are made for students where they are needed.

You can find more information regarding the disability supports that are available and how to receive them here: https://www.ucd.ie/all/ucdstudents/support/disabilitysupport/.

Lecture and Reading Schedule

These readings may be updated over the course of the module. Where this is the case, important revisions will be signposted.

Students are responsible for reading the articles and book chapters listed under Required readings. All book chapters in the Required readings sections are available on Brightspace, unless stated otherwise. The recommended reading list is quite long, so you are not obligated to read all of them. Instead, consider the recommended readings as a list to dip in and out of, depending on what topics within that area interest you most. Furthermore, you are not bound by this reading list, so feel free to bring in readings from outside the list for your assignments. However, if you do bring in readings from outside the reading list, the onus is on you to ensure that they are reliable sources.

Week 1: Introduction; Why Parties?

Required readings:
- Aldrich, John H. (2011). *Why Parties? A Second Look.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 2.
- Duverger, Maurice (1959). *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State.* London: Methuen. Conclusion.
- Kölln, Ann-Kristin (2015). 'The Value of Political Parties to Representative Democracy', *European Political Science Review*, 7:4, 593-613.

Recommended readings:
- Boix, Carles (2007). 'The Emergence of Parties and Party Systems', 499-521 in Boix, Carles and Stokes, Susan C. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Müller, Wolfgang C. and Strøm, Kaare (1999): 'Political Parties and Hard Choices', 1-35 in Wolfgang C. Müller and Kaare Strøm (eds.) *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Panebianco, Angelo (1988). *Political Parties: Organization and Power.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Part One.

Week 2: Ostrogorski & Michels

Required readings:
- Hands, Gordon (1971). 'Roberto Michels and the Study of Political Parties', *British Journal of Political Science*, 1:2, 155-172.
- Koelble, Thomas A. (1989). 'Party Structures and Democracy: Michels, McKenzie and Duverger Revisited via the Examples of the West German Green Party and the British Social Democratic Party', *Comparative Political Studies*, 22:2, 199–216.
- Ranney, Austin (1954). *The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government: Its Origins and Present State*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Chapter 7.

Recommended readings:
- Barker, R. and Howard-Johnston, X. (1975). 'The Politics and Political Ideas of Moisei Ostrogorski', *Political Studies*, 23:4, 415–29.
- Gibson, R. and Harmel, R. (1998): 'Party Families and Democratic Performance: Extraparliamentary vs. Parliamentary Group Power', pp. 211–28 in Hofferbert, R. (ed.) *Parties and Democracy: Party Structure and Party Performance in Old and New Democracies*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lipset, Seymour M. (1969). *Revolution and Counterrevolution: Change and Persistence in Social Structures*. London: Heinemann. Chapters 11 and 12.
- Medding, P. Y. (1970): 'A Framework for the Analysis of Power in Political Parties', *Political Studies*, 18(1), pp. 1-17.
- Michels, Roberto (1959). *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchic Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York: Dover. B (Psychological Causes of Leadership) Chapter 2.
- Ostrogorski, Moisei (1970): *Democracy and the Organisation of Political Parties*. New York: Haskell House. Vol. 1 and 2, especially Sixth Part in Vol. 2.
- Saglie, J. and Heidar, K. (2004): 'Democracy within Norwegian Political Parties: Complacency or Pressure for Change?', *Party Politics*, 10(4), pp. 385–405.

Week 3: Models of Party Organisation

Required readings:
- Katz, Richard S. and Mair, Peter (1995). 'Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party', *Party Politics*, 1:1, 5-28.
- Kitschelt, Herbert (2000). 'Citizens, Politicians and Party Cartellization: Political Representation and State Failure in Post-industrial Democracies', *European Journal of Political Research*, 37:2, 149-179.
- Scarrow, Susan E., Webb, Paul D., and Poguntke, Thomas (2022). 'Intra-party Decision-making in Contemporary Europe: Improving Representation or Ruling with Empty Shells?', *Irish Political Studies*, 37:2, 196-217.

