

POLITICAL SCIENCE 100C Fall 2011
AMERICAN (U.S.) POLITICAL PARTIES
MWF TTh 2-3:20 Warren Lecture Hall 2001
Final: Thursday, December 8, 3-5:59 pm Room TBA (NO early finals)

Note: minor changes (especially given still unpublished, new research on parties in the 2010 elections and 2012 primary and finance season) may be made to this syllabus throughout the quarter. You are responsible for any changes mentioned in class, even if you are absent. They will be posted on the class Ted page.

Instructor: Peter Galderisi Office Hours: W 12-3, SSB 449

Email:

Class matters: through the message (tools) link on ted.ucsd.edu

Other matters: pgalderisi@ucsd.edu--please feel free to email me with questions/concerns at any time. I generally read my emails each morning and continue through early evening until 6 PM (Fridays excluded).

Graders: TBA

This class will focus on the role of political parties as intermediaries of choice in modern democratic societies. Although a discussion of party government cannot take place in the absence of cross-national comparisons, this class will concentrate on the development of party in the U.S. as one example of a particular variant of modern party politics. Many of the comparisons made in this class will be historical. We can better understand where we are if we know where we have been. A special emphasis will also be placed on the changing (or perhaps not changing) role of third parties, or the threat of such, in that historical progression.

We will spend a great deal of time in the second half of this course studying the major environmental and procedural changes that have transformed (and continue to transform) the American partisan universe into its present, complicated, and increasingly polarized state. We will discuss the transformation of campaigning, nominating, and financing elections, and the role of parties (national and state) in that transformation. The student should leave this section with an understanding that: (1) rules and reforms are never neutral; (2) no one is ever quite sure what the results of reform will be; (3) no reform is perfect because politics does not operate within a perfect universe; and (4) individual political behavior both dictates and is constrained by changes in the political environment, including court decisions, new media venue, etc. The major thematic focus of this section is to study a seeming paradox in our political development: as we have democratized partisan processes, we may have produced less satisfactory and representative outcomes--yet we continue to ask for further democratic reform. Go figure!

REQUIREMENTS:

A. **Attendance**--in both body and mind.

B. **Readings**--should be completed before class discussion (a prerequisite for the second condition in A). A tentative schedule of readings begins on the back of this handout. I'll mention the readings required *each week* as the lectures progress.

In order to lower your cost, no text is required. Instead, readings can be found in one of the following:

1. A course reader will be available for purchase from University Readers the first week of class (Order online at <http://www.universityreaders.com/students> -- the first few selections (20%) will be available through an online link if the reader is not yet available for purchase). For those who have not read Leon Epstein's chapter on "Parties as public utilities" in one of my other classes, a separate, downloadable version will be available.

2. In addition, to reduce costs further, several other essays of various lengths will be required and will be available online through the UCSD library server (access on campus or at home through a proxy server-- <http://webproxy.ucsd.edu/proxy.pl>). Directions for different platforms/operating systems can be found at <http://blink.ucsd.edu/Blink/External/Topics/Policy/0,1162,24528,00.html>.

C. **Exams**-- One take-home midterm and one in-class final are scheduled for this course, each consisting of a choice of short and (for the final) long essays (I'll explain how that works later). All will be designed to test your ability to think about, integrate, and logically organize the course readings and lectures. The midterm is scheduled to be turned in Thursday, November 3, at the *beginning* of class and through the "TurnItIn" Ted link for this class. The questions will be distributed by Monday, October 31 (Ted). The final (in-class) will be administered Dec. 8. A list of possible exam questions will be distributed by November 29. (Please note: any requests to review exam grades must be made in writing (typed) with a full and detailed justification for the request.)

