

Political Science 3531
Winter 2009
Dr. Steven Wolinetz

Office hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays
10:30-11:00 & 3:30-4:30
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Political Parties

Political parties occupy a peculiar position in contemporary democracies. We find it hard to imagine large scale democracy without parties. Yet parties are not well-regarded, and there is considerable debate about whether they are changing or are in decline. This course examines parties and party systems in Europe, Canada, and the United States and considers whether any of this is true. The aim is to understand parties and party systems, the factors which shape them, and what difference they make. We begin with basics, examining parties and what they do – for example how they organize themselves, select candidates and contest elections -- and consider what difference this makes. The course is an explicit attempt to mix theory and data and see what this can produce.

Classes will combine lectures, discussions, and a number of devices designed to force students to engage course material and understand it. Students are expected to complete assigned readings *on schedule, attend class regularly, and participate* in class discussions. There will be a midterm and a final examination, a major research paper, and five ‘net’ assignments. **Attending class is essential if you are to absorb the material and do well on exams.**

Texts:

The bookstore has been asked to order the following books:

Ware, Alan, *Political Parties and Party Systems*
Dalton, Russell, *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, 4th ed.

These and other readings are available on reserve. In addition, many readings can be downloaded through the OEH Library and its article indexes. Readings on reserve are designated by an ‘r’ in parentheses. Those that can be downloaded are designated by a ‘d’ in parentheses.

Evaluation:

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|---|-----|
| party system map (due February 12 th) | 10% |
| midterm examination (February 26 th) | 20% |
| research paper (due March 31 st) | 30% |
| class participation (including in-class debates) | 10% |
| final examination | 30% |

Party system map:

As part of the requirements for this course, each student is to submit a map of one of the party systems which we are studying. These ‘maps,’ for want of a better term, should provide an overview of the parties which populate system, their share of the vote and percentage of seats won, as well as a sketch of the inter-relationships among them. Party system maps should include the names and initials of the principal parties, a brief history of each, and insofar as possible, an indication of what the party claims that it stands for and the positions which it takes. The party system map can serve as a preliminary take – i.e. an initial look – at parties or party systems which you will examine in your research papers.

Research paper:

Students are required to write a research paper, 2500-4000 words in length, on either the parties or party systems of selected countries or on selected themes, such as the rise of the new right, in selected countries. In preparation for the research paper, students must submit a brief paper proposal indicating the country and topic which you are considering, a preliminary bibliography, and closer to the time, an outline which a) briefly restates the topic of the paper and the argument your propose to make and b) indicates in point form the structure of the paper. This should serve as the framework from which you write your the paper.

In addition to the paper, everyone taking the course will be expected to become a class ‘expert’ – i.e. someone who knows more than others in the class – on a particular country or theme. In doing so, you will be expected to comment on the applicability and validity of arguments about parties or party systems made in assigned readings and/or lectures to the country which you are studying. In order to do so, however, you will need to begin reading about the country you select and/or are assigned and its parties and party system early in the semester. To encourage you to do this, your participation grade will depend not only on being present in class but also commenting from time to time on the degree to which arguments or claims made in the literature are valid for the country you are studying.

Research papers should be based on a **minimum** of five monograph and five periodical sources and must be written according to standard conventions of the English language. University regulations on academic honesty and plagiarism (section 4.11, see especially 4.11.3, 2009 *Calendar*, pp. 61-62) will be strictly applied. Research papers should combine theory and description. Unless based on original research, projects which are wholly descriptive will receive a **maximum** grade of 70. Papers which effectively combine concepts and detail may receive grades which are considerably better. Projects are due in class on March 31st. Late projects will be penalized five marks per day.

Class participation:

Ten percent of your total grade is allocated toward class participation. To earn the 10% you must not only be present in class but also to contribute to it from time to time by raising questions, participating in class discussions, or volunteering to engage or evaluate debates which we will hold from time to time. In addition, exceptional participation can be rewarded by the allocation of additional points. The standard *expectations* for effective participation include:

1. *Responsibility* –
punctual, attends all classes, is thoroughly prepared for class
2. *Active participation* in discussion –
brings relevant content to the group, expresses ideas clearly and concisely
3. Facilitates group *learning* –
helps to keep the group focused and on topic, contributes strategies to promote learning of group
4. *Listens* respectfully and attentively –
5. exhibits tolerance for a variety of perspectives; works towards a balance between own and others' participation
6. *Critical analysis* –
challenges information and ideas, promotes depth in learning and consideration of a variety of perspectives
7. *Reflects* –
on own role in contributing to group content and process, strengths, areas for improvement.