Recommended readings:
- Detterbeck, Klaus (2005). 'Cartel Parties in Western Europe?', *Party Politics,* 11:2, 173-191.
- Detterbeck, Klaus (2008). 'Party Cartel and Cartel Parties in Germany', *German Politics*, 17:1, 27–40.
- Katz, Richard S. and Mair, Peter (2009). 'The Cartel Party Thesis: A Restatement', *Perspectives on Politics*, 7:4, 753–766.
- Katz, Richard S. (2022). 'The Cartel Party - The End of Democratic Party Evolution?', *Irish Political Studies*, 37:2, 266-284.
- Kirchheimer, Otto (1966). 'The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems', 177-200 in LaPalombara, Joseph and Weiner, Myron (eds) *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Koole, Ruud (1996). 'Cadre, Catch-all or Cartel? A Comment on the Notion of the Cartel Party', *Party Politics*, 2:4, 507-524.
- Katz, Richard S. and Mair, Peter (1996). 'Cadre, Catch-All or Cartel? A Rejoinder', *Party Politics*, 2:4, 525-534.
- Krouwel, André (2006). 'Party Models', 249-269 in Katz, Richard S. and Crotty, William J. (eds.) *Handbook of Party Politics*. London: Sage.

Week 4: May's Law of Curvilinear Disparity

Required readings:
- Bäckersten, Oskar H. (2022). 'May's Law May Prevail: Evidence from Sweden', *Party Politics*, 28:4, 680-690.
- May, John D. (1973). 'Opinion Structure of Political Parties: The Special Law of Curvilinear Disparity', *Political Studies*, 21:2, 135-151.
- Van Holsteyn, Joop J. M., Den Ridder, Josje M., and Koole, Ruud A. (2017). 'From May's Laws to May's Legacy: On the Opinion Structure within Political Parties', *Party Politics*, 23:5, 471-486.

Recommended readings:
- Belchior, Ana M. and Freire, André (2011). 'The Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited: The Case of Portuguese Political Parties', *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, 2, 49-67.
- Gallagher, Michael and Marsh, Michael (2002). *Days of Blue Loyalty: The Politics of Membership of the Fine Gael Party*. Dublin: PSAI Press.
- Jensen, Roger B. (1999). 'Opinion Structures in Political Parties – The Law of Increasing Polarization?', 137-147 in Beukel, Erik, Klausen, Kurt K., and Mouritzen, Poul E. (ed.) *Elites, Parties and Democracy: Festschrift for Professor Mogens N Pedersen*. Odense: Odense University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert (1989). 'The Internal Politics of Parties: The Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited', *Political Studies*, 37:3, 400-421.
- Narud, Hanne M. and Skare, Audun (1999). 'Are Party Activists the Extremists? The Structure of Opinion in Political Parties', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 22:1, 45–65.
- Norris, Pippa (1995). 'May's Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited: Leaders, Officers, Members and Voters in British Political Parties', *Party Politics*, 1:1, 29-47.
- van Haute, Emilie and Carty, R. Kenneth (2012). 'Ideological Misfits: A Distinctive Class of Party Members', *Party Politics*, 18:6, 885–895.
- Webb, Paul and Farrell, David M. (1999). 'Party Members and Ideological Change', 44–63 in Evans, Geoffrey and Norris, Pippa (eds.) *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-Term Perspective*. London: Sage.

Week 5: Candidate Selection

Required readings:
- Hazan, Reuven Y. and Rahat, Gideon (2006). 'Candidate Selection: Methods and Consequences', 109-121 in Katz, Richard S. and Crotty, William J. (eds.) *Handbook of Party Politics*. London: Sage.
- Mac Giollabhuí, Shane (2013). 'How Things Fall Apart: Candidate Selection and the Cohesion of Dominant Parties in South Africa and Namibia', *Party Politics*, 19:4, 577–600.
- Spies, Dennis C. and Kaiser, André (2014). 'Does the Mode of Candidate Selection Affect the Representativeness of Parties?', *Party Politics*, 20:4, 576–590.