D. **Quizzes** optional, see below —I have found that, with take home exams, many students don't keep up with the readings until they have the questions in hand. Subsequently, less is gained from my lectures and class exchanges. In an attempt to alleviate this problem, I've been trying something new--roughly biweekly quizzes. Students complain about them ("they force me to keep up with the material and sometimes I can't") but grudgingly like having them ("they force me to keep up with the material and that helps me understand the lectures and do better on the written exams"). For those of you accepting this option, five self-graded quizzes on the future set of readings and most recent prior lectures will be administered throughout the quarter. They will be administered online with a set time limit. Each quiz will be worth 5% of your grade, with the lowest quiz score dropped. You may complete the exam anytime during the four day period in which it is assigned. Expect to start the end of week 2--or is that week 1.5? (Th-Su) with another exam about every other week. I will set up the method to do this--stay tuned on Ted. You cannot decide whether or not the quizzes will count at the end of the quarter. **Anyone who takes the first two quizzes will be considered to have accepted the quiz option** (everyone can use quiz 1 as a trial). Quiz 1 will include the first set of readings ("Parties and Party Systems") and the second ("the Decline of Partisanship"), as well as lecture material from September 22-29.

E. Grading:	Option:	No quizzes	With quizzes
	Midterm	40%	30%
	Final	60%	50%
	Quizzes		20%

CLASS WEB PAGE

Changes to this syllabus, as well as any review guides, assignments, informational emails, or date changes will be posted on the class web page (Ted). Please check it on a daily basis. Go to ted.ucsd.edu. Your classes should be listed. If you are having trouble getting into Ted (students visiting from other campuses are especially vulnerable to this problem), please let me know *as soon as possible*.

POLICY ON CHEATING:

Failure--no exceptions. "Cheating" includes working together on the midterm or final exam questions. You can help each other with general questions about basic concepts, facts, readings, lectures, citation style, etc. In fact, I strongly suggest you do so on a regular basis. On the other hand, collaborating on the essays themselves, either in preparation or final production, is strictly forbidden. The same is true with taking the quizzes. If you are not sure about the distinction, please ask me to clarify. Further information on violations of university academic integrity codes can be found at:

<http://www.ucsd.edu/portal/site/ucsd/menuitem.135225ab0c7ce3c0c0020010d34b01ca/?vgnnextoid=f0f8f57e403bb110VgnVCM100000c7b410acRCD>

PLAGIARISM:

Plagiarism is the intentional use of another's words (by direct transcription) or ideas (by paraphrasing) without attribution. University prohibitions against plagiarism are rather clear. Again, if you are not sure about the meaning of plagiarism, please ask me to clarify or go to the link above.

INCOMPLETES

The university grants me precious little discretion here. In order to qualify for an incomplete I must demonstrate that you have been doing passable work (so you have to have taken the midterm and passed it) and you must demonstrate a reason for requesting an incomplete that conforms to university guidelines (documented illness, death or emergency in the family, unexpected military deployment, etc.). Again, the university makes this decision--not me nor the graders.

TENTATIVE OUTLINE OF READINGS: Available in your University Reader unless marked by an *. The latter can be accessed on campus or at home through a proxy server (<http://webproxy.ucsd.edu/proxy.pl>). Please let me know if you have trouble with the urls as they sometimes change.

PART, THE FIRST: PARTIES, PARTISANSHIP, AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE U.S.

I INTRODUCTION--PARTIES AS INTERMEDIARIES OF PUBLIC CHOICE:

II. PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS--TYPOLOGIES

Alan Ware (1996), "Why party systems differ" (*Political Parties and Party Systems*)

Paul Herrnson (2002), "Two-party dominance and minor party forays in American politics" (Herrnson and Green, eds., *Multiparty Politics in America*, 2nd ed.)

Anthony Downs (1957), "The statics and dynamics of party ideologies" (*An Economic Theory of Democracy*)

III. THE CHANGING NATURE OF PARTISANSHIP IN THE U.S.

A. THE DECLINE (?) OF PARTISANSHIP

Bibby et al. (2008), "Political parties and the voters" (*Politics, Parties & Elections in America*)

*Bernard Grofman et al. (1999), "The potential electoral disadvantages of a catch-all party" (*Party Politics*, v.5:199-210)
<http://ppg.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/5/2/199>

*Larry Bartels (2000), "Partisanship and voting behavior, 1952-1996" (*AJPS*, vol. 44, no. 1)
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2669291.pdf>

