

**Susan E. Scarrow**

John and Rebecca Moores Professor of Political Science  
University of Houston  
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**EDUCATION**

Yale University, M.A. 1986 (political science), Ph.D. 1991 (political science)  
Oberlin College, B.A. 1984, *Phi Beta Kappa*

**ACADEMIC AND RELATED POSITIONS**

University of Houston, 1991- present; Full professor since 2008.  
John & Rebecca Moores University Professor, 2016-present  
Fellow, University of Houston Honors College, 2010 – present  
Post-doctoral fellow, Harvard University, 1993-94  
Visiting Scholar, L.U.I.S.S., Rome, May-June, 2018.  
Visiting Scholar, Science Center, Berlin, June 1998 and April 2001  
Visiting Scholar, University of Paris, Nanterre, 2009.

**ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS**

Department Chair, 2011 – 2018  
(Department of 30 full-time faculty at R1 University; 750 majors; 80 Graduate Students)  
Graduate Director, 2008-2010 (MA & PhD Program)

**GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS and AWARDS**

National Science Foundation: Open Research Area Funding for *Political Parties Database Project: How Parties Shape Democracy in Parliamentary Systems* (\$265,000); PI for the US part of grant for collaborative social science (\$750,000 total funding) with Paul Webb (UK) and Thomas Poguntke (Germany), 2014-2016.  
Fulbright German Studies Seminar Fellow, Summer 2013.  
Senator Don Henderson Scholar (Research chair), 2009-2012  
National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend, 1993.  
University of Houston Research Small Research Grants, 2013 and multiple years.  
Best reviewer prize from Political Research Quarterly, 2008.  
Winner of Samuel Beer Dissertation Prize, British Politics Group, 1993.

**MONOGRAPHS & EDITED VOLUMES**

*Organizing Political Parties: Representation, Participation, and Power* co-edited book with Paul Webb and Thomas Poguntke. Oxford University Press. 2017.  
*Beyond Party Members: Changing Approaches to Partisan Mobilization*. Oxford University Press. 2014.  
*Democracy Transformed?* Bruce Cain, Russell Dalton and Susan Scarrow, eds., Oxford University Press, 2003.  
*Perspectives on Political Parties: Classic Readings* Palgrave Press, 2002.  
*Parties and their Members: Organizing for Victory in Britain and Germany* Oxford University Press, 1996.

## EDITED JOURNAL ISSUES

*Party Democracy and Direct Democracy*, refereed special issue of *Party Politics*, Susan Scarrow & Patrick Seyd, eds. July 1999.

*The Politics of Anti-Party Sentiment*, refereed special issue of *European Journal of Political Research* Thomas Poguntke & Susan Scarrow eds., May 1996.

## REFEREED JOURNAL ARTICLES

“Multi-Speed Parties and Representation: The Evolution of Party Affiliation in Germany.” *German Politics* 2018: 1-21.

“The Consequences of Membership Incentives: Do Greater Political Benefits Attract Different Kinds of Members?” *Party Politics*, forthcoming. Susan Achury, Susan Scarrow, Karina Kosiara Pedersen and Emilie van Haute (accepted 9/2017).

“Party Rules, Party Resources, and the Politics of Parliamentary Democracies: How Parties Organize in the 21st Century.” *Party Politics* 2016. 22: 661-678. Thomas Poguntke, Susan E. Scarrow, Paul D. Webb et al.

“Which Members? Using Cross-National Surveys to Study Party Membership,” *Party Politics*, 2016. 22: 679-90. Aldo Ponce and Susan E. Scarrow.

“The German Grand Coalition of 2005–09 and Party System Change: Catalyst or Continuity?,” *Electoral Studies*. 2012. 31:60-71.

“Giving to the Party: The Context of Contributions in European Democracies,” *West European Politics*. 2011. 34:997–1020. Aldo Ponce and Susan E. Scarrow.

“Assessing the Impact of Candidate Selection Rules: Britain in the 1990s,” *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*. 2010. 20:311-33. Anna Mikulska and Susan E. Scarrow.

“Declining Memberships, Changing Members? European Political Party Members in a New Era,” *Party Politics*. 2010. 16: 823-43. Susan E. Scarrow and Burcu Gezgor.

“Political Finance in Comparative Perspective,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2007. (Partially reprinted in translation in *Argent et Politique*, ed Eric Phelippeau. 2011. Paris: Direction de l’information légale et administrative.)

