

Workshop Proposal Outline form for prospective Workshop Directors for the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops

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| Title of proposed Workshop: | Political leadership and democratic innovations: primaries, intra-party democracy and their impact on political elites |
| Outline of topic: | <p>A crucial function of political parties is the recruitment of political elites and political leadership (Bartolini and Mair, 1990; Norris, 2004). If voters are the central players in elections, political parties play a major role before the elections by determining who will run in their name, i.e. the candidates and who will lead the party campaign and electoral platform, i.e. the leader. However, so far, this key function of parties has been studied mostly with regard to parliamentary recruitment, usually by examining the background of elected members of the legislatures or the ministers (Matthews 1984; Best and Cotta 2000; Dowding and Dumont, 2009). The relation between the recruitment of political elites and the types of selection procedures set up by parties has been less studied. There is a missing link between party organizations (and their internal procedures) and political leadership that has been quite overlooked in the recent empirical research on the recruitment of political elites.</p> <p>At the same time, in recent decades, contemporary political parties in advanced democracies have undergone dramatic changes (Dalton, 2014). Recent research suggests that party organizations have changed and, more specifically, they have become more internally democratic (Hazan and Rahat, 2010). Participatory and deliberative democratic innovations have been a central research object in political science for decades now (Fishkin, 2009), but the study of their use within party politics is relatively recent. The expansion of intra-party democracy, the adoption of new forms of e-participation and the introduction of new types of party membership are nowadays characterizing party politics in many advanced democracies (Scarrow, 2014). These internal democratization processes affect all the functions performed by parties and particularly the functions of selection of political leadership and of recruitment of political elites.</p> <p>In particular, the trend towards more inclusive methods of selection of party candidates and leaders in several countries across the world, and the increasing data availability on intra-party democratic innovations (on primary elections for instance) allow to explore the relation between party organizations and the recruitment of political elites. Developing new research on the consequences of these parallel trends seems now both empirically relevant and feasible. Also, the selection of elites and leaders in political parties is a crucial aspect of both party politics literature and elites and political leadership literature. This workshop aims thus at bridging the two sub-disciplines by focusing on the political recruitment to party mandates and to elective offices of the state at all levels from the point of view of intra-party organizational settings. The panel is thus dedicated to a systematic cross-time and cross-country</p> |

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| | <p>study of such politically relevant phenomena and in particular on their impact on political elites. The workshop aims at studying the role of parties in parliamentary and political recruitment and at its impact on the political leadership appointed.</p> <p>Most studies on party's organizational democratization analyzed whether some formal scope for intra-party democracy, especially in candidate and leader selection, affects actual intra-party democracy, party's organizational strength, cohesion and electoral success, that is on the party as a whole. On the contrary, the research questions at the basis of this panel explore the party elites that emerge from those selection processes and those democratized organizational settings. Putting an emphasis on primary elections in particular, the panel focuses not only on the analysis of the processes through which party elites are selected and the consequences at the level of the party (organization and electoral success) but also at the level of party elites themselves, i.e. what impact party primaries have on the characteristics of parties' candidates and leaders.</p> <p>More specifically, previous literature has shown that there is significant variation in the types of primary institutions that can be used to select party leaders and elites as well as variation with respect to the types of leaders or elites who emerge on the winning side of a primary election. Recent empirical studies on primary elections in comparative perspective have shown that such inclusive types of candidate and leadership selection vary considerably with regard to the their regulation (party or state), to the dimension of candidacy and deselection rules, to the degree of inclusiveness of the selectorate, to the degree of decentralization of the process, as well as to the degree of competitiveness of the process (Kenig, 2008; Rahat and Hazan, 2010; Sandri, Seddone, Venturino, 2015). Other studies have empirically explored the significant variation in terms of representativeness (with respect to socio-political profiles) and of responsiveness (with respect to legislative behaviour in particular) of the leaders or candidates selected through primaries or other inclusive selection methods (Cordero and Collier, 2014; Smith and Tsutsumi, 2014; Spies and Kaiser, 2014; Rombi and Seddone, 2015).</p> <p>Therefore, building on those exploratory studies, we argue that the source and consequence of these two types of variation is both underdeveloped and under theorized. While a few recent studies have tried to explore the links between the varieties of selection processes and the variation in the profiles of selected leaders and candidates, they are mostly case studies and have focused on specific aspects of political elites' background (mostly gender) without adopting an encompassing comparative approach that could take into account different dimensions of analysis both at individual (selected elites' social, political and career characteristics, parliamentary and political behaviour) and at party level (selection processes and intra-party democracy features) in cross-national empirical studies. A theorization of the impact of varieties of selection processes on political elites' individual features has been long developed for the specific case of American politics, but the question of the adaptation of said US-based theories needs to be addressed. A structured analytical and theoretical framework for developing such comparative analysis is yet to be defined. The workshop aims at addressing this challenge in the research agenda by bringing together scholar of political leadership and of party politics and by developing an interdisciplinary approach to the study of political recruitment that ranges from comparative politics to political sociology to a more legal</p> |