B. REALIGNMENT (additions/subtractions in the online readings may be made)

*David Mayhew (2000), "Electoral realignments" (*Annual Review of Political Science*, v3: 449-474)
<http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.polisci.3.1.449>

Robert Harmel (1997), "The impact of new parties on party systems" (Herrnson and Green, eds., *Multiparty Politics in America*)

Paul Beck (1974), "A socialization theory of partisan realignment" (Niemi et al., eds., *The Politics of Future Citizens*)

Rosenstone et al. (1996), "A theory of third party voting" (*Third Parties in America*)

*Carmines and Stimson (1981), "Issue evolution, population replacement, and normal partisan change" (*APSR*, v.75:107-118)
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1962162.pdf>

*Geoffrey Layman (1997), "Religion and political behavior in the United States" (*Public Opinion Quarterly*, v.61:288-316)
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2749553.pdf>

*Karen Kaufman (2002), "Culture Wars, Secular Realignment, and the Gender Gap in Party Identification" (*Political Behavior*, v.43:283-307)
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1558398.pdf>

*Laura Elder (2008), "Whither Republican women: the growing partisan gap among women in congress" (the Forum, v.6, #1)
<http://www.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1204&context=forum>

John Petrocik (2010), "Was 2008 a watershed election?" (Green & Coffey, ed., *the State of the Parties*, 6th. ed.)

MIDTERM DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS, Thursday, Nov. 3 and through TurnItIn

PART, THESECOND: CHANGE IN U.S. PARTY SYSTEMS AND ORGANIZATION

(additions/subtractions in the online readings may be made)

IV. THE CHANGING NATURE OF DEMOCRACY AND PARTY GOVERNMENT IN THE U.S

A. OVERVIEW (expect some overlap with sections B and C)

Joel Silbey (1990), "The rise and fall of American political parties" (Maisel, ed., *The Parties Respond*, 1st ed.)
Gary Orren and William Mayer (1990), "The press, political parties, and the public-private balance in elections" (Maisel, ed. *Parties Respond*, 1st ed.)
Anne Freedman (1994), "The last political machine" (*Patronage: an American Tradition*)

B. BACKGROUND: The Polarization of party politics (more will be added)

*Gary Jacobson (2004), "Explaining the ideological polarization of the congressional parties since the 1970s"
http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/8/3/2/7/p83270_index.html

C. NOMINATION REFORM (?)

Larry Bartels (1988), "From back rooms to 'big mo'" (*Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*)
Barry Burden (2009), ""The nomination" (Nelson, ed., *the Elections of 2008*)
Barry Burden (2001), "The polarizing effects of congressional primaries" (Galderisi, Ezra and Lyons, eds. *Congressional Primaries*)

*One or two more to be added from recent literature

D. CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM (?)

Raymond La Raja (2009), "Back to the future"

*Other post *Citizens United* readings may be announced. I suggest everyone look through the following resource for information on the 2008 and 2010 elections: <http://www.opensecrets.org>. Type "political party" into the search field to start.

E. GERRYMANDERING AS PARTISAN ACT and other forms of *POLITICS BY OTHER MEANS*

Charles Bullock (2010), "Partisan Gerrymandering: All's Fair in Love, War, and Redistricting (Bullock, *Redistricting*, Ch. 5)

*potential readings to be announced tied in with current redistricting plans

V. CONGRESS, THE PRESIDENT, AND THE PARTIES (maybe)

*Jason Roberts and Steven Smith (2003), "Procedural contexts, party strategy, and conditional party voting in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1971-2001" (*AJPS*, v47: 305-317)
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3186140.pdf>

*The following can be found directly (on campus, proxy server) through the following website:
<http://www.bepress.com/forum/vol6/iss3/>

Read at least two of the following: essays by Palazzollo, Connelly and Pitney, Rae, Sinclair

*Sidney Milkis and Jesse Rhodes (2007), "George W. Bush, the party system, and American federalism" (*Publius*, v37: 478-504) <http://publius.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/37/3/478>