“Party Subsidies and the Freezing of Party Competition: Do Cartels Work?” *West European Politics*. 2006. 29:619-639.

“Beyond the Scandals? Party Funding and the 2005 German Elections,” *German Politics*. 2006. 15: 376-392.

“Explaining Political Finance Reforms: Competition and Context,” *Party Politics*. 2004. 10: 653-75.

“Democracy Transformed? Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies,” *Journal of Democracy*. Russell Dalton, Susan E. Scarrow and Bruce Cain. 2004. 15: 124-38.

“Party Finance Scandals and their Consequences in the 2002 Election: Paying for Mistakes?,” *German Politics and Society*. 2003. 21:119-37.

“Direct Democracy and Institutional Design: A Comparative Investigation”, *Comparative Political Studies*. 2001. 34: 651-65.

“Parties and the Expansion of Direct Participation Opportunities: Who Benefits?,” *Party Politics*. 1999. 5: 341-62.

“Democracy Within -- and Without -- Parties: Introduction,” *Party Politics*. 1999. 5: 275-82.

“Party Competition and Institutional Change: The Expansion of Direct Democracy in Germany,” *Party Politics*. 1997. 3: 451-72.

“Political Career Paths and their Consequences in the European Parliament,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 1997. 22: 253-63.

“Politicians Against Parties: Anti-Party Arguments as Weapons of Change in Germany,” *European Journal of Political Research*. 1996. 29: 297-317.

“The Politics of Anti-Party Sentiment,” *European Journal of Political Research*. Thomas Poguntke and Susan E. Scarrow. 1996. 29: 257-62.

“The 'Paradox of Enrollment': Assessing the Costs and Benefits of Party Memberships,” *European Journal of Political Research*. 1994. 25: 41-60. Reprinted in: *Comparative Political Parties*, Steven J. Wolinetz, ed. London: Dartmouth Publishers, 1997.

“Does Local Party Organisation Make a Difference? Political Parties and Local Government Elections in Germany,” *German Politics*. 1993. 2: 377-92.

**DATASETS**

*The Political Party Database, Round 1a* published January 2017. Harvard Dataverse,  
doi:10.7910/DVN/0NM7KZ,

**CHAPTERS IN EDITED VOLUMES**

- “Political finance regulation and equality: comparing strategies and impact,” 2018 in *Handbook of Political Party Funding*, Jonathan Mendilow and Eric Phélippeau eds. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- “Investigating Party Organization,” Susan E. Scarrow & Paul D. Webb. 2017 in *Organizing Political Parties*, Susan E. Scarrow, Paul D. Webb and Thomas Poguntke, eds. Oxford University Press.
- “Party Membership Costs, New Forms of Party Affiliation, and Partisan Participation,” Kariana Kosiara Pedersen, Susan E. Scarrow and Emilie van Haute. 2017 in *Organizing Political Parties*, Susan E. Scarrow, Paul D. Webb and Thomas Poguntke, eds. Oxford University Press.
- “The Study of Party Organization,” Thomas Poguntke, Susan E. Scarrow and Paul D. Webb. 2017 in *Organizing Political Parties*, Susan E. Scarrow, Paul D. Webb and Thomas Poguntke, eds. Oxford University Press.
- “The Changing Nature of Political Party Membership,” 2017. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia (online)*. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.226
- “Political Party Organizations,” 2017. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia (online)*. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.22
- “Intra-Party Democracy and Party Finance,” 2013 in *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, edited by William Cross and Richard Katz. Oxford University Press.
- “New Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy: Grassroots Activists, Instant Members, and Cyber-Militants,” 2013 in *New Technology, Organizational Change and Governance*, Emmanuelle Avril and Christine Zumello, eds. Palgrave.
- “Money in U.S. Elections: An Ongoing Revolution” in *The People and American Government*, Kent Tedin, ed. Pearson, 2011. With Bianca Easterly.
- “Political Parties and Party Systems,” *Comparing Democracies 3*, Larry Leduc, Richard Niemi, Pippa Norris, eds. 2010.
- “Party Members and Political Participation,” for *Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*, Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, eds. 2007.
- “Money and Politics: U.S. Campaign Finance in Comparative Perspective,” in *The People and American Government*, Kent Tedin, ed. Pearson 2007.
- “The Nineteenth Century Origins of Modern Political Parties: The Unexpected Emergence of Party-based Politics,” in *Handbook on Political Parties*, Richard S. Katz and Willam Crotty, eds. Sage Publishers. 2006. Pp. 16-24.
- “Embracing Dealignment, Combating Realignment: German Parties Respond,” in *Party Responses to Electoral Markets*, Peter Mair, Wolfgang Müller and Fritz Plasser (eds.) (in German 1999; revised edition in English 2004, Sage Publishers). Pp. 86-110.
- “Making Elections More Direct? Reducing the Role of Parties in Elections,” in *Democracy Transformed?* Bruce Cain, Russell Dalton, Susan Scarrow, eds. Oxford University Press, 2003. Pp. 44-58.
- “New Forms of Democracy? Reform and Transformation of Democratic Institutions,” in *Democracy Transformed?* Bruce Cain, Russell Dalton, Susan Scarrow, eds. Oxford University Press, 2003. Russell Dalton, Susan Scarrow and Bruce Cain. Pp. 1-20
- “Democratic Publics and Democratic Institutions,” in *Democracy Transformed?* Bruce Cain, Russell Dalton, Susan Scarrow, eds. Oxford University Press, 2003. Russell Dalton, Bruce Cain and Susan Scarrow. Pp. 250-275.
- “Political Parties and the Rhetoric and Realities of Democratization,” in *Democracy Transformed?* Bruce Cain, Russell Dalton, Susan Scarrow, eds. Oxford University Press, 2003. Miki Caul Kittilson and Susan Scarrow. Pp. 59-80.
- “Party Decline in the Parties State? The Federal Republic of Germany at 50” in *Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Societies: Emergence, Adaptation & Decline*, Paul Webb, David Farrell, Ian Holliday, eds. Oxford University Press, 2002. Pp. 77-106.
- “Germany: The Mixed Member System as a Political Compromise”, in *Mixed-member Electoral Systems: the Best of Both Worlds?* Matthew Soberg Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds., Oxford University Press, 2001. Pp. 55-69.

