

T407016 // AUTUMN 2026 // UNIVERSITÉ DE GENÈVE

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Session 07. Parties and representation.

THU 29 OCT 2026

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DR. JIHYE PARK

QUIZ 3 · 15 MINUTES

Quiz First

COVERS

Sessions 05 and 06. Linz 1990, Cheibub and Limongi 2002, Lijphart 2012, and Carey and Hix 2011.

FORMAT

Ten questions worth 2 points each. Six single choice and four select all that apply.

RULES

Closed book. Phones and laptops away. Write your name and student number at the top of the sheet.

Your best three of the five quizzes count. **Pens down when time is called.**

PREVIOUSLY

Last week, this week

SESSION 06

- Lijphart on how electoral systems turn votes into seats
- Carey and Hix on small districts that serve representation and accountability at once

SESSION 07

- Katz and Mair on how party organization changed, from the mass party to the cartel party
- What the cartel means for democracy, and who challenges it
- One group exercise

Last week's rules decided how many parties win seats. **This week asks what those parties have become and whom they answer to.**

OPENER · ANY VOLUNTEERS?

Think of the parties in your own country

What is a political party for?

01

Whose interests does it speak for?

02

Who pays its bills?

03

What does it lose when it loses an election?

KATZ AND MAIR 1995 · THE ARGUMENT

Decline, or a new kind of party?

THE DECLINE LITERATURE

Parties judged by their roots

Since Ostrogorski, parties have been classified by their ties to civil society, with the mass party as the standard. Falling membership and weaker loyalties then read as decline.

KATZ AND MAIR

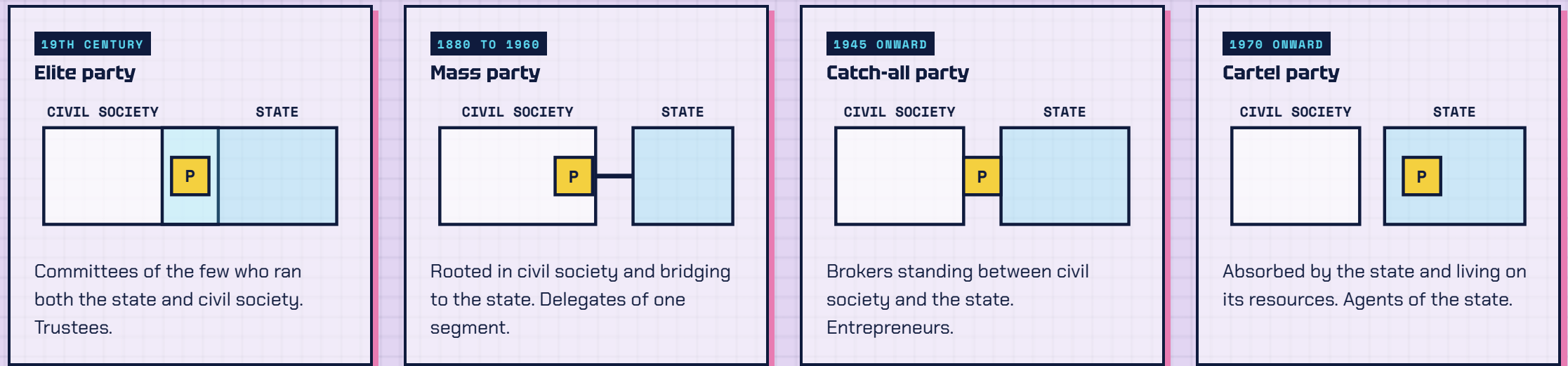
Parties judged by their ties to the state too

Each party type provokes a reaction that produces the next. The mass party was tied to a conception of democracy and an ideal of social structure that no longer fit postindustrial societies.

"The mass party is simply one stage in a continuing process."

They treat party development as a dialectic with no end point. **The newest stage grows out of an ever closer symbiosis between parties and the state.**

From civil society to the state



"Parties have now become semi-state agencies."

The first three panels follow the article's Figures 1 to 3. The fourth draws Table 1's "party becomes part of state." **Each type grew out of a reaction to the one before.**

Numbers against notables

	CADRE PARTY	MASS PARTY
Strength	A few well-connected supporters	Large numbers of members
Money	Large individual patrons	Many small membership fees
Communication	Personal networks	Its own party press
Who leads	Notables who also run the state	The party outside parliament, through its congress
Representative	Trustee of a single national interest	Delegate of one segment of society

"Elections became choices of delegates rather than trustees."