The mark ranges for seminar participation are:

- 9-10 consistently and completely exceeds all the criteria including taking a leadership role and demonstrating outstanding ability to reflect and to think critically
- 8-8.9 meets all the criteria in each class
- 7-7.9 meets most of the criteria most of the time but requires some improvement; one aspect may continue to present a challenge for the student
- 6-6.9 requires improvement in more than one aspect with evidence that the student is attempting to meet most of the expectations
- 5-5.9 minimally acceptable performance; expectations met in only marginal fashion
- 0-4.5 does not meet expectations

Strategies for effective class participation

1. Set out to enlarge your knowledge of the topic
2. Come to class prepared to discuss the topic. Before class read extensively and carefully on the topic and be prepared to discuss the readings and share your insights with others.
3. Respond in ways that are not overly impulsive or hesitant. Ask questions of speakers or readings.
4. Share your knowledge of a particular area by choosing opportunities to take the lead and teach others about a point.
5. Check on the purpose and direction of the discussion.
6. Allow people to be heard, especially when they are struggling to articulate their information or argument.
7. Listen actively and summarize or paraphrase what others are saying before judging their arguments.
8. Look for ways to bring other people and perspectives into the discussion.
9. Critique a point thoughtfully.
10. Accept assumptions for the sake of an argument.

Listserv:

In addition, there is a Political Science 3531 listserv, **posc3531** used for posing questions and sending announcements. Everyone taking the course should subscribe to the **listserv**. You should do so using your MUN computer address. To subscribe:

1. Obtain an e-mail account from the university computing centre if you do not have one.
2. Send an e-mail message to **listserv@mun.ca** Do **not** write in the subject header.
3. In the body of the message, type **subscribe posc3531** There should be nothing else in the message. Delete any signatures or messages which appear automatically in your e-mails.
4. Once you have been added to the list, you will receive a message confirming this.

IMPORTANT: Please make sure that your e-mail account identifies who you are rather than who you would like to be. Pseudonyms can't receive credit!

Office hours and consultation:

I will be happy to answer questions and discuss course material. My office is SN2043. I will be available on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 10:30-11:00 and 3:30-4:30. You can also reach me via e-mail at swolin@mun.ca.

Readings

Week 1
(Jan. 13-15)

Why parties?

- Dalton, Russell and Wattenberg, Martin, eds. *Parties Without Partisans*, ch 1.
Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Introduction (pp. 1-13)
White, John K., "What is a Political Party" in Richard Katz and William Crotty, eds. *Handbook of Political Parties*, ch 1.
Scarrow, Susan, "The 19th Century Origins of Modern Political Parties" in Katz and Crotty, ch. 2.

Recommended

- LaPalombara and Weiner, "The Origins of Political Parties" in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*, ch. 1
Weber, "The Advent of Plebiscitarian Democracy" in Mair, ed., ch. 2.

Points for discussion:

Political parties barely existed before the 19th century but are ubiquitous in contemporary liberal democracies. More specifically, what explains the invention of parties, or to take the title of a book on American parties, *Why Parties?* (John Aldrich, 1993). Why indeed? What are they and what do they do? Do they perform certain tasks or functions? If so, how can we tell? What, if anything, would happen if they didn't perform these tasks?

Week 2
(Jan. 20-22)

Varieties of parties

Ware, ch. 1

Dalton, Russell, *Citizen Politics*, 4th ed., chs. 1,2,8

Farrell and Webb, "Political Parties as Campaign Organizations" in Dalton and Wattenberg, ch. 6

Jenson, Jane and Brodie, Janine, "Piercing the Smokescreen: Stability and Change in Brokerage Politics" in Gagnon, Alain and Brian Tanguay, *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 3rd ed., ch. 2

Points for discussion:

To what extent do political parties reflect distinct ideologies or, failing that, find their roots in certain ideological or spiritual families? Are there links between the ideologies around which some parties organize and the positions which they take? In what ways are parties in Canada and the United States different from parties in Europe? To what extent do parties reflect either the institutions under which they operate or the societies which they try to represent?

Example

Week 3
(Jan. 27-29)

Party organization: earlier forms

Ware, ch. 2

Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, 4th ed., ch. 3

Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*, ch. 5

Richard and Robin Kolodny, "Party Organization as an Empty Vessel" in Katz, Richard and Peter Mair, eds., *How Parties Organize*, ch. 2

Recommended:

Duverger, Maurice, "Caucus and Branch, Cadre Parties, and Mass Parties" in Mair, ed., ch. 3

Neumann, Sigmund, "The Party of Democratic Integration" in Mair, ed., ch. 4

Points for discussion:

Why do parties organize in the ways which they do? What are the principal differences between *cadre* and *mass* parties? Why do some parties confine themselves to electoral roles while others try to shape the lives and thinking of their members? How common are parties like this today? What accounts for the differences in the ways in which political parties in Europe and those in the United States and Canada have organized? Why do people join political parties? Differently put, what incentives do parties provide to encourage participation via parties rather than through other channels? What kinds of incentives do parties use in order to attract members and supporters? How effective are these?