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| | <p>perspective (state regulation of parties and political processes). The panel welcomes applications to address this point. Providing a better understanding of the interplay between political elites' recruitment and intra-party politics is at the core of the workshop. The workshop focuses on the empirical or theoretical exploration of the relationship between primary elections and political leadership, in particular with regard to the consequences of the variation in the types of primary institutions that can be used to select party leaders and elites on the profiles (socio-political features, political seniority and career patterns, relationship with the party) and political behaviour of the selected leaders and candidates.</p> |
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| <p>Relation to existing research:</p> | <p>The panel builds upon a broad stream of literature in the two sub-disciplines of party organizational studies and of political leadership. In particular, the research questions addressed by the panel stem from literature on political personalization and presidentialization of political parties, which link organizational challenges currently faced by parties in Western democracies with the increasing centrality of party leaders and candidates in electoral and political processes (Poguntke and Webb, 2005; Blondel and Thiébault 2009; Garzia, 2013; 2012; Passarelli, 2015). These different strands of research contribute to the growing and somewhat blurred body of literature on the “personalization” of politics (Karvonen 2010). Within this peculiar approach to the study of party politics and political leadership, the issues of leadership selection, change, turnover and renewal are seldom explored.</p> <p>The second stream of literature upon which this workshop is built upon is the burgeoning one on party organizational changes and intra-party democratization (for an overview, see Cross and Katz, 2013). Candidate and leadership selection processes and primary elections in particular are a recurrent theme in the debate about parties and their organizational changes (Katz and Mair, 1995; Scarrow et al., 2000; Bolleyer, 2011). The debate on the consequences of intra-party democracy, more in general, arose within the early, classical works on party politics (Ostrogorski, 1902; Michels, 1962 [1911]; APSA, 1950) and has resurfaced in the last two decades as a spinoff on the literature on party politics (Cross and Katz, 2013; Hazan and Rahat, 2010; Kenig et al., 2015). The arguments and theories developed so far for explaining the consequences of intra-party democratization are different, but the empirical evidence is overall mixed (Scarrow, 2005).</p> <p>More specifically, the panel builds upon comparative literature on candidate and leadership selection procedures and primary elections in particular. Part of this literature has analyzed primary elections as an instrument of organizational adaptation of parties that combines processes of political personalization with new forms of intra-party democracy and participation (Katz and Mair, 1995; Kenig, 2009; Sandri, Seddone, Venturino, 2015). The variety of primary elections is argued to create a direct link between candidates and leaders selected through such inclusive methods and their selectors, namely voters, which undermines the role of party organizational structures in electoral processes (Katz and Mair, 1995; Ware, 2002). This suggests the existence of a close relation between the democratization of leader and candidate selection procedures, and specifically the use of primaries, and processes of political personalization.</p> <p>Rahat and Hazan (2010) have developed a theoretical framework for assessing the consequences of the variety of candidate selection</p> |
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| | <p>processes that needs further empirical testing but which constitutes an excellent starting point for cross-country research. In particular, this study elaborates a useful analytical framework for exploring the consequences of the variation in the types of selection processes (and specifically primary institutions) that can be used to choose candidates on the types of elites who emerge on the winning side of internal elections, mostly in terms of representativeness of political elites. This stream of the literatures proves very useful for this workshop since the latter aims at analyzing to what extent more inclusive procedures of candidate (and leaders') selection ensure a greater representativeness of political elites. The main focus of research has however remained on gender representation (Rahat and Hazan, 2010; Wauters and Pilet, 2014; Gauja and Cross, 2015), while this workshop aims at developing further the analysis of the consequences of elites' recruitment processes and primary elections in particular on other dimensions of political representation (political profiles, career patterns, seniority, etc.).