Recommended readings:
- Bochel, John and Denver, David (1983). 'Candidate Selection in the Labour Party: What the Selectors Seek', *British Journal of Political Science*, 13:1, 45-69.
- Hopkin, Jonathan (2001). 'Bringing the Members Back In? Democratising Candidate Selection in Britain and Spain', *Party Politics*, 7:3, 343-361.
- Indriðason, Indriði H. and Kristinsson, Gunnar H. (2015). 'Primary Consequences: The Effects of Candidate Selection through Party Primaries in Iceland', *Party Politics*, 21:4, 565-576.
- Lundell, Krister (2004). 'Determinants of Candidate Selection: The Degree of Centralization in Comparative Perspective', *Party Politics*, 10:1, 25-47.
- Mikulska, Anna B. and Scarrow, Susan E. (2010). 'Assessing the Political Impact of Candidate Selection Rules: Britain in the 1990s', *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 20:3, 311-333.
- Norris, Pippa and Lovenduski, Joni (1993). ' 'If Only More Candidates Came Forward': Supply-side Explanations of Candidate Selection in Britain', *British Journal of Political Science*, 23:3, 373-408.
- Reidy, Theresa (2016). 'Candidate Selection and the Illusion of Grass-Roots Democracy', 47-73 in Gallagher, Michael and Marsh, Michael (eds.) *How Ireland Voted 2016: The Election that Nobody Won*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Scarrow, Susan E., Webb, Paul, and Farrell, David M. (2000). 'From Social Integration to Electoral Contestation: The Changing Distribution of Power within Political Parties', 129-153 in Dalton, Russell J. and Wattenberg, Martin P. (eds.) *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shomer, Yael (2014). 'What Affects Candidate Selection Processes? A Cross-national Examination', *Party Politics*, 20:4, 533-546.
- Smith, Daniel M. and Tsutsumi, Hidenori (2016). 'Candidate Selection Methods and Policy Cohesion in Parties: The Impact of Open Recruitment in Japan', *Party Politics*, 22:3, 339-353.
- Tonge, Jonathan, Braniff, Máire, Hennessey, Thomas, McAuley, James W., and Whiting, Sophie A. (2020). 'Same but Different? The Democratic Unionist Party and Ulster Unionist Party Compared', *Irish Political Studies*, 35:3, 399-421.

Week 6: Gender & Candidate Selection

Required readings:
- Mariani, Mack, Buckley, Fiona, McGing, Claire, and Wright, Austin (2021). '(Gender) Balancing the Books: How did Irish Political Parties Respond to the First 'Gender Quota' Election in 2016?', *Irish Political Studies*, 36:2, 235-262.
- Martínez i Coma, Ferran and Lago, Ignacio (2022). ''Sacrificial Lambs' or Candidate Mimicking? Gender-based Nomination Strategies in Elections', *Party Politics*, 28:4, 702-712.
- O'Brien, D. Z. and Rickne, J. (2016): 'Gender Quotas and Women's Political Leadership', *American Political Science Review*, 110(1), pp. 112-126.

