Bryn Mawr College
Department of Political Science
Spring 2023

POLS 382: Comparative Political Parties
(with Special Emphasis on the Middle East & North Africa)

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Course Information
Class meetings: M 1:10PM-4:00PM, Dalton Hall 10
Office hours: W 1:00-3:00PM (or by appointment), Dalton Hall 100G
You can set up a meeting using Calendly at www.calendly.com/asasmaz/officehours

Course Description
This is a research-oriented course in empirical political science that has multiple objectives:
- Creating an opportunity for a deep engagement in the contemporary debate on political parties and other forms of political participation and organization, with a particular focus on the Middle East and North Africa region. We will be mostly dealing with the following questions:
    - What are the specific characteristics of political parties, especially when compared to other forms of political organizing (such as movements, informal collectives, unions, civil society organizations, etc.)?
    - How did political parties evolve in different parts of the world? What are the main socio-economic, institutional, cultural and political determinants of parties' evolution?
    - A special emphasis on the Middle East and North Africa region: How do the political parties in this region compare to the rest of the world?
    - Are political parties in a surge or in a crisis? If the latter, what are the potential ways out? Can one build democracy and/or good governance without parties? Would that be desirable?
- Reflecting deeply on the normative questions of the value and necessity of political parties and partisanship for democracy, representation, accountability, stability and good governance.
- Creating an opportunity for students to conduct their own (mini) empirical research project. Over the course of the semester, students will go through all steps of an

empirical research project, if they are not going to conduct data collection. They will (1) come up with their own research question on political parties and/or other forms of political participation and organization, (2) write a short literature review on the question, (3) come up with a research design, (4) collect or find data, (5) analyze the data, (6) discuss the findings, and (7) present it to their peers. If they come up with a project that requires data collection, they will have a polished research design at the end of the semester. All students will present their research project in a poster format at the end of the semester (in addition to submitting written work).

- o For students who want this course to be counted towards the MECANA Studies concentration: Their research project **must** have a MECANA focus. In other words, their main case in the research project must be a country or a party or a political organization from the MECANA region. Consult the professor

Activities and Assignments

- **Class meetings:** Our class will meet every week on Monday at 1:10pm at Dalton Hall 10. During the class meetings, we will discuss the readings of that week in light of the guiding questions. Participation in class meetings is very important. You should come to every class meeting having done the readings and having thoroughly thought about them in light of the guiding questions. We will attempt to approximate a graduate seminar in which readings are dissected in different ways (question, theory, contribution to the debate, research design, findings). Moreover, we will normatively discuss the necessity of different forms of political regimes and organizing for democracy and good governance. So, coming to class meetings in a prepared manner is a must. Participation in class meetings will count towards 20 percent of your final grade.
- **Response papers:** Students will submit response papers in three of the weeks of their selection. In response papers, they will critically discuss the readings of the week in light of the guiding questions and critically evaluate their main arguments. Response papers have to be 2-3 pages in double space, using 12-size font and 1-inch margins. Response papers will make up 30 percent of your final grade.
- **Research project:** Students will design or conduct a mini research project under the supervision of the professor. They can use existing datasets, in that case they will select route A. Or they can come up with a research project that requires original data collection (such as interviews, a small survey or bringing together archival records in a dataset format), in that case they will select route B. In any case, they will have to follow the schedule below for the submission of assignments that will eventually comprise their final research paper. Each document they will submit throughout the semester will be 1-3 pages in double space, using 12-size font and 1-inch margins. The final product they

will submit at the end of the examination period will be around 15 (+/- 3 pages) excluding the bibliography, in double space, using 12-size font and 1-inch margins. We will discuss potential research projects, and their progress during the class meetings. Timeline for the research project is below.

