

POL2313/462H1S Parties and Party Systems: A Canadian Perspective

Tuesdays, 6-8pm, Rm: UC 148

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1 Course Description

This course examines political parties and party systems in Canada and other Western democratic countries. The key themes of the course are the institutional and behavioural aspects of parties, the interplay of inter and intra-party politics, and the nature and dynamics of party systems.

2 Course Codes and Passwords

Twitter
@cochrane_utsc

Turnitin
course id: 11444914
password: Canada

3 Assessment

3.1 Schedule and Weighting

Seminar classes depend on attendance and participation from all students. As such, attendance and participation are required components of this class. Three assignments, worth 30% each, are to be written about the assigned readings for the corresponding part of the course. These assignments are due by Monday, at midnight, before the scheduled class, and they are not to exceed 10 pages in length.

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|---------------|-----|--------------|
| Assignment#1 | 30% | - February 2 |
| Assignment#2 | 30% | - March 1 |
| Assignment#3 | 30% | - March 29 |
| Participation | 10% | |

3.2 Participation

The participation component of your grade is based on the quality of your contributions to in-class discussion. By the time of your class, you are expected to be sufficiently familiar with the readings and the key concepts to participate in the class discussion.

3.2.1 Essay Late Penalties

The essay assignments are due before the seminar by Monday, at midnight. The late penalty is 5% of the assignment value for each day, or part thereof, that the work is late (including weekends).

3.2.2 Extensions

Students may take a combined maximum of 7 days of undocumented extension, provided that they notify me, prior to the assignment due date, that their work will be late. This is an ‘honour system.’ I do not require a letter from a doctor to substantiate an illness.

3.2.3 Extensions Requiring Documentation

Students who require more than 7 days worth of extension over the course of the semester will be expected to meet with me and to prepare a plan for the submission of all outstanding course work.

3.2.4 Statement on Academic Integrity

Students who work hard and play by the rules will not come out of this course with a lower grade than someone who cheats. As the University Handbook on Student Rights and Responsibilities points out:

Honesty and fairness are considered fundamental values shared by students, staff and faculty at the University of Toronto. The University’s policies and procedures that deal with cases of cheating, plagiarism and other forms of academic misconduct, are designed to protect the integrity of the institution and to maintain a community where competition is fair. As a result, U of T treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. If it has been alleged that you committed an academic offense, you will find that the allegation is dealt with formally and seriously, and that the penalties can be severe if it is determined that you did cheat. All of the policies and procedures surrounding academic offenses are dealt within one policy: The Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (the ‘Code’). This booklet on Academic Integrity is intended to supplement the Code, but not to take its place as the official document on these matters. Nor does this booklet take the place of legal counsel. The full text of the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters can be found in your Faculty Calendar or online at www.utoronto.ca/govcncl/pap/policies/behaveac.html.... **Ignorance of the rules does not excuse cheating or plagiarism.**

All instances of academic misconduct will be forwarded to the University for further review and discipline. For more information, please visit the website of the Center for Teaching Support and Innovation at the University of Toronto: Academic Integrity at the University of Toronto. If you have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please do not hesitate to ask me.

3.2.5 Statement on the Use of *Turnitin*

To deter and detect academic misconduct, and to protect the integrity of the grades for the vast majority of students who are honest and careful, this course uses, among other things, *turnitin.com*, a tool which facilitates an analysis of textual similarities between sources. Thus,

students agree that by taking this course all required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. The terms that apply to the University’s use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

4 Texts and Materials

- NOTE: Many books for this course are available online, through the university website, or via Google Books. Here is a list that I recommend that you purchase, though there are others that you may wish to purchase for future reference.

- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York, NY: Harper.
- Haidt, Jonathan. 2012. *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Kahneman, Daniel. 2011. *Thinking, Fast and Slow*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Aldrich, John R. *Why Parties? A Second Look*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Flanagan, Tom. 2007. *Harper's Team: Behind the Scenes in the Conservative Rise to Power*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Levendusky, Matthew. 2009. *The Partisan Sort: How Liberals Became Democrats and Conservatives Became Republicans*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Hibbing, John R., Kevin B. Smith, and John R. Alford. 2014. *Predisposed: Liberals, Conservatives, and the Biology of Political Differences*. New York, NY: Routledge.

