

Political Science 3316F: Political Parties
Fall 2012

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E.E. Schattschneider famously wrote that “modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties.” However, if democracy depends upon parties, the relationship is far from unproblematic. Parties are broadly unpopular, and arguably in crisis or even decline. This course provides a comparative survey of the literature on political parties, with a view to developing an understanding what parties are, what roles they play within democratic and even non-democratic regimes, and what shape parties are in at this point. The course also places great stress on the concept of party systems, and examines in detail the development of national party systems and the changes they have undergone in recent decades. Can we imagine representative democracy without parties? If not, what kinds of parties will inhabit and help define our political regimes in the 21st century?

This required book will be available for purchase at the bookstore:

Pradeep K. Chhibber and Ken Kollman, *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India, and the United States* (Princeton University Press, 2004).

Students will be evaluated on the following bases:

- (a) a research paper, 12-14 pages in length, as well as two preparatory meetings with the professor organized around the submission first of a research question and later of a thesis statement and outline (50% of the grade);
- (b) a three-hour final exam, based entirely on the course readings and with questions submitted to students in advance (40% of the grade);
- (c) the quality and consistency of in-class participation (10% of the grade).

COURSE READINGS

Unit One: Why Parties?

(September 19)

Susan E. Scarrow, “The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Modern Political Parties,” in Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, eds., *Handbook of Party Politics* (SAGE Publications, 2006).

Richard S. Katz, “Party in Democratic Theory,” in Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, eds., *Handbook of Party Politics* (SAGE Publications, 2006)

Dalton, Russell, and Wattenberg, “Unthinkable Democracy: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies,” in Dalton and Wattenberg, eds., *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

Unit Two: Party Types, Organization, and Financing

(September 26, October 3)

Maurice Duverger, “Caucus and Branch, Cadre Parties and Mass Parties,” in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

Otto Kirchheimer, "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems," in Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, eds., *Political Parties and Political Development* (Princeton University Press, 1966).

Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party." *Party Politics* vol. 1 (1995).

William Cross and Andre Blais, "Who Selects the Party Leader?" *Party Politics* vol. 18, no. 2 (Sept. 2012).

Ingrid van Biezen, "State Intervention in Party Politics: The Public Funding and Regulation of Political Parties," in Keith D. Ewing, Jacob Rowbottom, and Joo-Cheong Tham, eds., *The Funding of Political Parties: Where Now?* (Routledge, 2012).

Lisa Young, Anthony Sayers, and Harold Jansen, "Altering the Political Landscape: State Funding and Party Finance," in Alain-G. Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay, eds., *Canadian Parties in Transition* (Broadview Press, 2007).

Unit Three: Party Systems and their Sources

(October 10, 17)

Steven Wolinetz, "Party System and Party System Types," in Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, eds., *Handbook of Party Politics* (SAGE Publications, 2006).

Hans Daalder, "Parties: Denied, Dismissed, or Redundant? A Critique," in Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon-Montero, and Juan J. Linz, eds., *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments," in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System* (Oxford University Press, 1990).

Giovanni Sartori, "The Party Effects of Electoral Systems," in Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, eds., *Political Parties and Democracy* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Chhibber and Kollman, *The Formation of National Party Systems*, chapters 1 and 2.

Unit Four: Institutions, Aggregation, and the Formation of National Party Systems

A. Party Aggregation (October 24)

Chhibber and Kollman, *The Formation of National Party Systems*, chapter 3.

Gary W. Cox, *The Efficient Secret: The Cabinet and the Development of Political Parties in Victorian England* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), chapters 3, 6, and 7.

B. Institutions and the Formation of National Party Systems (October 31, November 7)

Chhibber and Kollman, *The Formation of National Party Systems*, chapters 4-Conclusion.

Unit Five: Stability and Change in Party Systems

A. Dealignment, Realignment, Identification, and Polarization (November 14)

Russell J. Dalton, *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, 4th ed., (CQ Press, 2006), chapter 9.

Jacques Thomassen and Martin Rosema, "Party Identification Revisited," in John Bartle and Paolo Bellucci, eds., *Political Parties and Partisanship: Social Identity and Individual Attitudes* (Routledge, 2008).

Alan Abramowitz, "Ideological Realignment Among Voters," in Jeffrey M. Stonecash, ed., *New Directions in American Political Parties* (Routledge, 2010).

B. New Parties? (November 21)

Ronald Inglehart, "Changing Values among Western Publics from 1970-2006." *West European Politics* vol. 31, nos. 1-2 (January-March 2008).

Herbert Kitschelt, "Movement Parties," in Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, eds., *Handbook of Party Politics* (SAGE Publications, 2006).

Antonis A. Ellinas, "Phased Out: Far Right Parties in Western Europe." *Comparative Politics* vol. 39, no. 3 (April 2007).

Cameron D. Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson, "Environmentalism and Party Support in Canada: Recent Trends outside Quebec." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* vol. 44, no. 2 (June 2011).

C. Major Party Disappearance (November 28)

Alan Ware, *The Dynamics of Two-Party Politics: Party Structures and the Management of Competition* (Oxford University Press, 2009), chapters 2 and 3.

Richard Gunther and Jonathan Hopkin, "A Crisis of Institutionalization: The Collapse of the UCD in Spain," in Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon-Montero, and Juan J. Linz, eds., *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges* (Oxford University Press, 2002)

TJ Pempel, "Learning to Lose is for Losers: The Japanese LDP's Reform Struggle," in Edward Friedman and Joseph Wong, eds., *Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems: Learning to Lose* (Routledge, 2008),

Unit Six: Parties in Government

(December 5)

Jean Blondel, "Party Government, Patronage, and Party Decline in Western Europe," in Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon-Montero, and Juan J. Linz, eds., *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges* (Oxford University Press, 2002)

Lieven De Winter and Patrick Dumont, "Parties into Government: Still Many Puzzles," in Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, eds., *Handbook of Party Politics* (SAGE Publications, 2006).

Miki L. Caul and Mark M. Gray, "From Platform Declarations to Policy Outcomes: Changing Party Profiles and Partisan Influence Over Policy," in Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds., *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

**APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

Essay course requirements

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning.

Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

Security and Confidentiality of Student Work (refer to current *Western Academic Calendar* (<http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/>))

"**Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams** - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, leaving student work unattended in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

Duplication of work

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

Grade adjustments

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

Academic Offences

"Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site:

<http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/scholoff.pdf>."

Submission of Course Requirements

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS **MUST** BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/>

Students registered in Social Science should refer to <http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/> <http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/havingproblems.asp> for information on Medical Policy, Term Tests, Final Examinations, Late Assignments, Short Absences, Extended Absences, Documentation and other Academic Concerns. Non-Social Science students should refer to their home faculty's academic counselling office.

Plagiarism

"Plagiarism: Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

Plagiarism Checking: "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>)."

Multiple-choice tests/exams: "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/>

PLAGIARISM*

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently. Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

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Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History August 13, 1991

Accessibility at Western: Please contact poliscie@uwo.ca if you require any information in plain text format, or if any other accommodation can make the course material and/or physical space accessible to you.

Mental Health at Western: If you or someone you know is experiencing distress, there are several resources here at Western to assist you. Please visit <http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/> for more information on these resources and on mental health.