</p> <p>With regard to this point, the workshop also builds upon the rich American-centered literature on the ideological positioning and political profiles of candidates selected through various types of primary elections (Ranney, 1972; Marshall, 1978; Norrander, 1989 and 1993; Steger, 2007). In particular, the workshop will provide an opportunity to further examine with regard to different case studies and cross-national analysis the research questions developed by Gerber and Morton (1998) and Kaufman et al. (2006) on the ideological extremism of candidates selected through more open and inclusive types of primaries. More recently, a study by Cross and Pilet (2014; 2015), specifically dedicated to the selection processes of party leaders, has collected a relevant amount of comparative data on procedures and rules managing this dimension of intra-party politics and also on the individual socio-political features of the selected leaders.</p> <p>The workshop aims at bridging the above mentioned strands of political science literature by focusing on the relation between primary elections and personalization of politics, and in particular by developing theoretical and empirical analyses of the following research questions:</p> <p>What effects do primaries have on the selection of party elites? Do parties with primary elections choose as candidates and leaders people with different characteristics than ones without primaries? How do primaries affect the way parties are run by their elites? How do primaries affect the way leaders control the strategy and policy of parties?</p> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Likely participants: | <p>The following scholars are engaged in research related to this topic. Our expectation is that most of them, and others unknown to us, would apply for participation in the workshop.</p> <table> <tr> <td>Marco Lisi, Portugal</td><td>Juan Teruel, Spain</td></tr> <tr> <td>Luca Verzichelli, Italy</td><td>Sergiu Gherghina, Germany</td></tr> <tr> <td>Oscar Barbera, Spain</td><td>Thomas Poguntke, Germany</td></tr> <tr> <td>Paul Webb, United Kingdom</td><td>André Krouwel, the Netherlands</td></tr> <tr> <td>Jean-Benoit Pilet, Belgium</td><td>William Cross, Canada</td></tr> <tr> <td>Bram Wauters, Belgium</td><td>Fulvio Venturino, Italy</td></tr> <tr> <td>Marco Valbruzzi, Italy</td><td>Indridi Indridason, US</td></tr> <tr> <td>Gideon Rahat, Israel</td><td>Nicholas Aylott, Sweden</td></tr> </table> | Marco Lisi, Portugal | Juan Teruel, Spain | Luca Verzichelli, Italy | Sergiu Gherghina, Germany | Oscar Barbera, Spain | Thomas Poguntke, Germany | Paul Webb, United Kingdom | André Krouwel, the Netherlands | Jean-Benoit Pilet, Belgium | William Cross, Canada | Bram Wauters, Belgium | Fulvio Venturino, Italy | Marco Valbruzzi, Italy | Indridi Indridason, US | Gideon Rahat, Israel | Nicholas Aylott, Sweden |
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| Type of Papers required: | <p>The panel welcomes papers exploring the issue of the impact of inclusive selection methods on political elites through various dimensions of analysis, such as representativeness, responsiveness, accountability or party parliamentary cohesion. We encourage works from different methodological and theoretical perspectives. Empirical papers may be focused on case studies or on one specific aspect of the two abovementioned different dimensions of analysis suggested for examining the consequences of the use of various types of primary institutions on political elites. Nevertheless, we will particularly welcome empirical papers developing cross-national and comparative analyses, or conceptually based papers considering the implications of primaries on party leadership, candidates and in general political élites. The convenors would like to see both noted and emerging scholars of political leadership and party politics within and beyond Europe, combining expertise of politics and leadership at different levels ranging from the sub-national to the supranational.</p> |
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| Funding: | <p>In order to fund the workshop, we intend to apply for grants promoted by our two institutions, the University of Turin and Université Catholique de Lille. In particular, a request for financing the organization of international conferences will be submitted to the research council of the Université Catholique de Lille, which provides specific funds for this aim. Also, we are currently working on a grant proposal to be submitted to the 2016-17 COST action. The purpose is to get funding for supporting networking activities among scholars working on primary elections in the EU and beyond. The workshop convenors are currently coordinating the international research network on “Primaries in Comparative Perspective”, supported by the ECPR Standing Group on Political Parties: http://ecprsgpp.wordpress.com/current-major-projects/. Therefore our COST proposal aims at strengthening and further developing the network activities of said research group, among which the panel we propose for the 2017 Joint Sessions of Workshop constitutes a crucial phase.</p> |
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| Biographical notes: | <p>Antonella Seddone holds a PhD from the University of Turin. She teaches at the Department of Cultures, Politics and Society of the University of Turin. Her main research interests include political parties, intra-party democracy, political communication and election campaigns. She recently published in <i>Modern Italy</i>, <i>Italian Political Science Review</i>, <i>Journal of Modern Italian Studies</i>. Recently, she co-edited <i>Party Primaries in Comparative Perspective</i> (Ashgate, 2015).</p> <p>Giulia Sandri is Associate Professor at the European School of Political and Social Sciences of the Catholic University of Lille. She was previously Research Fellow at Christ Church and at the Department of Politics and International Relations of the University of Oxford. Her main research interests are party politics, intra-party democracy and political behavior. She recently published in <i>Politics and Policy</i>, <i>Acta Politica</i>, <i>Comparative European Politics</i>, <i>Religion, State and Society</i>, <i>Ethnopolitics</i>, <i>Italian Political Science Review</i>, and <i>Regional and Federal Studies</i>. She also recently published an edited book, co-edited with Fulvio Venturino and Antonella Seddone, on ‘Party primaries in Comparative Perspective’, Farnham, Ashgate.</p> |
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