

## TOWARD A SIXTH PARTY SYSTEM? PARTISANSHIP AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.

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

<sup>2</sup> 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*.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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

**JA Banks**



## **The Idea Of A Party System:**

**The Idea of a 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 *The Idea of a 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 New Perspectives on the Early Republic Ralph D. Gray, Michael A. Morrison, 1994 *Bankrupt Representation and Party System Collapse* Jana Morgan, 2011-11-30 In recent decades Bolivia Colombia Italy and Venezuela have all faced the turmoil and democratic crisis of party system collapse In *Bankrupt Representation and Party System Collapse* Jana Morgan analyzes the causes of such collapse She does so through a detailed examination of Venezuela's traumatic party system decay as well as comparative analysis of seven other countries Collapse occurs when the party system as a whole is unable to provide adequate linkage between society and the state failing to furnish programmatic representation integration of major societal interests or clientelist exchanges Linkage decays when party systems face challenges that jeopardize their core strategies at the same time that they are constrained in their ability to adapt and to confront these threats If this decay is unchecked and linkage of all sorts fails then the bankrupt party system collapses *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](http://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

**Parties and Party Systems** Giovanni Sartori, 2014-01-01 In this rich and broad ranging volume Giovanni Sartori outlines what is now recognised to be the most comprehensive and authoritative approach

to the classification of party systems He also offers an extensive review of the concept and rationale of the political party and develops a sharp critique of various spatial models of party competition This is political science at its best combining the intelligent use of theory with sophisticated analytic arguments and grounding all of this on a substantial cross national empirical base *Parties and Party Systems* is one of the classics of postwar political science and is now established as the foremost work in its field

**The Founders and the Idea of a National University** George Thomas, 2015 *Constituting the American Mind* is about early efforts to establish a national university and what those efforts say about the nature and logic of American Constitutionalism This book offers the first in depth study of the efforts to establish a national university from a constitutional perspective While mostly noted in passing the national university was put forward by every president from Washington to John Quincy Adams as a necessary supplement to the formal institutions of government it would help constitute the American mind in a manner that carried forward the ideas the constitution rested on including for example the separation of the civic from the theological

*Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization* Scott Mainwaring, 1999 Based on an in depth examination of the Brazilian case this book argues that we need to rethink important theoretical issues and empirical realities of party systems in the third wave of democratization

*The Idea of Political Marketing* Nicholas O. O'Shaughnessy, Stephan C.M. Henneberg, 2002-06-30 O'Shaughnessy Henneberg and their contributors examine how the theory and practice of marketing has been and can be applied to politics Particular attention was paid to the theory of political marketing with conceptual definitions developed to better facilitate communication between marketing professionals and political science researchers Political marketing is about the making and unmaking of governments in a democracy Despite its growing importance the marketing academic profession has shown very little interest in the political ramifications of their discipline while political scientists often come to political marketing with the view that it is cosmetic if not trivial O'Shaughnessy Henneberg and their contributors examine how the theory and practice of marketing has been and can be applied to politics As they show elections are a persuasion task writ large most especially with the demise of inherited class loyalties Following elections governments can employ marketing techniques to build support for their actions while opposition parties can press the government and its supporters through similar marketing approaches Of particular interest to scholars researchers and policy makers involved with politics political communication and the making of public policy

**Digest; Review of Reviews Incorporating Literary Digest**, 1929

*Rethinking Party Systems Theory in the Third Wave of Democratization* Scott Mainwaring, 1998

**Patriot Fires** Melinda Lawson, 2002 The Civil War is often credited with giving birth to the modern American state The demands of warfare led to the centralization of business and industry and to an unprecedented expansion of federal power But the Civil War did more than that as Melinda Lawson shows it brought about a change in American national identity redefining the relationship between the individual and the government Though much has been written about the Civil War and the making of the political and economic American

nation this is the first comprehensive study of the role that the war played in the shaping of the cultural and ideological nation state In *Patriot Fires* Lawson explains how when threatened by the rebellious South the North came together as a nation and mobilized its 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 **The Pilot**, 1900 Constitutionalism in Perspective

Sarah Baumgartner Thurow, 1988 First presented as papers at a conference at the University of Dallas in Irving Texas on October 16 and 17 1987 Pref *Parties in Crisis* Ruth K. Scott, Ronald J. Hrebennar, 1984 **The American Party System** Charles Edward Merriam, 1923 **An Appeal to the Canadian Institute on the Rectification of Parliament** Sandford Fleming, Canadian Institute, Toronto, 1892 **Parties and Elections in Corporate America** Howard L. Reiter, 1993

**The Logic of American Politics and Logic of American Politics in Wartime Pkg.** CQ Press, Samuel Kernell, Gary C. Jacobson, 2003-07 A core American politics textbook complete with a range of free teaching ancillaries The American political system is extraordinary and complex Samuel Kernell and Gary Jacobson help students develop a sophisticated appreciation of the possibilities and limits of American politics Encouraged to think and not merely to memorise facts students will come to understand why political institutions the politicians who occupy them and the citizens who monitor and respond to their actions behave as they do A nation as large and diverse as the United States faces enormous challenges Kernell and Jacobson analyse political institutions and practices as imperfect solutions to problems facing people who need to act collectively highlighting throughout the text such obstacles as conflicts over values and interests the difficulty of agreeing on a course of action and the problem of free riding They describe how the choices made to resolve such problems at one moment affect politics in the future long after the problems have faded The intelligible logic of American politics is analysed further in three sets of thematic boxes that appear throughout the text The Logic of Politics boxes dissect the design of various political

institutions in light of the objectives they were intended to achieve Strategy and Choice boxes new to the second edition show how officeholders and those seeking to influence them employ institutions to advance their goals Politics to Policy boxes show how public policies reflect the institutions that produce them and evaluate institutional capacity to solve America's problems Public policy is treated as an integral subject and is examined throughout the book rather than in separate chapters that are often left unassigned Politics into Policy boxes in particular extend the authors analysis looking at such issues as the tightening of the borders in the wake of terrorists attacks how smoking evolved from a private to a public issue and the decades long battle over campaign finance reform Special features include Chapters open with lively and topical stories that draw students in Thematic questions at the beginning of each chapter serve both to preview important themes and to get students thinking critically An abundance of carefully produced or selected tables figures photographs and other visuals thoroughly updated for the second edition illustrate and expand on the text Captions enrich or exemplify points of discussion New exercises on the accompanying website help students learn to interpret the graphic presentation of data Key terms are defined in boldface on first use summarized at chapter end with page numbers and defined in a glossary at the back of the book Chapter objectives summaries and electronically graded quizzes to help students review and study the material are offered on the web at [logic.cqpress.com](http://logic.cqpress.com) Annotated suggested readings lists and endnotes assist students in their exploration of American politics beyond the pages of the book Additionally the Logic website provides CQ Weekly articles that illustrate the logic in contemporary American politics as well as links to the best relevant sites on the Internet Adopters will receive a free subscription to CQ's Politics Daily e newsletter Unlike general news sources that focus on national polls and punditry CQ Politics Daily analyses th

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