5 Class Schedule

Class Attendance: In the event that you have to miss a class, please use the discussion board on the class website to catchup. I encourage you to use this board whenever you have a question, and to monitor this board regularly for an opportunity to answer the questions of others.

5.1 January 12: Introduction

5.1.1 Readings

- POL2012/490H1S Course Syllabus.

5.2 January 19: Issues in Party Politics

5.2.1 Readings

- Godbout, Jean-François, and Bjørn Høyland. 2013. "The emergence of Parties in the Canadian House of Commons, 1867-1908." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 46(4): 773-797.
- Clarke, Harold D, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc, and Jon H. Pammet. 1996. *Absent Mandate: Interpreting Change in Canadian Elections*. Toronto, ON: Gage.
- Brodie, Janine, and Jane Jenson. 1996. "Piercing the Smokescreen: Stability and Change in Brokerage Politics." In *Canadian Parties in Transition* (2nd ed.), edited by A. Brian Tanguay and Alain-G. Gagnon, 52-72. Toronto, ON: Nelson.
- Carty, R. Kenneth. 2013. "Has Brokerage Politics Ended? Canadian Parties in the New Century." In *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics*, edited by Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop, 10-23. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Johnston, Richard. 2013. "Situating the Canadian Case." In *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics*, edited by Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop, 284-307. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Frank, Thomas. 2004. *What's the Matter with Kansas? How Conservatives Won the Heart of America*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 1-27.

- Fiorina, Morris, with Samuel J. Abrams, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2005. *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*. 2nd Edition. New York: Longman, 1-32.
- Engelhart, Katie. 2013. “The Rise of the Far Right in Europe.” *Maclean’s* (November 30, 2013).
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1995. “The Contemporary Radical Right: An Interpretive and Explanatory Framework.” In *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*, Chapter 1. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Converse, Philip E. 1964. “The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics.” In *Ideology and Discontent*, edited by David E. Apter, 206-261. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

5.3 January 26: CLASS CANCELLED

5.3.1 Readings

- NO READINGS

Part I

Behavioural Foundations

5.4 February 2: Bias and Intuition

5.4.1 Readings

- Kahneman, Daniel. 2011. *Thinking Fast and Slow*. New York, NY: Random House.
- R Petty, Richard E., and John T. Cacioppo. 1986. “The Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion.” *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. 19(1): 123-205.

5.5 February 9: Morality

5.5.1 Readings

- Haidt, J. (2012). *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
- R Haidt, J. (2001). “The Emotional Dog and its Rational Tail: A Social Intuitionist Approach to Moral Judgment.” *Psychological Review*: 108(4): 814.
- R Pizarro, D. A., Bloom, P. (2003). “The Intelligence of the Moral Intuitions: A Comment on Haidt (2001).”