Week	Route A – Using existing data	Route B – Requires original data collection
1 – Jan. 23		
2 – Jan. 30		
3 – Feb. 6		
4 – Feb. 13		
5 – Feb. 20		
6 – Feb. 27	Research Question	Research Question
7 – Mar. 13	Literature Review	Literature Review
8 – Mar. 20		
9 – Mar. 27	Research Design	Research Design
10 – Apr. 3		
11 – Apr. 10	Data Analysis & Discussion of Findings	Revised Research Design
12 – Apr. 17		
13 – Apr. 24	Poster Presentation	Poster Presentation
Exam. period	Final Paper Submission	Final Paper Submission

Course Policies

Access Services & Accommodations: Bryn Mawr College is committed to providing equal access to students with a documented disability. Students needing academic accommodations for a disability must first register with Access Services. Students can call 610-526-7516 to make an appointment with the Director of Access Services, Deborah Alder, or email her at dalder@brynmawr.edu to begin this confidential process. Once registered, students should schedule an appointment with the professor as early in the semester as possible to share the verification form and make appropriate arrangements. Please note that accommodations are not retroactive and require advance notice to implement. More information can be obtained at the Access Services website (http://www.brynmawr.edu/access-services/).

Attendance & Extensions: I encourage you, to the best of your ability, not to miss any session. But we live in a (post-)pandemic world, and we all know that unexpected things do happen. Therefore, each student is allowed to miss one session. Beyond one unexcused absence, each missed session will negatively affect your participation grade. If you have, in

addition to the excused absence, a good reason to miss class, please tell me. If you write an extra response paper for the session that you miss, the participation grade that you lose due to the absence can be partially compensated (depending on your excuse for the absence and the quality of your submitted work).

Assignments submitted late will receive partial credit, with each day lowering the grade by 5 percentage points. I understand sometimes you may for various reasons need more time for submitting assignments. If you foresee any conflicts (such as religious holidays), come and see me or send an email as soon as possible to discuss options. In the event of illness or emergency, please also try to contact me as soon as possible.

Laptop and Phone Use: Laptops are permitted in class. Keep in mind that laptops can be a useful learning tool but also a distraction for you and those around you. I ask that you silence your laptop, disable your email notifications, and close unrelated browser windows so you can focus on the class.

Please keep phones out of sight during class time. This includes checking social media, writing a very short message, etc. If you absolutely must use your phone, please step outside of class.

Academic Integrity: I am committed to adhering to the standards regarding academic honesty contained in the Bryn Mawr Honor Code. All work submitted in this course for academic credit must be student's own original work. Material in papers drawn from other materials must be cited and, if a direct quote, demarked by quotation marks. If you have any doubts about what constitutes a violation of academic integrity, please ask.

Gender Identities and Expressions: I affirm people of all gender expressions and gender identities. If you prefer to be called a different name than what is indicated on the class roster, please let me know. Please feel free to correct me on your preferred gender pronoun. I use "he" pronouns.

Mask Policy: Bryn Mawr is implementing a mask-friendly policy in Spring 2023 semester. I will not be wearing a mask during class sessions, but you can of course wear one, if you so prefer. Regardless of your own preference, please be mindful of the preferences and needs of your classmates.

Course Resources

Academic Support: I encourage you to reach out to the Academic Support and Learning Resources Specialist to explore effective learning, studying, test-taking, note-taking and time and stress management strategies that are essential to success in this course and college life. Bryn Mawr students can schedule a meeting with academic coaches Rachel Heiser or Amanda Brown. For more information, please see this site: https://www.brynmawr.edu/inside/offices-services/academic-support

Canaday Library: Kate Blinn, Social Sciences and Data Librarian, can help with questions about research and technology; you can reach her at kblinn@brynmawr.edu. Since this is research-oriented course, I highly recommend you to get in contact with Kate Blinn as soon as possible.

Moodle: On our course Moodle site, you can find electronic copies of course readings, a copy of the syllabus, and other useful information. You will also submit your papers on Moodle.

Writing Center: The Writing Center offers free appointments and experienced peer tutors who are there to help you at any stage of the writing process. The Writing Center is located on the first floor of Canaday Library. You can get more information at https://www.brynmawr.edu/inside/offices-services/writing-center.