- “Parties without Members? Party Organization in a Changing Electoral Environment,” in *Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Russell Dalton and Martin Wattenberg, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Pp. 79-101.
- “From Social Integration to Electoral Contestation: The Changing Distribution of Power Within Political Parties” in *Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Russell Dalton and Martin Wattenberg, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, Susan Scarrow, Paul Webb and David Farrell. Pp. 129-53.
- “Making Europeans? The Socializing Power of the European Parliament,” in *Representation in the European Parliament*, Richard Katz and Bernhard Wessels, eds., Mark N. Franklin and Susan Scarrow. Oxford University Press, 1999. Pp. 45-60.
- “Local Parties and Electioneering in Germany: Local Political Messages in an Era of Nationalized Political Communication,” in *Local Parties in Political and Organizational Perspective*, Martin R. Saiz and Hans Geser, eds. Westview Press, 1999. Pp. 151-70.
- “Political Parties and the Changing Framework of German Electoral Competition,” in *Stability and Change in German Elections*, Christopher Anderson and Carsten Zelle, eds. Praeger Publishers, 1998. Pp. 301-22.
- “Interests, Institutions, and the Challenges of History in Germany and the Czech Republic” in *Stability in East Central Europe?*, Egbert Jahn and Rudolf Wildenmann, eds. Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft. Susan Scarrow and Jonathan Stein, 1995. Pp. 49-69.
- “State and Local Party Organizations in American Politics,” in *American Political Parties*, E. Uslander, ed., James L. Gibson and Susan Scarrow, 1993. Pp. 232-64.

## **POLICY REPORTS**

- “Minimum Standards for the Democratic Functioning of Political Parties,” National Democratic Institute. 2008
- “Intra-Party Democracy: Decisions to be Made,” National Democratic Institute, Fall 2005. (Paper series with Ken Janda, Pippa Norris, Michael Johnson.)

## **MAJOR WORK IN PROGRESS and UNDER REVIEW**

Co-organizer: Political Party Organization Database Project. A collaborative project with 50+ scholars studying parties in 41 parliamentary and presidential democracies. Round 2 data collection starting 2018.

