

TOWARD A SIXTH PARTY SYSTEM? PARTISANSHIP AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

JAMES F. WARD
Harvard University

THE AMERICAN political system has been credited with the invention of the political party as an institution for the organization of popular political participation and the aggregation of citizen demands.¹ One recurrent theme in American political thinking, however, has been the persistent claim that the party system is in danger of collapse. The claim has taken several forms. For normative opponents of political parties the alleged empirical fragility of the party system only reinforced their claims of superiority for other political styles, such as traditionalism (James Monroe), bureaucratic centralization (Alexander Hamilton), or nonpartisan organizational participation (M. Ostrogorski), to list several alternatives.² Friends of the party system have diagnosed its pathology as an absence of "party responsibility," i.e., a chronic lack of organizational discipline preventing parties from exercising coherent policy control when in power.³

Walter Dean Burnham is perhaps the most sophisticated contemporary exponent of the decline-of-party thesis. His book, *Critical Elections and the Main-springs of American Politics* (1970), and various articles develop a "theory of stasis and movement in American politics" of which the decline-of-party thesis is a crucial part.⁴ I believe that Burnham's theory is vulnerable to a number of criticisms.

NOTE: I would like to thank Samuel P. Huntington and two anonymous referees of the *Western Political Quarterly* for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this article.

¹ Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 130-31.

² For explanations of these opposition types see Huntington, op. cit., pp. 403-4. See James Monroe, *Writings*, VI, 291, cited in Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780-1840* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 200; Citations from Monroe and Hamilton in William Nisbet Chambers, *Political Parties in a New Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963); M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Party System in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), pp. 442-44 and *passim*.

³ Major examples of this vast literature include: "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System: A Report of the Committee on Political Parties, American Political Science Association," *American Political Science Review*, Supplement, Vol. 44, No. 3, Part 2 (September, 1950); E. E. Schattschneider, *Party Government* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942); James MacGregor Burns, *The Deadlock of Democracy* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963). Useful critical summaries are Austin Ranney, *The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), and Evron M. Kirkpatrick, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System: Political Science, Policy Science, or Pseudo-Science?" *American Political Science Review*, 65 (December 1971), 965-91.

⁴ Walter Dean Burnham, "The End of American Party Politics," *Transaction*, 7 (December 1969), 22. In chronological order, Burnham's writings in which his theory is developed include: "The Alabama Senatorial Election of 1962: Return of Interparty Competition," *Journal of Politics*, 24 (June 1964), 798-824; "The Changing Shape of the American Political Universe," *American Political Science Review*, 59 (March 1965), 7-29; "Party Systems and the Political Process," in William Nisbet Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham, eds., *The American Party Systems: Stages of Political Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 277-307; "American Voting Behavior and the 1964 Election," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 12 (February 1968), 1-40; "Critical Elections and the Dynamics of American Electoral Politics," a paper presented at the

The Idea Of A Party System

Michael Hoelscher



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Party System Richard Hofstadter, 1969 This volume traces the historical processes in thought by which American political leaders slowly edged away from their complete philosophical rejection of a party and hesitantly began to embrace a party system The author s analysis of the idea of party and the development of legitimate opposition offers fresh insights into the political crisis of 1797 1801 on the thought of George Washington Thomas Jefferson James Madison James Monroe Martin Van Buren and other leading figures and on the beginnings of modern democratic politics **Agenda Setting, Policies,**

