

Political Science 775
READINGS IN AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

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Office Hours: 2-3 M,W; 3-4 F

Scope of the Course. Because political parties have played a central role in American politics since shortly after the beginnings of the Republic, the study of political parties has long been a key sub-field of American politics. The exact specification of what should be encompassed in this sub-field, though, is a subject of dispute because of alternative conceptions of what political parties are. Each of these different conceptions has a certain rationale and value. In this course, we will consider the party a tripartite entity -- a coalition of voters (party in the electorate), a coalition of political leaders (party in government), and an organization of activists (party organization) separated from its other parts.

The course will examine selected readings in the scholarly literature on each of these parts of the party as well as on the conceptualization and development of parties, their interaction to define a party system, and their role in the electoral process. The primary focus will be on the contemporary American parties and party system. Because the present situation can be best understood by comparing it to other situations, however, some attention also will be paid to parties and party system at other times in American history and, occasionally, in other nations.

Requirements and Grading Policies. Grades for this class will be based on (1) a term paper of about 15 pages in length (40%); (2) three papers describing and evaluating one of the assigned readings for a particular class session (12% each and 36% in total); and (3) class participation (24%). The term paper is due on Wednesday, December 8. The short papers are due by the beginning of the class session covering the chosen reading; at least one of the papers must review a book. A one-page term paper proposal is due by Friday, October 15. All students should be prepared to participate constructively and knowledgeably in seminar discussions. Both the quantity and (especially) the quality of this participation will be reflected in the class participation grade. Please be forewarned that I strongly discourage incompletes. They will be given only with prior approval and the student's agreement to turn in the missing work no later than three weeks after the beginning of the next term of residence. Failure to turn in a paper on time (without approval for a late paper) will result in a zero for that part of the grade.

The term paper should focus on a specific research question about the American political parties themselves -- or in comparison with parties at other times or in other nations -- that can be addressed through empirical analysis. It should contain a review of the extant research literature on this research question and an analysis of data that addresses this question. The paper's empirical work can be based on the analysis of quantitative data or on the "metatheoretical" synthesis of findings from multiple studies on the research question. Quantitative data can be found in the archives of the Department's Political Research Laboratory (e.g., the National Election Study, the General Social Survey, or the Comparative National Election Project) or Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, which can

be obtained through the Lab's archivist (early orders are imperative!) Students are especially encouraged to check for sources of data on parties in the extensive holdings of the ICPSR archive. You also are welcome to compile your own data from available sources (e.g., the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, the Federal Election Commission archives on campaign finance, Supreme Court decisions on the parties, or the party's platforms) or to gather new data through your own surveys, elite interviews, or experiments.

Academic Dishonesty. All of the work you do in this course is expected to be your own, done exclusively for this course. Cheating or plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper citation) will not be tolerated. All cases of academic misconduct in the form of cheating or plagiarism will be reported to the University Committee on Academic Misconduct and handled according to University policy.

Disabilities. Students with disabilities are responsible for making their needs known to the instructor, and seeking available assistance, during the first week of the course. Course materials may be made available in alternative formats upon request. If you need such materials, please inform the instructor immediately or contact Wayne DeYoung, Department of Political Science, 2140 Derby Hall (292-2880).

Course Outline and Readings. The following pages contain the course syllabus. All readings contained in it are required. The assigned books may be purchased at any of the campus bookstores. Procedures for distributing required articles and excerpts from other books will be discussed in class.

COURSE SYLLABUS

Introduction: What Are Parties and Why Do They Emerge?

SEP 22 **Introduction**

SEP 27/29 **Thinking about Political Parties**

Leon Epstein. 1986. *Political Parties in the American Mold*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, Chapter 2 (“The Scholarly Commitment”), pp. 9-39 and 357-64.

John H. Aldrich. 1995. *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Party Politics in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Part I (“Political Parties and Democracy”), pp. 3-61.

American Party Origins and Development

John H. Aldrich. 1995. *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Party Politics in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Parts II-IV (“Party Formation in America, 1790-1860;” “The New Political Party in Contemporary America;” and “Conclusion”), pp. 65-296.

The American Party System: Duopoly and Its Deviations

OCT 4/6 **Electoral Laws and Patterns of Party Competition**

Anthony Downs. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row, Chapter 8 (“The Statics and Dynamics of Party Ideologies”), pp. 114-41.

William Riker. 1982. “The Two-Party System and Duverger’s Law.” *American Political Science Review* 76:753-66.

Pradeep Chhibber and Ken W. Kollman. 1998. “Party Aggregation and the Number of Parties in India and the United States.” *American Political Science Review* 92: 329-42.

Boix, Carles. 1999. “Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies.” *American Political Science Review* 93: 609-24.

Deviations from the Two-Party Duopoly: Third Parties and Independents

Steven J. Rosenstone, Roy L. Behr, and Edward H. Lazarus. 1996. *Third Parties in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Party Organizations and Their Activists

OCT 11/13 **Varieties of Incentive Systems, Party Activists, and Party Organizations**

James Q. Wilson. 1973. *Political Organizations*. New York: Basic Books, Chapter 6 (“Political Parties”), pp. 95-118.

Warren E. Miller and M. Kent Jennings. 1986. *Parties in Transition: A Longitudinal Study of Party Elites and Party Supporters*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, Chapter 9 (“Linkages Between Party Elites and Party Followers”), pp. 189-219.