Duverger expected a "contagion from the left" that would force every party to copy the mass party. **The old parties copied the form, with members, branches and a congress, and kept the parliamentary party in charge.**

A victim of its own success

- 01 The big battles for political and social rights were won, and the solidarity they had built faded.
- 02 The welfare state took over services that the party and its network used to provide.
- 03 Better living conditions, mobility and mass media blurred once distinct constituencies.
- 04 Leaders who had tasted office wanted to keep winning and reached beyond their original base.

WHAT CHANGED

- People join because they agree with the policies, and membership becomes one affiliation among many.
- Television lets leaders appeal to every voter directly.
- In government the party is "Janus-like." It carries demands to the bureaucracy and defends the bureaucracy's policies to the public.

The party trades "effectiveness in depth for a wider audience and more immediate electoral success."

Kirchheimer's phrase. Unions now deal with whichever party governs. **In the pluralist view that grew up alongside it, party oligarchy "becomes a virtue rather than a vice."**

The state pays

Members fall short



Costs climb



Parties vote subsidies



Subsidies follow past results



Newcomers shut out

THE BROKER'S COMMISSION

Brokers have interests of their own. A party that can manipulate the state for its clients can also manipulate it for itself.

THE RULES

Parties in government set both the rules for state funding and the amounts. Access to state-regulated broadcasting works the same way.

The state "becomes an institutionalized structure of support, sustaining insiders while excluding outsiders."

The risk is dependence, since losing office could now cost a party its income. **Yet all parties can survive together, and that makes the conditions ideal for a cartel.**

Nobody is ever out

THEIR ESTIMATE, PENDING CLOSER STUDY

- 01 Almost all substantial parties now count as governing parties, especially once regional and local government is included.
- 02 Opposition rarely cuts a party off from state spoils, patronage, media or subsidies. Ireland and the UK even give opposition parties more subsidy.
- 03 The cartel party combines "the interpenetration of party and state" with "a pattern of inter-party collusion."

MOST DEVELOPED

Austria Denmark Germany Finland Norway Sweden

A tradition of inter-party cooperation, generous state support and party patronage.

LEAST DEVELOPED

UK

Adversary politics, limited state support and limited patronage.

A footnote adds that Labour, long shut out of office, has grown friendlier to PR, which would break the two-party monopoly. **As in Session 06, parties choose the electoral rules.**

KATZ AND MAIR · CONTAINED COMPETITION

Rivals who share

ITALY

The major parties shared patronage, sometimes with the Communists, who were ostensibly in opposition.

SWITZERLAND

The four main parties share the seats of the Federal Council and rotate its presidency.

NETHERLANDS

The parties share appointments of mayors.

UNITED STATES

Redistricting in many states draws "incumbent protection" gerrymanders.

Parties compete knowing they share "a mutual interest in collective organizational survival."

Sometimes there is even "a positive incentive not to compete." **Campaigns become capital intensive, professional and centralized, and state money pays for more of them.**

Members as individuals

More rights for members

One member, one postal ballot

Activists bypassed

Leaders gain autonomy

INSIDE THE PARTY

The line between members and supporters blurs. Leaders point to a large, formally empowered membership to legitimize their position.

STRATARCHY

The center leaves local parties a free hand on local matters. Local leaders stay out of national affairs, because the center can appeal to members directly.

Picture a party "that manages all of its business from a single central headquarters, and which simply subdivides its mailing list."

In the mass party, members held the elite to account from the bottom up. **Cartel party members are "valued for contribution to legitimizing myth."**

KATZ AND MAIR · TABLE 1

Four models side by side

	ELITE PARTY	MASS PARTY	CATCH-ALL PARTY	CARTEL PARTY
Period	19th century	1880 to 1960	1945 onward	1970 onward
Goals of politics	Distribution of privileges	Social reformation, or opposition to it	Social amelioration	Politics as profession
Basis of competition	Ascribed status	Representative capacity	Policy effectiveness	Managerial skills, efficiency
Electoral competition	Managed	Mobilization	Competitive	Contained
Party work	Irrelevant	Labor intensive	Labor and capital intensive	Capital intensive
Main resources	Personal contacts	Members' fees and contributions	Contributions from many sources	State subventions
Members and elite	The elite are the members	Bottom up, elite accountable to members	Top down, members as cheerleaders	Stratarchy, mutual autonomy
Communication	Interpersonal networks	The party's own channels	Competes for non-party channels	Privileged access to state-regulated channels
Representative style	Trustee	Delegate	Entrepreneur	Agent of state

