

Presidents, Parties, and Prime Ministers

How the Separation of Powers Affects Party Organization and Behavior

> DAVID J. SAMUELS University of Minnesota

MATTHEW S. SHUGART University of California, San Diego



Contents

Preface and Acknowledgments	
1 Introduction	I
Democracies with Elected Presidents Are Now	
in the Majority	4
The Comparative Study of Political Parties and th	е
Missing Variable of Regime-Type	7
Clues from Existing Research	I 2
"Presidentialized" versus "Parliamentarized" Par	ies 14
Outline of the Book	18
2 Political Parties in the Neo-Madisonian Theore	tical
Framework	22
Democratic Regimes and the Neo-Madisonian Fr	amework 25
Parties in the Neo-Madisonian Framework	34
Situating Parties within the Separation of Powers	36
President-Party Relationships under Semi-Preside	ntialism 39
Party Dilemmas under the Separation of Powers	46
Conclusion	53
Appendix 2A: Cohabitation in Semi-Presidential	
Systems – Cases and Data	55
3 Insiders and Outsiders: Madison's Dilemma ar	d
Leadership Selection	62
Defining Insiders and Outsiders	65
Insiders versus Outsiders: Hypotheses	68
Career Paths of Insiders and Outsiders	72
Limits of Presidentialization in Hybrid Regimes	83
Conclusion	90
Appendix 3A: Constructing the Database on	
Leaders' Career Paths	91

4	Constitutional Design and Intraparty Leadership	
	Accountability	94
	Firing Party Agents under Parliamentarism	95
	Firing Prime Ministers under Semi-Presidentialism	98
	Firing a Directly Elected President	108
	Conclusion	120
5	Electoral Separation of Purpose within Political Parties Electoral Separation of Purpose: The Physical Separation	123
	of Votes	126
	Sources of Variation in Electoral Separation of Purpose Measuring Electoral Separation of Purpose	128
	Illustrative Examples of Electoral Separation of Purpose	130
	The Global Extent of Electoral Separation of Purpose	132 142
	Conclusion	142 150
	Appendix 5A: Sources for District-Level Electoral Data	150
	Appendix 5B: Countries and Elections Included	159
,		1)9
6	The Impact of Constitutional Change on Party Organization	
	and Behavior	162
	Constitutional Reforms and Expectations for Party Adaptation	164
	Presidentialized Parties in France	170
	Presidentialized Parties in Israel	179
	Conclusion	190
7	Parties' "Presidential Dilemmas" in Brazil and Mexico	193
	Presidential Dilemmas in Brazilian Parties	194
	Presidential Dilemmas in Mexican Parties	204
	Conclusion	215
8	Presidents, Prime Ministers, and Mandate Representation	218
	Parties, Presidents, and Political Representation	222
	Policy-Switching or Mandate Representation: A Global	
	Exploration	231
	Conclusion	247
9	Conclusion	249
/	Semi-Presidentialism Is More Presidential Than	-12
	Parliamentary	255
	Pure Types and Hybrids: Implications of Trends in	55
	Constitutional Design	257
	The Research Agenda	262
Re	ferences	265
Ind		289
1110	10A	209