Your Professor: You are welcome to meet with me during my office hours (listed above), or at an alternative time if necessary. The best way to contact me outside of class is via email at asasmaz@brynmawr.edu. Please note that I check my email approx. three times a day between the hours of 9:00am and 6:00pm, Monday through Friday. If you send me a message during evenings or weekends, I'll respond sometime after 9:00am on the following weekday. After receiving your grades in an examination, you will have to wait at least 24 hours until you send me an email regarding your grade.

Your Classmates: Your classmates are also a "resource" for your learning and research process. During class sessions, pay utmost attention to the comments and questions of your classmates and try to learn from them as much as possible. Outside of the classroom, as well, I encourage you to discuss the course materials and your research ideas. As long as the submitted work is wholly and originally produced by yourself, discussing the materials or ideas would not be a violation of the Honor Code.

Course Schedule

> **IMPORTANT:** Since this is a course that requires deep engagement, there can be (slight) changes in the topics, questions and readings along the way. Therefore, it is best to do the readings in the week that precedes the class meeting. Every Tuesday, I will send the guiding questions and final readings for the following class meeting via email. Please wait for that email before you start doing the readings.

Week 1 & 2: What are political parties? Why are they important for democracy and good governance?

Read for Week 1:
- Muirhead, R., & Rosenblum, N. L. (2020). The political theory of parties and partisanship: Catching up. *Annual Review of Political Science, 23*, 95-110.
- Husted, E., Moufahim, M., & Fredriksson, M. (2022). Political parties and organization studies: The party as a critical case of organizing. *Organization Studies, 43*(8), 1327-1341.
- Mair, P. (2020). Political Parties. In *Comparative Politics*, ed. D. Caramani. Oxford University Press.

Read for Week 2:
- Stokes, S. C. (1999). Political parties and democracy. *Annual Review of Political Science, 2*(1), 243-267.
- Kölln, A. K. (2015). The value of political parties to representative democracy. *European Political Science Review, 7*(4), 593-613.
- Strom, K. (1990). A behavioral theory of competitive political parties. *American Journal of Political Science*, 565-598.
- McDonald, M. D., Mendes, S. M., & Budge, I. (2004). What are elections for? Conferring the median mandate. *British Journal of Political Science, 34*(1), 1-26.
- Huntington, S. P. (2006). Political order in changing societies. Yale University Press. (Read: "Parties and Political Stability")

Week 3 & 4: Evolution of parties and party systems in the West

- How did the parties and party systems form in Western Europe and in the US form in a way that they would ensure a longstanding democratic era?
- How do the parties transform and what types of actions do the party leaders take in the wake of current social and political challenges? How do these transformations actions affect democracy and good governance ideals?

- LaPalombara, J., & Weiner, M. (1990 [1966]). The Origin of Political Parties. In *The West European Party System*, ed. Peter Mair. Oxford University Press.
- Lipset, S. M., & Rokkan, S. (1990 [1967]). Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments. In *The West European Party System*, ed. Peter Mair. Oxford University Press.
- Ziblatt, D. (2017). *Conservative political parties and the birth of modern democracy in Europe*. Cambridge University Press. (Read Chapter 2: The Old Regime and the Conservative Dilemma)
- Kalyvas, S. N. (1998). From pulpit to party: Party formation and the Christian Democratic phenomenon. *Comparative Politics*, 293-312.
- Aldrich, J. H. (2011). *Why Parties?: a second look*. University of Chicago Press. (Read chapter 2)
- Bawn, K., Cohen, M., Karol, D., Masket, S., Noel, H., & Zaller, J. (2012). A theory of political parties: Groups, policy demands and nominations in American politics. *Perspectives on Politics, 10*(3), 571-597.
- Meguid, B. M. (2005). Competition between unequals: The role of mainstream party strategy in niche party success. *American Political Science Review, 99*(3), 347-359.
- R. S. Katz and P. Mair (1995). "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party". *Party Politics* 1 (1): 5-28.
- Kitschelt, H. P. (1988). Left-libertarian parties: Explaining innovation in competitive party systems. *World Politics, 40*(2), 194-234.
- Golder, M. (2016). Far right parties in Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 477-497.

