Political Parties
Political Science 3316G
Department of Political Science, Western University
Winter Term 2021

Professor Bruce Morrison
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Office hours: Tuesday 2-3 pm or by appointment

Course Description:
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. One set of responses has, however, involved the emergence of new parties, or the reworking of existing parties, in ways that have created space for populist or anti-system politics and much more polarized party systems.

This course provides a comparative survey of the literature on political parties, with a strong emphasis on the Canadian case, and with a view to developing an understanding what parties are, what roles they play within democratic regimes, and what shape parties are in at this point. The course also places great stress on the concept of party systems, examining in detail the development of national party systems, the changes they have undergone in recent decades, as well as the effects of party systems. Can we imagine representative democracy without parties? If not, what kinds of parties will inhabit and help define our political regimes throughout the 21st century?

Learning Outcomes:
Students in this course will learn to: (a) define political parties; (b) explain their historical emergence and relationship to democratic politics; (c) identify and evaluate the adaptations of political parties to various challenges to party-based democracy; and (d) set the Canadian experience securely in the broader comparative context in these and other respects.

Course Format:
This year, the course will take place entirely online. There will be synchronous course meetings, combining lecture segments with plenty of opportunities for questions and discussion. So, please do show up at our weekly Zoom sessions, Thursdays from 12:30-2:30 pm, having read and absorbed the weekly assigned readings, and ready to engage with the material rigorously and vigorously. All assigned readings will be made available on the OWL site.

Course Requirements and Evaluation:
    (a) Two weekly discussion questions: 5%
    (b) Participation: 10%
    (c) Two case analyses in the form of political party profiles: 20% and 30% respectively, total 50%
    (d) Take-home final exam: 35%

Weekly Discussion Questions: Students will be expected to submit two discussion questions each week based on the assigned readings for that week. Read the material, reflect on it, and then raise two questions

that point to areas of confusion or difficulty in your view. Please submit on OWL in advance of the Thursday class, no later than 10 am. I will count ten sets of questions, which means that you may skip one week without penalty.

Participation: Students will be expected to participate regularly and constructively in our weekly Zoom meetings. Participation will be evaluated based on the following considerations: relevance, responsiveness to the material laid out in assigned readings and lecture segments, and insightfulness. Keep in mind that a well-informed and helpful question can be an important element in course participation.

Case Analysis: Political Party Profile I: Students will be expected to pick a political party, either from the Canadian context or from another established democracy, and respond to the following questions: What type of party is it? Does it fit easily or with difficulty into its category? What are the indicators that help you to determine this? What are the strengths and weaknesses associated with its character and organization? In what ways is its performance affected by these features? Length: 4-5 pages, double-spaced, one-inch margins. Please use at least four non-syllabus sources (e.g., journal articles, book chapters). Due **February 23, 11:55 pm**.

Case Analysis: Political Party Profile II: Students will be expected to pick another political party, either from the same national context or a different one, and respond to the following questions: How successful has the party been over the course of its existence? On what basis do you draw this conclusion? How do you explain the degree of success or failure experienced by the party? The key is to consider the various tools developed in the course to explain the party's performance: party type and organization including the extent to which it is internally democratic, party financing, the party system within which it operates, and so on. Length: 6-8 pages, double-spaced, one-inch margins. Please use at least six non-syllabus sources. Due **April 12, 11:55 pm**.

Final Take-Home Exam: Students will be given 72 hours during the exam period to respond to a series of questions covering the assigned readings and lecture content associated with the course. The due date will be determined by the registrar.

Prerequisite: Political Science 2230E or 2234E or 2244E.

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.

Course Meetings and Assigned Readings

Week One: Introduction (January 14)

No required readings.

Week Two: Political Parties – What and Why? (January 21)

John Kenneth White, 2006. "What is a Political Party?" In Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, eds., *Handbook of Party Politics* (SAGE Publications).

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

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

Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg, 2002. "Unthinkable Democracy: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies." In Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds., *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Oxford University Press), pp. 3-14.

Week Three: Party Origins – Presidential and Parliamentary (January 28)

William Crotty, "Party Origins and Evolution in the United States." In Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, eds., *Handbook of Party Politics* (SAGE Publications).

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

Week Four: Party Types (February 4)

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

Otto Kirchheimer, 2009. "The Catch-All Party." In Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System* (Oxford University Press).

Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, 1995. "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party." *Party Politics* 1 (1): 5-28.

Ingrid van Biezen and Thomas Poguntke, 2014. "The Decline of Membership-based Politics." *Party Politics* 20 (2): 205-216.

Week Five: Party Types – Canadian Innovations (February 11)

Nelson Wiseman, 2020. *Partisan Odysseys: Canada's Political Parties* (University of Toronto Press), chapter 1.

Gordon T. Stewart, 1980. "Political Patronage under MacDonald and Laurier, 1878-1911." American Review of Canadian Studies 10 (1): 13-26.

R. Kenneth Carty, 2002. "The Politics of Tecumseh Corners: Canadian Political Parties as Franchise Organizations." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 35 (4): 723-745.

R. Kenneth Carty, 2013. "Has Brokerage Politics Ended?" In Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop*, Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics* (University of British Columbia Press).

Week Six: Party Systems and their Sources (February 25)

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

Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Stein Rokkan, 2009. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments," in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System* (Oxford University Press).

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).

Week Seven: Canadian Party System Development (March 4)

R.K. Carty, "Three Canadian Party Systems: An Interpretation of the Development of National Parties." George Perlin, ed., *Party Democracy in Canada* (Prentice-Hall, 1988).

Richard Johnston, 2010. "Political Parties and the Electoral System." In John C. Courtney and David E. Smith, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Canadian Politics* (Oxford University Press).