5.6 February 16: READING WEEK

5.6.1 Readings

- NO READINGS

5.7 February 23: Personality and Genetics

5.7.1 Readings

- Pinker, Steven. 2002. *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature*. New York, NY: Penguin Books, pp. 30-58.
 - Carney, D. R., J. T. Jost, S. D. Gosling, and J. Potter (2008). “The Secret Lives of Liberals and Conservatives: Personality Profiles, Interaction Styles, and the Things they Leave Behind.” *Political Psychology* 29(6): 807-840.
 - Nummenmaa, Lauri, Enrico Glerean, Riitta Hari, and Jari K. Hietanen. 2013. “Bodily Maps of Emotions.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. Available online: <http://www.pnas.org/content/early/2013/12/26/1321664111.full.pdf>.
 - Alford, J. R., C. L. Funk, and J. R. Hibbing (2005). “Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?” *American Political Science Review* 99(2): 153-167.
 - Charney, Evan. (2008). “Genes and Ideologies.” *Perspectives on Politics* 6(2): 299-319.
 - Alford, John R., Carolyn L. Funk, and John R. Hibbing. 2008. “Beyond Liberals and Conservatives to Political Genotypes and Phenotypes.” *Perspectives on Politics*. 6(June): 321-328.
 - Charney, Evan. (2008). “Politics, Genetics, and ‘Greedy Reductionism.’” *Perspectives on Politics* 6(June): 337-343.
 - Simola, Daniel F., Riley J. Graham, Cristina M. Brady, Brittany L. Enzmann, Claude Desplan, Anandasankar Ray, Laurence J. Zwiebel, Roberto Bonasio, Danny Reinberg, Jürgen Liebig, and Shelley L. Berger. (2016). “Epigenetic (re)programming of caste-specific behaviour in the ant *Camponotus floridanus*.” *Science* 351(6268): aac6633.
 - Buchen, L. (2012). “Biology and Ideology: The Anatomy of Politics.” *Nature*. 490(October): 466-468.
- R Fowler, James H. and Darren Schreiber. 2008. “Biology, Politics, and the Emerging Science of Human Nature.” *Science* 322(November): 912-914.
- R Charney, E., and W. English (2012). “Candidate Genes and Political Behaviour.” *American Political Science Review* 106(1): 1-34.
- R Hibbing, John R., Kevin B. Smith, and John R. Alford. (2014). *Predisposed: Liberals, Conservatives, and the Biology of Political Differences*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Part II

Social Context

5.8 March 1: The Social Context

5.8.1 Readings

- Iyengar, Shanto, and Donald R. Kinder. 1987. *News that Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1-5, 16-33, 63-72, 90-97.

- Huckfeldt, Robert, and John Sprague (1987). “Networks in Context: The Social Flow of Political Information.” *American Political Science Review* 81(4): 1197-1216.
- Druckman, James N., and Kjersten R. Nelson. 2003. “Framing and Deliberation: How Citizens’ Conversations Limit Elite Influence.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 47(October): 729-745.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Stein Rokkan. 1967. “Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction.” In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, 1-64. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Cutler, Fred. 2002. “The Simplest Shortcut of All: Sociodemographic Characteristics and Electoral Choice.” *Journal of Politics* 64(2): 466-490.
- Inglehart, Ronald (1971). “The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies.” *American Political Science Review* 65(4): 991-1017.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1974. “Postindustrial Politics: How Benign will it be?” *Comparative Politics* 6(2): 163-191.

5.9 March 8: Parties in Context

5.9.1 Readings

- Epstein, Leon D. “A Comparative Study of Canadian Parties.” *American Political Science Review* 58(1): 46-59.
- Levendusky, Matthew. 2009. *The Partisan Sort: How Liberals Became Democrats and Conservatives Became Republicans*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Zaller, John R. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 6-22.
- Spiderman, Paul M., and Edward H. Stiglitz. 2012. “A Reputational Theory of Party Identification and Policy Reasoning.” In *The Reputational Premium: A Theory of Party Identification and Policy Reasoning*, 12-33. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bélanger, Éric. 2003. “Issue Ownership by Canadian Political Parties, 1953-2001.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 36(3): 539-558.
- Green, Donald P., Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. “How Partisan Attachments Structure Politics.” In *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*, 204-230. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Daniel J. Hopkins. 2010. “Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition.” *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 40-60.
- Wattenberg, Martin P. 1999. *The Decline of American Political Parties, 1952-1996*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. [Chapter 1]

5.10 March 15: Internal Party Politics

5.10.1 Readings

- Aldrich, John R. *Why Parties? A Second Look*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. [Chapters 2 and 6].

- Cross, William, and Lisa Young (2004). “The Contours of Political Party Membership in Canada.” *Party Politics* 10(4): 427-444.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York, NY: Harper-Collins. [Selections]
- Riker, William H. 1962. *The Theory of Political Coalitions*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. [Selections]
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1975. “The Primary Goals of Political Parties: A Clarification of Positive Theory.” *American Political Science Review* 69(3): 840-849.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1970. “On Spatial Duopoly and the Dynamics of Two-Party Systems.” In *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*, 62-75. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- May, John D. 1973. “Opinion Structure of Political Parties: The Special Law of Curvilinear Disparity.” *Political Studies* 21(2): 135-151.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1989. *The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. [Selections]
- Cross, William, and Lisa Young. 2002. “Policy Attitudes of Party Members in Canada: Evidence of Ideological Politics.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 35(4): 859-880.