and Political Systems Peter John, Shaun Bevan, Will Jennings, Bryan D. Jones, Michelle C. Whyman, Sylvain Brouard, Emiliano Grossman, Isabelle Guinaudeau, Arco Timmermans, Gerard Breeman, Frédéric Varone, Isabelle Engeli, Pascal Sciarini, Roy Gava, Christian Breunig, Brandon Zicha, Anne Hardy, Jeroen Joly, Tobias Van Assche, Enrico Borghetto, Marcello Carammia, Francesco Zucchini, Laura Chaqués-Bonafont, Anna M. Palau, Luz M. Muñoz Marquez, Martial Foucault, Éric Montpetit, 2014-05-16 What will gain the system s attention Explores the dynamics of a broad range of policy issues in different countries an important scholarly contribution Political Studies Review Before making significant policy decisions political actors and parties must first craft an agenda designed to place certain issues at the center of political attention The agenda setting approach in political science holds that the amount of attention devoted by the various actors within a political system to issues like immigration health care and the economy can inform our understanding of its basic patterns and processes While there has been considerable attention to how political systems process issues in the United States Christoffer Green Pedersen and Stefaan Walgrave demonstrate the broader applicability of this approach by extending it to other countries and their political systems This book brings together essays on eleven countries and two broad themes Contributors to the first section analyze the extent to which party and electoral changes and shifts in the partisan composition of government have led or not led to policy changes in the United States the United Kingdom the Netherlands Denmark Switzerland and France The second section turns the focus on changing institutional structures in Germany Italy Belgium Spain and Canada including the German reunification and the collapse of the Italian party system Together the essays make clear the efficacy of the agenda setting approach for understanding not only how policies evolve but also how political systems function **The Reshaping of West European Party Politics** Christoffer Green-Pedersen, 2019-07-31

Long gone are the times when class based political parties with extensive membership dominated politics Instead party

politics has become issue based Surprisingly few studies have focused on how the issue content of West European party politics has developed over the past decades Empirically Reshaping of West European Party Politics studies party politics in Belgium Denmark France Germany the Netherlands Sweden and the UK from 1980 and onwards This book highlights the more complex party system agenda with the decline but not disappearance of macroeconomic issues as well as the rise in new politics issues together with education and health care Moreover various new politics issues such as immigration the environment and European integration have seen very different trajectories To explain the development of the individual issues this volume develops a new theoretical model labelled the issue incentive model of party system attention The aim of the model is to explain how much attention issues get throughout the party system which is labelled the party system agenda To explain the development of the party system agenda one needs to focus on the incentives that individual policy issues offer to large mainstream parties i e the typical Social Democratic Christian Democratic or Conservative Liberal parties that have dominated West European governments for decades The core idea of the model is that the incentives that individual policy issues offer to these vote and office seeking parties depend on three factors namely issue characteristics issue ownership and coalition considerations The issue incentive model builds on and develops a top down perspective on which the issue content of party politics is determined by the strategic considerations of political parties and their competition with each other Comparative Politics is a series for researchers teachers and students of political science that deals with contemporary government and politics Global in scope books in the series are characterised by a stress on comparative analysis and strong methodological rigour The series is published in association with the European Consortium for Political Research For more information visit www.ecprnet.eu The series is edited by Emilie van Haute Professor of Political Science Universit libre de Bruxelles Ferdinand M ller Rommel Director of the Center for the Study of Democracy Leuphana University and Susan Scarrow John and Rebecca Moores Professor of Political Science University of Houston

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Digest; Review of Reviews Incorporating Literary Digest, 1929

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populace for war With no formal government office to rally citizens the job of defining the war in patriotic terms fell largely to private individuals or associations each with their own motives and methods Lawson explores how these interpreters of the war helped instill in Americans a new understanding of loyalty to country Through efforts such as sanitary fairs to promote the welfare of soldiers the war bond drives of Jay Cooke and the establishment of Union Leagues Northerners cultivated a new sense of patriotism rooted not just in the subjective American idea but in existing religious political and cultural values Moreover Democrats and Republicans Abolitionists and Abraham Lincoln created their own understandings of American patriotism and national identity raising debates over the meaning of the American idea to new heights Examining speeches pamphlets pageants sermons and assemblies Lawson shows how citizens and organizations constructed a new kind of nationalism based on a nation of Americans rather than a union of states a European styled nationalism grounded in history and tradition and celebrating the preeminence of the nation state Original in its insights and innovative in its approach Patriot Fires is an impressive work of cultural and intellectual history As America engages in new conflicts around the globe Lawson shows us that issues addressed by nation builders of the nineteenth century are relevant once again as the meaning of patriotism continues to be explored

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