

POLITICAL SCIENCE 100C Winter 2013
AMERICAN (U.S.) POLITICAL PARTIES
Monday 7-9:30PM Center 101*

Final: Friday, March 22, 7-9 PM (not my choice, believe me) Room TBA (I can't guarantee an early final)

Note: minor changes (especially given still unpublished, new research on parties in the 2010-2012 elections) may be made to this syllabus throughout the quarter.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.

**Holidays preclude holding class on January 21 and February 18. We'll have to depend a bit more on structured (I will give you detailed outlines and comments to go along with the readings) self-learning to accommodate this.*

Instructor: Peter Galderisi

Office Hours: Monday (12-3:00 for classes, 3:00-4:30 open—Tuesday when Monday falls on a holiday), SSB 449

Email:

Class matters: only 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 (Wednesdays excluded).

**Graders: Saul Cunow
Scott Martin**

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, their modern surrogates, 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.

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 (APD), a separate, downloadable version will be available.

2. In addition, to reduce costs, several other essays of various lengths will be required and will be available online either for free or through the UCSD library server (access on campus or at home through a proxy server or VPN connection). 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 (take home) is scheduled to be turned in Monday, February 11, at the *beginning* of class and through the "TurnItIn" Ted link for this class. The questions will be distributed by Friday, February 1 (Ted). The final (in-class) will be administered March 22. A list of possible exam questions will be distributed by March 8.

(Please note: any requests to review exam grades must be made in writing (typed) with a full and detailed justification for the request.)

D. **Reading Guides**—after the first week, I will post a series of suggestions about what you should gain from the readings. These are not meant to be all inclusive, but (I hope) might prompt you to read before the night before the exams are due. I find that students gain much more from my lectures if they do the readings in advance of the corresponding lecture.

GRADING: You will receive the higher of the two scores that follow this breakdown

Midterm	40%	30%
Final	60%	70%

FINAL GRADE DISTRIBUTION (rounded to next full score, e.g.: 89.5=90): some adjustments might be made

A	≥94	C+	77-79
A-	90-93	C	74-76
B+	87-89	C-	70-73
B	84-86	D+	65-69
B-	80-83	D	60-64

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. 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://students.ucsd.edu/academics/academic-integrity/consequences.html>

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 directly ("free online at") or on campus or at home through a VPN or proxy server. If on campus, make sure you are connected via the secured, not guest wireless connections.

Please let me know if you have trouble with the urls as they sometimes change.

Note: for essays (these are short and uncomplicated) from *the Forum*, enter the link, then click on:

Full Text PDF >

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

WEEK 1 A. INTRODUCTION--PARTIES AS INTERMEDIARIES OF PUBLIC CHOICE:

B. 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*)

WEEK 2 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://ppq.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>

*Daron Shaw (2012), "If Everyone Votes Their Party, Why Do Presidential Election Outcomes Vary So Much?" (*the Forum*, v.10.3: article 1)
<http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2012.10.issue-3/1540-8884.1519/1540-8884.1519.xml?format=INT>

*William Mayer (2012), "The disappearing—but still important—swing voter" (*the Forum*, v.10.3: article 2)

<http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2012.10.issue-3/1540-8884.1520/1540-8884.1520.xml?format=INT>

*Magleby and Nelson (2012), "Independent leaners as policy partisans" (*the Forum*, v.10.3: article 6)

<http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2012.10.issue-3/1540-8884.1522/1540-8884.1522.xml?format=INT>

*Norpoth and Yemel, (2012), "Independent leaners: ideals, myths, and reality" (*the Forum*, v.10.3: article 7)

<http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2012.10.issue-3/1540-8884.1521/1540-8884.1521.xml?format=INT>

WEEK 4 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>

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, Monday, February 11 and through TurnItIn

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

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

WEEK 5. 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*)

WEEK 6 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

WEEK 8 D. CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM (?)

Raymond La Raja (2009), "Back to the future"
Robert Boatright (2012). "The end of the reform era: campaign finance retrenchment in the U.S. and Canada"
(*the Forum*, v10.2: article 8)
<http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2012.10.issue-2/1540-8884.1440/1540-8884.1440.xml?format=INT>

*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.

WEEK 9 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 the most redistricting plans, polarization of Congress, use of the filibuster, etc.

WEEK 10 PARTIES AND THE 2012 ELECTIONS

Readings to be assigned.