Royce Koop and Amanda Bittner, 2013. "Parties and Elections After 2011: The Fifth Canadian Party System?" Royce Koop and Amanda Bittner, eds., *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics* (UBC Press).

Scott Pruysers, Anthony Sayers, and Lucas Czarnecki, 2020. "Nationalization and Regionalization in the Canadian Party System, 1867-2015." Canadian Journal of Political Science 53 (1): 151-169.

Week Eight: Ideology, Strategy, and Electoral Competition (March 11)

Éric Bélanger and Jean-François Godbout, 2010. "Why Do Parties Merge? The Case of the Conservative Party of Canada." *Parliamentary Affairs* 63 (1): 41-65.

Russell J. Dalton and Ian McAllister, 2015. "Random Walk or Planned Excursion? Continuity and Change in the Left-Right Positions of Political Parties." *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (6): 759-787.

Robert Ford and Willl Jennings, 2020. "The Changing Cleavage Politics of Western Europe." *Annual Review of Political Science* 23: 295-314.

Week Nine: Partisanship, Polarization, and Populism (March 18)

Mike Medeiros and Alain Noel, 2014. "The Forgotten Side of Partisanship: Negative Party Identification in Four Anglo-American Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 47, 7: 1022-46.

Paul Pierson and Eric Schickler, 2020. "Madison's Constitution Under Stress: A Developmental Analysis of Political Polarization." *Annual Review of Political Science* 23: 37-58.

Frances E. Lee, 2020. "Populism and the American Party System: Opportunities and Constraints." *American Political Science Review* 18 (2): 370-388.

Zsolt Enyedi, 2016. "Populist Polarization and Party System Institutionalization: The Role of Party Politics in De-Democratization." *Problems of Post-Communism* 63 (4): 210-220.

Week Ten: Parties from Private to Public Entities (March 25)

Ingrid van Biezen, 2004. "Political Parties as Public Utilities." *Party Politics* 10 (6): 701-722.

John C. Courtney, 2015. "Canada's National Parties: From Private to Public Institutions." In Campbell Sharman and Richard Johnston, eds., *Parties and Party Systems: Structure and Context* (UBC Press).

P. (Pepijn) Corduwener, 2020. "Democracy and the Entanglement of Political Parties and the State: Party-State Relations in 20th-Century France, Italy, and Germany." *Comparative Political Studies* 53 (1): 40-70.

Week Eleven: Party Funding (April 1)

Ingrid van Biezen and Petr Kovecký, 2017. "The Paradox of Party Funding: The Limited Impact of State Subsidies on Party Membership." in Susan E. Scarrow, Paul D. Webb, and Thomas Poguntke, eds., *Organizing Political Parties* (Oxford Uniiversity Press).

Eugenio Pizzimenti, 2017. "The Evolution of Party Funding in Italy: A Case of Inclusive Cartelisation?" *Modern Italy* 22 (1): 71-85.

Peter Aucoin and Herman Bakvis, 2015. "Canadian Public Funding of Parties and the End of Per-Vote Subsidies: Parties, Strategic Interests, and Decartelization." In Campbell Sharman and Richard Johnston, eds., *Parties and Party Systems: Structure and Context* (UBC Press).

Week Twelve: Intra-Party Democracy (April 8)

Ofer Kenig and Scott Pruysers, 2018. "The Challenges of Inclusive Intra-party Selection Methods," in Guillermo Cordero and Xavier Coller, eds., *Democratizing Candidate Selection: New Methods, Old Receipts*? (Palgrave Macmillan).

William Cross, Ofer Kenig, Scott Pruysers, and Gideon Rahat, 2016. *The Promise and Challenge of Party Primary Elections: A Comparative Perspective* (McGill-Queens University Press), chapter 3.

Piero Ignazi (2020). "The Four Knights of Intra-party Democracy: A Rescue for Party Delegitimation." *Party Politics* 26 (1): 9-20.

Wolfgang Rüdig and Javier Sajuria, 2020. "Green Party Members and Grass-roots Democracy: A Comparative Analysis." *Party Politics* 26 (1): 21-31.

<p style="text-align:center">**APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES**</p>

<p style="text-align:center">**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**</p>

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 <u>both</u> 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://westerncalendar.uwo.ca/PolicyPages.cfm?PolicyCategoryID=1&Command=showCategory&Keywords=scholastic&SubHeadingID=189&SelectedCalendar=Live&ArchiveID=#SubHeading_189

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.

Attendance Regulations for Examinations

EXAMINATIONS/ATTENDANCE (Sen. Min. Feb.4/49, May 23/58, S.94, S.3538, S.3632, S.04-097) A student is entitled to be examined in courses in which registration is maintained, subject to the following limitations:

A student may be debarred from writing the final examination for failure to maintain satisfactory academic standing throughout the year.

Any student who, in the opinion of the instructor, is absent too frequently from class or laboratory periods in any course will be reported to the Dean of the Faculty offering the course (after due warning has been

given). On the recommendation of the Department concerned, and with the permission of the Dean of that Faculty, the student will be debarred from taking the regular examination in the course. The Dean of the Faculty offering the course will communicate that decision to the Dean of the Faculty of registration.

Medical Policy, Late Assignments, etc.

Students registered in Social Science should refer to
http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/index.html

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.

University Policy on Cheating and Academic Misconduct

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/academic_policies/index.html

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.

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).

SUPPORT SERVICES

The Registrar's office can be accessed for Student Support Services at http://www.registrar.uwo.ca

Student Support Services (including the services provided by the USC listed here) can be reached at: http://westernusc.ca/services/

Student Development Services can be reached at: http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western

http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/ for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.