Part III

Parties and Party Systems

5.11 March 22: Parties as Organizations

5.11.1 Readings

- Mair, Peter. “Party Organizations: From Civil Society to the State.” In *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies*, edited by Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, 1-22. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Carty, R. Kenneth, William Cross, and Lisa Young. *Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 130-153.
- Flanagan, Tom. 2007. *Harper’s Team: Behind the Scenes in the Conservative Rise to Power*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen’s University Press.
- Ostrogorsky, M.I. 1902. *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*. London, UK: Sage. [Selections].
- Duverger, Maurice. 1954. *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activities in the Modern State*. London, UK: Methuen [Selections].
- Michels, Robert. 1911. *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracies*. New York, NY: The Free Press. [Selections]
- Katz, Richard S., and Peter Mair. 1995. “Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party.” *Party Politics* 1(1): 5-28.

- Wilson, James Q. 1995. *Political Organizations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Selections]
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1984. “On the Theory of Party Organization.” *Journal of Politics* 46(2): 369-400.
- Eldersveld, Samuel J. 1964. *Political Parties: A Behavioural Analysis*. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally [Selections].

5.12 March 29: Parties in Party Systems

5.12.1 Readings

- Jervis, R. 1999. *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Selections]
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1976 [2005]. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Colchester, UK: ECPR Press, Chapters 5 and 6.
- Duverger, Maurice. 1954. *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activities in the Modern State*. London, UK: Methuen [Selections].
- Cairns, Alain. 1968. “The Electoral and the Party System in Canada, 1921-1965.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1(1): 55-80.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York, NY: Harper-Collins. [Selections]
- Meguid, Bonnie. 2005. “Competition Between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success.” *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 347-59. .

5.13 April 5: Parties and Government

5.13.1 Readings

- Docherty, David C. 1998. *Mr. Smith Goes to Ottawa: Life in the House of Commons*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Laver, Michael, and Norman Schofield. 1998. “The Politics of Coalition in Europe.” In *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalitions in Europe*, edited by Michael Laver and Norman Schofield, 1-13. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Strøm, Kaare, and Wolfgang C. Müller. 1999. “Political Parties and Hard Choices.” In *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*, edited by Wolfgang C. Müller and Kaare Strøm, 1-35. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Aldrich, John R. *Why Parties? A Second Look*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 255-323.
- Fenno, Richard F. 1978. *Home Style: House Members in their Districts*. New York, NY: Little Brown. [Selections]

5.14 April 12 (OPTIONAL): Party System Dynamics

5.14.1 Readings

- Mair, Peter. 1997. *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press. [Selections]
- Patten, Steve. 2007. “The Evolution of the Canadian Party System.” In *Canadians Parties in Transition* (3rd ed.), edited by Alain-G. Gagnon and Brian A. Tanguay, Chapter 3. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Bélanger, Éric, and Jean-Fançois Godbout. 2010. “Why do Parties Merge? The Case of the Conservative Party of Canada.” *Parliamentary Affairs* 63(1): 41-65.
- Leduc, Lawrence, Jon H. Pammet, Judith McKenzie, and Andé Turcotte. 2010. *Dynasties and Interludes: Past and Present in Canadian Electoral Politics*. Toronto, ON: Dundurn Press, 521-550.
- Cochrane, Christopher. 2015. “The Rise of Left/Right in Canadian Politics.” In *Left and Right: The Small World of Political Ideas*, Chapter 8. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen’s University Press.
- Key, V.O. 1955. “A Theory of Critical Elections.” *Journal of Politics* 17(1): 3-18.
- Aldrich, John R. *Why Parties? A Second Look*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 255-323.