- John M. Bruce, John A. Clark, and John H. Kessel. 1991. "Advocacy Politics in Presidential Parties." *American Political Science Review* 85: 1089-1105.
- Martin Shefter. 1978. "The Electoral Foundations of the Political Machine: New York City, 1884-1897." In *The History of American Electoral Behavior*, ed. Joel H. Silbey, Allen G. Bogue, and William H. Flanigan. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapter 7, pp. 263-98.
- Brady, Henry E., Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 1999. "Prospecting for Participants: Rational Expectations and the Recruitment of Political Activists." *American Political Science Review* 93: 153-68.
- McCann, James A., Ronald B. Rapoport, and Walter J. Stone. 1999. "Heeding the Call: An Assessment of Mobilization into H. Ross Perot's 1992 Presidential Campaign." *American Journal of Political Science* 43: 1-28.

OCT 15 TERM PAPER PROPOSAL DUE

OCT 18/20 The Changing Local, State, and National Party Organizations

- James L. Gibson, Cornelius P. Cotter, John F. Bibby, and Robert J. Huckshorn. 1985. "Whither the Local Parties?" *American Journal of Political Science* 29:139-60.
- Paul S. Herrnson. 1994. "The Revitalization of National Party Organizations." In *The Parties Respond: Changes in American Parties and Campaigns*, ed. L. Sandy Maisel. Boulder, CO: Westview, Chapter 3, pp. 45-68.
- John J. Coleman. 1994. "The Resurgence of Party Organization? A Dissent from the New Orthodoxy." In *The State of the Parties: The Changing Role of Contemporary American Parties*, ed. Daniel M. Shea and John C. Green. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, Chapter 20, pp. 311-28.

Party Organizations in the Election Campaign

- Paul Herrnson. 1986. "Do Parties Make a Difference? The Role of Party Organizations in Congressional Elections." *Journal of Politics* 48:589-615.
- Paul Allen Beck, Russell J. Dalton, Audrey Haynes, and Robert Huckfeldt. 1997. "Presidential Campaigning at the Grass Roots." *Journal of Politics* 59: 1264-75.
- Jeffrey M. Stonecash and Sara E. Keith. 1996. "Maintaining a Political Party: Providing and Withdrawing Party Campaign Funds." *Party Politics* 2: 313-28.

Parties as Voter Coalitions: Development and Change

OCT 25/27 Partisan Realignments and Dealignment: General Considerations

- E. E. Schattschneider. 1960. *The Semi-Sovereign People*. Hinsdale, IL: Dryden, Chapter 4 ("The Displacement of Conflicts"), pp. 62-77.
- V.O. Key, Jr. 1955. "A Theory of Critical Elections." *Journal of Politics* 17:3-18.
- Paul Allen Beck. 1979. "The Electoral Cycle and Patterns of American Politics." *British Journal of Political Science* 9: 129-56.
- Larry M. Bartels. 2000. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996." *American Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming.

Party Differences and Party Leadership in the Realignment Process

- Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

The Role of Parties in the Nomination Process

NOV 1/3 **Parties and Candidates in the Post-1968 Presidential Nomination System**

Byron E. Shafer. 1983. *The Quiet Revolution: The Struggle for the Democratic Party and the Shaping of Post-Reform Politics*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, Conclusion ("Politics after Reform: Institutional Change and the Circulation of Elites, 1972-1984"), pp. 523-39.

Byron E. Shafer. 1988. *Bifurcated Politics: Evolution and Reform in the National Party Convention*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Chapter 4 ("The Rise of the Organized Interests: An Alternative Base for Delegate Selection"), pp. 108-47.

Voters in the Presidential Nomination System

Larry M. Bartels. 1985. "Expectations and Preferences in Presidential Nomination Campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 79: 804-15.

Larry M. Bartels. 1987. "Candidate Choice and the Dynamics of the Presidential Nominating Process." *American Journal of Political Science* 31: 1-30.

John G. Geer. 1988. "Assessing the Representativeness of Electorates in Presidential Primaries." *American Journal of Political Science* 32: 929-45.

Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich, Phil Paolino, and David Rohde. 1992. "'Sophisticated' Voting in the 1988 Presidential Primaries." *American Political Science Review* 86:55-69.

Parties in the Legislative Process

NOV 8/10 **Party Cleavages and the Conditions of Party Leadership in the House**

David W. Rohde. 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sarah A. Binder. 1996. "The Partisan Basis of Procedural Choice: Allocating Parliamentary Rights in the House." *American Political Science Review* 90: 8-20.

Eric Schickler and Andrew Rich. 1997. "Controlling the Floor: Parties as Procedural Coalitions in the House." *American Journal of Political Science* 41: 1340-75.

Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1997. "Toward a Theory of Legislative Rules Changes: Assessing Schickler's and Rich's Evidence." *American Journal of Political Science* 41: 1376-86.

NOV 15/17 **Parties or Preferences as Drivers of Legislative Activity?**

Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Keith Krehbiel. 1993. "Where's the Party?" *British Journal of Political Science* 23: 235-66.

Barbara Sinclair. 1999. "Do Parties Matter?" Unpublished ms.

Party Control of Government

NOV 22/24 **Parties in a Divided Government: Causes and Consequences**

Morris Fiorina. 1996. *Divided Government*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Sarah A. Binder. 1999. "The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-96." *American Political Science Review* 93: 519-34.

Do Changes in Party Control Make a Difference?

Robert S. Erikson, Gerald C. Wright, Jr., and John P. McIver. 1989. "Political Parties, Public Opinion, and State Policy in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 83: 729-50.

Ian Budge and Richard I. Hofferbert. 1990. "Mandates and Policy Outputs: U.S. Party Platforms and Federal Expenditures." *American Political Science Review* 84: 111-32.

Joel D. Aberbach and Bert A. Rockman. 1995. "The Political Views of U.S. Senior Federal Executives, 1970-1992." *Journal of Politics* 57:838-52.

Conclusion

NOV 29/

DEC 1 **Reflection and Review**

DEC 8 **TERM PAPER DUE**