Recommended readings:
- Barnes, Tiffany D. and Holman, Mirya R. (2020). 'Gender Quotas, Women's Representation, and Legislative Diversity', *The Journal of Politics*, 82:4, 1271-1286.
- Bjarnegård, Elin and Zetterberg, Pär (2016). 'Political Parties and Gender Quota Implementation: The Role of Bureaucratized Candidate Selection Procedures', *Comparative Politics*, 48:3, 393-417.
- Buckley, Fiona, Galligan, Yvonne, and McGing, Claire (2016). 'Women and the Election: Assessing the Impact of Gender Quotas', 185-205 in Gallagher, Michael and Marsh, Michael (eds.) *How Ireland Voted 2016: The Election that Nobody Won*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Celis, Karen, Erzeel, Silvia, Mügge, Liza, and Damstra, Alyt (2014). 'Quotas and Intersectionality: Ethnicity and Gender in Candidate Selection', *International Political Science Review*, 35:1, 41-54.
- Jones, Mark P. (2009). 'Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Evidence from the Latin American Vanguard', *Comparative Political Studies*, 42:1, 56-81.
- Keenan, Lisa and McElroy, Gail (2017). 'Who Supports Gender Quotas in Ireland?', *Irish Political Studies*, 32:3, 382-403.
- Kjerulf Dubrow, Joshua (2011). 'The Importance of Party Ideology: Explaining Parliamentarian Support for Political Party Gender Quotas in Eastern Europe', *Party Politics*, 17:5, 561-579.
- Verge, Tània and Astudillo, Javier (2019). 'The Gender Politics of Executive Candidate Selection and Reselection', *European Journal of Political Research*, 58:2, 720-740.

Week 7: Factions

Required readings:
- Beller, Dennis C. and Belloni, F. P. (1978). *Faction Politics: Political Parties and Factionalism in Comparative Perspective*. Santa Barbara: ABC Clio. Chapter 17.
- Boucek, Francoise (2009). 'Rethinking Factionalism: Typologies, Intra-Party Dynamics and Three Faces of Factionalism', *Party Politics*, 15:4, 455-485.
- Hine, David (1982). 'Factionalism in West European Parties: A Framework for Analysis', *West European Politics*, 5:1, 36-53.

Recommended readings:
- Bettcher, Kim E. (2005). 'Factions of Interest in Japan and Italy: The Organisational and Motivational Dimensions of Factionalism', *Party Politics* 11:3, 339-358.
- Browne, Eric C. and Kim, Sunwoong (2003). 'Factional Rivals and Electoral Competition in a Dominant Party: Inside Japan's Liberal Democratic Party, 1958–1990', *European Journal of Political Research*, 42:1, 107-134.
- Clarke, Andrew J. (2020). 'Party Sub-Brands and American Party Factions', *American Journal of Political Science*, 64:3, 452-470.
- Cole, Alistair M. (1989). 'Factionalism, the French Socialist Party and the Fifth Republic: An Explanation of Intra-Party Divisions', *European Journal of Political Research*, 17:1, 77-94.
- Hrebenar, Ronald J. (2000). *Japan's New Party System*. Boulder: Westview. pp. 106–129 and 144–145.
- Koger, Gregory, Masket, Seth, and Noel, Hans (2010). 'Cooperative Party Factions in American Politics', *American Politics Research*, 38:1, 33–53.
- Köllner, Patrick (2004). 'Factionalism in Japanese Political Parties Revisited, or How Do Factions in the LDP and the DPJ Differ?', *Japan Forum* 16:1, 87–109.
- Krauss, Ellis S. and Pekkanen, Robert J. (2011). *The Rise and Fall of Japan's LDP: Political Party Organizations as Historical Institutions*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 4 and 5.
- McAllister, Ian (1991). 'Party Adaptation and Factionalism within the Australian Party System', *American Journal of Political Science*, 35:1, 206–227.
- Morgenstern, Scott (2001). 'Organised Factions and Disorganised Parties: Electoral Incentives in Uruguay', *Party Politics*, 7:2, 235–256.
- Webb, Paul (2000). *The Modern British Party System*. London: Sage. Chapter 6.

Week 8: Reading Week

Week 9: Why be a Member (The Paradox of Participation)?

Required readings:
- Moens, Pieter (2022). 'Professional Activists? Party Activism Among Political Staffers in Parliamentary Democracies', *Party Politics*, 28:5, 903-915.
- van Biezen, Ingird, Mair, Peter, and Poguntke, Thomas (2012). 'Going, Going, ……Gone? The Decline of Party Membership in Contemporary Europe', *European Journal of Political Research*, 51:1, 24-56.
- Ware, Alan (1996): *Political Parties and Party Systems*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 2 (pp. 63-78).