These are polar types. Real parties approximate them, and older types live on beside newer ones. **Which column fits the largest party in your country today?**

Democracy as a service

	MASS PARTY	CATCH-ALL PARTY	CARTEL PARTY
Voters	Pick a party's program in advance	Judge leaders on their record	Choose from "a fixed menu of political parties"
Parties	Agents of a social group	Brokers among organized interests	"Partnerships of professionals"
Elections	Hold the government accountable to the people	Choose between teams of leaders	Renew leaders peacefully and send rulers feedback

Democracy becomes "a service provided by the state for civil society."

No major party is ever definitively out, which weakens voters' power to punish anyone. **"Stability becomes more important than triumph; politics becomes a job rather than a vocation."**

The cartel breeds its challengers

- 01 Parties stop carrying demands from civil society. Interest organizations take over, and neocorporatism brings unions and employers inside the system.
- 02 Demands the coopted groups will not voice feed new organizations, often short lived and strident.
- 03 Barriers to newcomers, such as subsidies tied to past results or limits on ballot access, can hand the excluded a weapon.

ABSORBED

D66 in the Netherlands, the Liberal Democrats in the UK, the Progressive Democrats in Ireland and many Green parties. Most proved willing to join the establishment they had attacked.

RADICAL RIGHT

Vlaams Blok, the French National Front and the Austrian Freedom Party among others. They gain mileage from attacking the "cosy" deals among established parties.

"These new protesters do not represent a challenge to party; their protest is, after all, organized by party."

Perot in the United States and the Reform Party in Canada ran on a demand to "break the mould." **Katz and Mair conclude that the challenge falls on cartel parties in particular.**

GROUP EXERCISE · SPOT THE CARTEL

A parliamentary commission on party finance asks your group for advice

Do the four older parties form a cartel, and should parliament pass their funding bill?

Since 1985 all four older parties have governed, in shifting coalitions at the national level and in the regions. Last year Clean Slate won 9 percent of the vote and 14 of 150 seats, campaigning to end "the cozy deal." Members are counted per 100 of each party's voters.

PARTY	ORIGIN	MEMBERS 1985	MEMBERS NOW	STATE SHARE OF INCOME	LEADER CHOSEN BY
Social Democrats	Trade unions, 1902	21	3	72%	Postal ballot of members
People's Party	Notables in parliament, 1871	6	2	64%	Parliamentary group
Christian Union	Church and farm groups, 1919	15	4	70%	Postal ballot of members
Greens	Protest movement, 1983	9	5	58%	Congress delegates
Clean Slate	A TV host, 2023	none	7	0%	Its founder, uncontested

THE BILL · TABLED BY THE FOUR

State funding for parties rises by a third. Only parties that won seats at each of the last two elections qualify. Airtime on public television is shared in proportion to seats.

CLEAN SLATE'S COUNTER-PROPOSAL

Cut state funding in half and give every party on the ballot equal airtime.

Katz and Mair, Table 1. Rows to use · main resources · members and elite · communication · position between civil society and state · representative style

- 01 Place the Social Democrats and the People's Party on Table 1, where each started and where it stands now. Which facts in the file place them?
- 02 Make Katz and Mair's case that the four older parties form a cartel. Which facts fit, and what evidence is still missing?
- 03 Predict what the bill would do to Clean Slate. Then decide as a group how you would vote on the bill and on the counter-proposal.

The country, parties and figures are invented.

NEXT UP

Before Thursday 12 November

Week 09. Interest groups and who gets the policy they want.

READ

Gilens, Martin, and Benjamin I. Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics* 12(3), 564-581.

READ

Baumgartner, Frank R., Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech. 2009. *Lobbying and Policy Change*. University of Chicago Press, chapter 1.



Thu 5 Nov

Reading week. No class.



Thu 12 Nov

Week 9 class on interest groups



Tue 17 Nov

Complement on hypotheses and how they are evaluated

M2170



Thu 19 Nov

Quiz 4 opens the class. It covers Weeks 07 and 09.

PROGRESS SAVED

QUESTIONS?

Office hours Thursdays 14:30 to 16:00 in M4328

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BEFORE YOU LEAVE



Rate each group member's participation in today's exercise. **Required before you leave the room.**