Optional Readings
- Dancygier, R. M. (2017). *Dilemmas of Inclusion*. Princeton University Press.
- Noel, H. (2014). *Political ideologies and political parties in America*. Cambridge University Press.

- D. Bischof and M. Wagner (2020). "What Makes Parties Adapt to Voter Preferences? The Role of Party Organization, Goals and Ideology". *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (1): 391-401.
- Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2006. "Are Niche Parties Fundamentally Different from Mainstream Parties? The Causes and the Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976-1998." *American Journal of Political Science 50*(3): 513-29.
- Sartori, G. (1990 [1976]). "A Typology of Party Systems." In *The West European Party System*, ed. Peter Mair. Oxford University Press.

Week 5 & 6: Parties and party systems in the Middle East

- What are the ways through which parties in the Middle East and North African countries are being founded? What are the similarities and differences to other world regions?
- Are Islamist parties a specificity of the Middle East region? To which party family should they be compared?
- What are the difficulties of forming civic and programmatic parties in the Middle East?

- Angrist, M. P. (2011). *Party building in the modern Middle East.* University of Washington Press. Read introductory chapter, and at least one of Chs. 1-3.
- Hinnebusch, R. A. (2017). Political parties in MENA: their functions and development. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 44*(2), 159-175.
- Cavatorta, F. & Storm, L. (Ed.). (2018). *Political Parties in the Arab World: Continuity and Change*. Edinburgh University Press. Read the following chapters:
    - Ch. 1: Storm & Cavatorta. Do Arabs not do parties? An introduction and exploration.
    - Ch. 14: Yaghi. Why did Tunisian and Egyptian youth activists fail to build competitive political parties?
- Livny, A. (2020). *Trust and the Islamic advantage: religious-based movements in Turkey and the Muslim world.* Cambridge University Press. Chs. 1 and 7.
- Yildirim, A. K. (2023). *The Politics of Religious Party Change: Islamist and Catholic Parties in Comparative Perspective.* Cambridge University Press. Chs. Introduction and 1.
- Cammett, M., & Issar, S. (2010). Bricks and mortar clientelism: sectarianism and the logics of welfare allocation in Lebanon. *World Politics, 62*(3), 381-421.
- Lust, E. (2009). Democratization by elections? Competitive clientelism in the Middle East. *Journal of Democracy, 20*(3), 122-135.
- El Kak, N. (2021). Dispatches from the October Revolution: Power, Discourse and Governance. *Public Source*. Available at: https://thepublicsource.org/theory-change.
- El Kak, N. (2023). Counterrevolutionary Imaginaries: Neoliberal Co-optation in Lebanon's New Opposition. Pp. 28-56.

In Week 6 (February 27), we will have Nadim El Kak as guest speaker and he will talk about the new opposition groups and parties of Lebanon that were formed after the October 2019 mobilization.

Week 7: Political parties in other world regions: Emphasis on India and Latin America

- Chhibber, P. K., & Verma, R. (2018). *Ideology and identity: The changing party systems of India*. Oxford University Press. Chapters TBA.
- Thachil, T., & Teitelbaum, E. (2015). Ethnic parties and public spending: New theory and evidence from the Indian states. *Comparative Political Studies, 48*(11), 1389-1420.
- Van Dyck, B. (2017). The Paradox of Adversity: The Contrasting Fates of Latin America's New Left Parties. Comparative Politics, 49(2), 169-192.
- Levitsky, S. (2003). *Transforming labor-based parties in Latin America: Argentine Peronism in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters TBA.
- Riedl, R. B. (2016). Strong parties, weak parties: Divergent pathways to democracy in sub-Saharan Africa. In: *Parties, Movements, and Democracy in the Developing World*. Ed. by N. Bermeo and D. J. Yashar. Cambridge University Press, pp. 122–156.
- Mujani, S., & Liddle, R. W. (2009). Muslim Indonesia's secular democracy. *Asian Survey, 49*(4), 575-590.