Recommended readings:
- Bruter, Michael and Harrison, Sarah (2009). 'Tomorrow's Leaders?: Understanding the Involvement of Young Party Members in Six European Democracies', *Comparative Political Studies*, 42:10, 1259-1291.
- Cross, William and Young, Lisa (2008). 'Factors Influencing the Decision of the Young Politically Engaged to Join a Political Party: An Investigation of the Canadian Case', *Party Politics*, 14:3, 345-369.
- Katz, Richard (1990). 'Party as Linkage: a Vestigial Function?', *European Journal of Political Research*, 18:1, 143-161.
- Katz, Richard S. (2013). 'Should We Believe that Improved Intra-Party Democracy Would Arrest Party Decline?', 49-64 in Cross, William P. and Katz, Richard S. (eds.) *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scarrow, Susan E. (2000). 'Parties without Members? Party Organization in a Changing Electoral Environment', 79-101 in Dalton, Russell J. and Wattenberg, Martin P. (eds.) *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Whiteley, Paul F. (2011). 'Is the Party Over? The Decline of Party Activism and Membership Across the Democratic World', *Party Politics*, 17:1, 21-44.
- van Biezen, Ingrid and Poguntke, Thomas (2014). 'The Decline of Membership-Based Politics', *Party Politics*, 20:2, 205-216.

Week 10: Why do Parties Want Members (The Paradox of Enrolment)?

Required readings:
- Cross, William and Gauja, Anika (2014). 'Evolving Membership Strategies in Australian Political Parties', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 49:4, 611–625.
- Rehmert, Jochen (2022). 'Party Membership, Pre-Parliamentary Socialization and Party Cohesion', *Party Politics*, 28:6, 1081-1093.
- Webb, Paul, Poletti, Monica, and Bale, Tim (2017). 'So Who Really Does the Donkey Work in 'Multi-speed Membership Parties'? Comparing the Election Campaign Activity of Party Members and Party Supporters', *Electoral Studies*, 46, 64-74.

Recommended readings:
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Week 11: Party Identification

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- Carsey, Thomas M. and Layman, Geoffrey C. (2006). 'Changing Sides or Changing Minds? Party Identification and Policy Preferences in the American Electorate', *American Journal of Political Science*, 50:2, 464-477.
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- Clarke, Harold D. and Stewart, Marianne C. (1998). 'The Decline of Parties in the Minds of Citizens', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1:1, 357–378.
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Week 12: Deliberation & Party Democracy

Required readings:
- Farrell, David M. and Field, Luke (2022). 'The Growing Prominence of Deliberative Mini-publics and their Impact on Democratic Government', *Irish Political Studies*, 37:2, 285-302.
- Suiter, Jane and Reidy, Theresa (2020): 'Does Deliberation Help Deliver Informed Electorates: Evidence from Irish Referendum Votes', *Representation*, 56(4), pp. 539-557.
- Wolkenstein, Fabio (2018). 'Intra-party Democracy beyond Aggregation', *Party Politics*, 24:4, 323-334.

Recommended readings:
- Carolan, Eoin (2015). 'Ireland's Constitutional Convention: Behind the Hype about Citizen-led Constitutional Change', *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 13:3, 733-748.
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- McGovern, Rhonda and Thorne, Peter (2021). 'Citizens Assemble: A Study on the Impact of Climate Reporting in the Irish Media 'Before', 'During' and 'After' the *Citizens' Assembly* on 'How the State Can Make Ireland a Leader in Tackling Climate Change'', *Irish Political Studies*, 36:2, 214-234.
- Parkinson, John (2020). 'The Roles of Referendums in Deliberative Systems', *Representation*, 56:4, 485-500.
- Suiter, Jane, Farrell, David M., and O'Malley, Eoin (2016). 'When do Deliberative Citizens Change their Opinions? Evidence from the Irish Citizens' Assembly', *International Political Science Review*, 37:2, 198-212.

Week 13: The End of Parties?

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