What was the dispute between Epstein and Duverger about? Do forms of party organization reflect organizational needs, models which can be imitated, national models, or available campaign technology?

In-class debate: Members play no useful role in contemporary parties: at best, they get in way; at their worst, they have prevent leaders from going about their business or position parties so that they can win elections

**PAPER PROPOSALS AND PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHIES DUE
IN CLASS, THURSDAY, JANUARY 29TH**

Week 4
(Feb. 3-5)

Party organization: contemporary & emerging forms

- Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, 4th ed., ch. 4
Kirchheimer, "The Catch-all Party" in Mair, ed., ch. 5
Katz and Mair, "The Cartel Party," *Party Politics*, vol 1, no. 1, 1995 or
Wolinetz, ed, *Political Parties*, [Newfoundland Room] ch. 20, or (r,d)
Scarrow, Susan, "Parties Without Members" in Dalton and Wattenberg, eds.,
ch. 5
Hopkin, Jonathan, and Caterina Paolucci. "The business firm model of party
organisation: Cases from Spain and Italy. *European Journal of
Political Research*, Vol.35, Issue 3, p.307 35, (3) (May 1999) (r,d)

Recommended:

- Kopecky, Petr and van Biezen, Ingrid, "The State and the Parties: Public
Funding, Public Regulation, and Rent-Seeking in Contemporary
Democracies" (r,d)
Hernnson, Paul, "National Party Organization at the Dawn of the Twenty-First
Century" in Maisel, Sandy, ed., *The Parties Respond*, 4th ed., ch. 3

Points for discussion:

In what ways are *cartel parties* different from *cadre, mass, or catch-all* parties? What factors account for the rise of catch-all parties? Why, in Katz and Mair's view, have cartel parties emerged? What evidence is there for the phenomena of cartelization? How strong is it? How have parties in the United States changed? What impact has public finance had on parties and how they operate? What role do members play in a) cadre, mass, catch-all and cartel parties and b) in parties in Canada, the United States, and European countries which we have been considering? What role should they play?

In-class debates:

1. Why should people chose to participate via parties rather than through other modes of political participation?
2. How much voice should members have over internal party affairs? Should they a) determine policy and positions b) select candidates and c) determine election strategy?

PARTY SYSTEM MAPS DUE IN CLASS, THURSDAY, FEB. 12th

Week 5
(Feb. 10-12)

Party systems: introduction

Ware, chs. 5-6

Sartori, Giovanni, "A Typology of Party Systems" in Mair, ed., ch.24

Dahl, Robert, "Party Systems and Patterns of Opposition" in Mair, ed., ch. 21

Duverger Maurice, "The Two-Party System and the Multiparty System" in
Mair, ed. *The West European Party System*, ch. 20

Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, ch. 7

Recommended:

Wolinetz, "Party Systems and Party System Types," in Richard Katz and
William Crotty, eds. *Handbook of Political Parties*, ch. 6

Points for discussion:

What is a *party system*? How do party systems differ from each other?
How do we count parties? What difference does this make? Is the problem
the number of parties, or their size, weight, position, and ability to work with
or obstruct each other? Why does Sartori insist that the number of parties be
counted properly? What is the difference between moderate and polarized
pluralism?

Example only

Week 6
(Feb 17-19)

Electoral systems and party systems

Birch, Sarah, "Electoral Systems and Party Systems in Europe East and West" in Paul Lewis and Paul Webb (eds.), *Pan-European Perspectives on Party Politics*, pp. 9-32.

Blais, Andre, and Massicotte, Louis, "Electoral Systems" in LeDuc, Lawrence, ed., *Comparing Democracies*, ch.2

Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, 4th ed., chs. 5,6

Carty, R.K., "Regional Responses to Electoral Reform" (r.d)

Reilly, Benjamin, "Political Engineering in Conflict-Prone Societies" (r.d)

Recommended:

Gallagher, Laver, and Mair, *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, 4th ed., ch. 11 (_erox/reserve)

Farrell, David, *Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction*, chs. 8,9

Points for discussion:

What determines the number of political parties contesting elections? Does the number of parties reflect the electoral law, and particularly the use of proportional representation, or does the use of proportional representation reflect the number of parties contesting elections? Differently put, what relationships exist between cleavage structures and the number of parties contesting elections?

When and why do countries or provinces or states decide to change their electoral systems? How difficult or easy is it to engineer the kind of party system you want?