Week 8: Why are political parties problematic for a well-functioning democracy? Intra-party dynamics, factionalism, policy incongruence

- Casey, K., Kamara, A. B., & Meriggi, N. F. (2021). An experiment in candidate selection. *American Economic Review, 111*(5), 1575-1612.
- Boucek, F. (2009). Rethinking factionalism: typologies, intra-party dynamics and three faces of factionalism. *Party Politics, 15*(4), 455-485.
- Sasmaz, A. (2022). Unequal Political Selection across the Secular-Islamist Divide: Evidence from the First Democratic Local Elections in Tunisia. Unpublished manuscript.
- Belchior, A. M., & Freire, A. (2013). Is party type relevant to an explanation of policy congruence? Catchall versus ideological parties in the Portuguese case. *International Political Science Review*, *34*(3), 273-288.
- Luna, J. P., & Zechmeister, E. J. (2005). Political representation in Latin America: a study of elite-mass congruence in nine countries. *Comparative political studies*, *38*(4), 388-416.

Week 9: Why are political parties problematic for a well-functioning democracy? Corruption, patronage distribution, clientelism

- Kitschelt, H. (2000). Linkages between citizens and politicians in democratic polities. *Comparative Political Studies, 33*(6-7), 845-879.
- Thachil, T. (2014). Elite parties and poor voters: Theory and evidence from India. *American Political Science Review, 108*(2), 454-477.
- Joshi, M., & Mason, T. D. (2011). Peasants, patrons, and parties: The tension between clientelism and democracy in Nepal. *International Studies Quarterly*, *55*(1), 151-175.
- Eleonora Pasotti. (2010). *Political Branding in Cities: The Decline of Machine Politics in Bogota, Naples, and Chicago*. Chapters TBA.

Week 10: Why are political parties problematic for a well-functioning democracy? Polarization

- Lupu, N. (2015). Party polarization and mass partisanship: A comparative perspective. *Political Behavior*, *37*(2), 331-356.
- LeBas, A. (2006). Polarization as craft: Party formation and state violence in Zimbabwe. *Comparative Politics*, 419-438.
- Achen, C. H. & Bartels, L. M. (2016). *Democracy for Realists*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 9.
- McCarty, N., & Persily, N. (2015). Reducing polarization by making parties stronger. *Solutions to Political Polarization in America*. Pp. 136-45.
- Laebens, M. G., & Öztürk, A. (2021). Partisanship and autocratization: Polarization, power asymmetry, and partisan social identities in Turkey. *Comparative Political Studies*, *54*(2), 245-279.

Weeks 11 & 12: Democracy beyond or with transformed parties?

- Is it possible to form democracy & good governance without parties?
- Are parties transforming as a result of pressures from new social movements and technological developments?
- What are the attitudes of the youth towards party politics? Are they going to change party politics?

- Caramani, D. (2017). Will vs. reason: The populist and technocratic forms of political representation and their critique to party government. *American Political Science Review, 111*(1), 54-67.
- Farrell, D. M. (2014). 'Stripped down'or reconfigured democracy. *West European Politics, 37*(2), 439-455.
- Tormey, S. (2015). *The end of representative politics*. John Wiley & Sons. Chs. 4 and 5.
- Tarrow, S. (2021). Movements and parties: Critical connections in American political development. Cambridge University Press. Chs. 1 and 8.
- Draege, J. B. (2022). Narrow Responses to Social Movements: Evidence from Turkey's Gezi Protests. *Representation*, 1-17.
- Gerbaudo, P. (2021). Are digital parties more democratic than traditional parties? Evaluating Podemos and Movimento 5 Stelle's online decision-making platforms. *Party Politics, 27*(4), 730-742.
- Bickerton, C. J., & Accetti, C. I. (2018). 'Techno-populism' as a new party family: the case of the Five Star Movement and Podemos. *Contemporary Italian Politics*, *10*(2), 132-150.

For the youth politics section of this module, we will have Brit Anlar (PhD Candidate at Rutgers University) as guest speaker on April 17 (Week 12). Readings for this section TBA.

Week 13: Poster presentations