## **RECENT PRESENTATIONS**

- “The Future of Political Parties,” presentation at International IDEA/Colegio de Mexico conference on “the Future of Democracy,” October 2018.
- “Party Rules and Party Identity”, talk at L.U.I.S.S., Rome, Italy, June 2018
- “Intraparty Democracy, Leadership Strength and Party Communication,” talk at University of Texas, Austin, February 2018.
- “Putting Party Organization in Comparative Perspective: First Findings and Next Steps for the Political Party Database Project,” 2017. Cologne Center for Comparative Politics, Cologne Germany.
- “Party Leadership Strength and Representation: Communicating Party Positions,” 2017. Andrea Aldrich & Susan Scarrow. American Political Science Association annual meetings, September 2017.
- “Party Organization, Party Institutionalization, and Democratic Stability.” 2017. Thomas Poguntke, Susan E. Scarrow and Paul D. Webb. American Political Science Association annual meetings and European Consortium for Political Research General Conference.
- “Intra-Party Democracy as a Response to Electoral Dealignment: Party Renewal or Trojan Horse?,” Keynote paper at conference on “Voters Adrift,” University of Montreal, December 2016.
- “Organizing Representation”, University of Birmingham, UK, November 2016.
- “Regulating Intra-Party Democracy: Procedural Choices and Political Consequences,” American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Philadelphia, September 2016.
- “Party Rules, Party Resources, and the Politics of Parliamentary Democracies,” Strathclyde University, Glasgow UK, February 2016.
- “The Changing Meanings of Party Membership,” University of São Paulo, November 2015.
- “Beyond Party Members: a Public Symposium, Sponsored by the French Political Science Association, Sciences Po, Paris, September 2015.

## TEACHING

Graduate courses: Comparative Political Analysis, Comparative Political Parties, European Politics, Dissertation Prospectus Writing Seminar

Undergraduate courses: Introduction to Politics, Introduction to Comparative Politics, Nations of Europe, Politics of the European Union, German Politics, Comparative Parties and Elections

Served on 15 dissertation committees; chaired 6.

International Guest Teaching: European Consortium for Political Research: Political Parties Summer School at European University Institute Florence (2007); University of Brussels (2012); University of Luneberg (2015); University of Paris – Nanterre Visiting lecturer (2009)

## COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY SERVICE

*University Level:* Graduate and Professional Studies Committee (chair, student affairs sub- committee); Provost's Committee on Department Chair Compensation; ADVANCE grant Committee on Recruiting and Retention; University Fulbright Committee, multiple years; search committee for VP for Research.

*College Level:* Sub-committee on CLASS by-laws; CLASS Committee on Culture and Society Center; CLASS Ad hoc Committee on Graduate Student Compensation; CLASS Ad hoc Space Committee; College of Social Science Undergraduate Committee. Chair, Valenti School of Communication Director Search Committee.

## PROFESSIONAL SERVICE ACTIVITIES

Commissioning Co-editor, Series in Comparative Politics, Oxford University Press (UK). Sponsored by the European Consortium for Political Research.

Editorial board memberships: 1. *Party Politics*. 2. *West European Politics*. 3. *German Politics & Society*. 4. *German Politics*.

Leadership and Service in APSA Affiliated Groups: 1. *British Politics Group*: President, 2014-16 and 2002-4; Executive Cttee., 2013-18 and 12 other years. Various Prize Committees. 2. *Elections and Representation Section*: Executive Board 2007-09. Various prize committees. 3. *Political Organizations and Parties Section*: Executive Board 2000-2002; Various prize Committees. Conference Panel Organizer: 1. British Politics Group Panels at APSA 1998, 1999. 2. Southwest Political Science Association: Comparative Politics Section panels organizer 1999. 3. Southern Political Science Association: Comparative Politics Panel Organizer, 2007.

ECPR Joint Sessions Workshop Organizer: 1994 (Madrid); 1997 (Basel); 2014 (Salamanca)

Review Panels & Other Prize Committee Memberships: 1. National Science Foundation graduate fellowships, multiple years. 2. Fulbright Fellowship National Review Panel, 2009/10. 3. *Pi Sigma Alpha* Best Paper Award Committee, 2005. 4. ECPR Jean Blondel Prize Committee (for best dissertation by a political science student at any European university), 2008. 5. European Research Committee grant review panel, 2017.

Paper & Proposal Reviewer: National Science Foundation, Canadian Science Foundation, Social Science Research Council (United Kingdom), European Research Council, Czech Research Foundation, British Government Atlantic Fellowships, *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Party Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Studies*, *Scandinavian Studies*, *Social Science Research Quarterly*, *West European Politics*.

Advisory Board Memberships: 1. Party Research Institute, Heinrich Heine University, Düsseldorf, Germany; 2. Members and Activists in Political Parties Working Group, Centre d'étude de la vie politique (Cevipol), Free University, Brussels, Belgium.