In-class debate:

1. Forms of electoral systems: MP vs. Proportional Representation
2. Forms of proportional representation: List systems vs. STV

Week 7 **MIDTERM EXAM: Thursday, February 26th**

Week 8
(Mar. 3-5)

Party system change:

Ware, ch. 7
Sartori, "Structuring the Party System" in Mair, ed., ch. 7
Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, 4th ed., chs. 9, 10
Dalton, *et al.*, "The Consequences of Partisan Dealignment" in Dalton and Wattenberg, eds., *Parties Without Partisans*, ch 3

Points for discussion:

In what ways and to what extent do parties structure of mass beliefs? What factors account for the apparent continuity of electoral alignments from the 1920s to the 1960s? Should we expect similar patterns of continuity in the present? Why or why not?

Week 9
(Mar. 10-12)

The far right: new kids on the block?

Eatwell, Roger, "The Rebirth of the 'Extreme Right' in Western Europe" (r,d)
Ignazi, Piero, "Changing the Guard on the Italian Extreme Right" (r,d)
Falland, Franz, "Are Right-wing Populism and Government Participation Incompatible? The Case of the Freedom Party of Austria" (r,d)
Dorussen, Han, "Pim Fortuyn and the 'New' Far Right in the Netherlands" (r,d)
Hainsworth, Paul, "The Extreme Right in France: The Rise and Rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen's *Front National*" (r,d)

Points for discussion:

What do new right parties stand for? What accounts for their success in some countries but not in others? What happens when they govern? Are these parties extremist? If so, is it better to quarantine them or to draw them into the system?

In-class debate: Including or excluding parties of the far-right: Are parties of the far-right are parties like any others, which should be included in governing coalitions or are parties of the right are threats to liberal democracy which should be banned before they damage it?

RESEARCH PAPER OUTLINES DUE IN CLASS, THURSDAY, MARCH 12TH

Week 10
(Mar. 17-19)

Forming governments

Ware, ch. 11

Dalton, ch. 11

Mair, Peter, "Party Systems and Structures of Competition" in LeDuc, *et al.*, *Comparing Democracies*, ch. 3.

Gallagher, Laver, and Mair, *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, 4th ed., ch. 12 (xerox/reserve)

Strøm, Kaare, "Parties at the Core of Government" in Dalton and Wattenberg, ch. 9

Points for discussion:

How do coalitions come to be formed? Does coalition formation translate popular preferences into government policy or detract from it? How do you determine who wins when there are more than two parties contesting elections?

In-class debate: Multipartyism is the bane of effective government and should be avoided at all costs.

Week 11
(Mar. 24-26)

Parties in action: election campaigning

Ware, chs. 9, 10

Farrell and Webb, "Political Parties as Campaign Organizations" in Dalton and Wattenberg, ch. 6 (review)

Dulio, David, "Inside the War Room: Political Consultants in Modern Campaigns," in Watson, Robert and Campbell, Colton, eds. *Campaigns and Elections*, ch. 1

Thurber, James A., "the Transformation of American Campaigns in the Twenty-First Century" in Thurber and Nelson, ed., *Campaigns and Elections American Style*, ch. 1

Points for discussion:

What do parties do? What do we know about parties in elections? What factors determine the strategies and tactics which parties use? Does party type make a difference? Does the number of parties make a difference? Or are campaign strategy and tactics a function of available techniques and funds?

RESEARCH PAPERS DUE IN CLASS, Tuesday, March 31st

Week 12- **Regulating Parties: Party Law**

(Mar. 31 -
Apr. 2)

Müller, Wolfgang, "Party Law" in Richard Katz and William Crotty, eds.

Handbook of Political Parties, ch. 37

Nassmacher, Karl-Heinz, "Regulation of Party Finance" in Richard Katz and William Crotty, eds., *Handbook of Political Parties*, ch 38

Kopecky, Petr and van Biezen, Ingrid, "The State and the Parties: Public Funding, Public Regulation, and Rent-Seeking in Contemporary Democracies" (r,d)

Points for discussion:

Why and in what ways do states regulate political parties? Why has this become increasingly common? Is public finance of political parties a good idea or a bad idea? What are its advantages? Its disadvantages?

In-class debate:

1. Party law: Are political parties private organizations, which should be free of regulation or restrictions or public organizations, which should be regulated in the public interest?
2. Public Finance of Parties: The states should not finance political parties or cover election expenses.

Week 13 **Governing and electoral accountability**

(Apr. 2-7)

Ware, ch. 12

Dalton, ch. 12

Mair, Peter, "Democracy Beyond Parties" (xerox reserve or download from <http://repositories.cdlib.org/csd/05-06/>)

LeDuc "Elections and Democratic Governance" in LeDuc, *et al.*, *Comparing Democracies*, ch. 14

Dalton and Wattenberg, "Partisan Change and the Democratic Process" in Dalton and Wattenberg, ch. 12

Points for discussion:

What role do parties play in the process of governing? What impact do parties have? What do parties have to facilitate electoral accountability? Do parties facilitate accountability or detract from it? Is liberal democracy possible without political parties? With them? Can parties be replaced? If so, should they be?