

**POLITICAL SCIENCE 100C WINTER 2019**  
**AMERICAN (U.S.) POLITICAL PARTIES**  
**MWF 12-12:50 Center 214**  
**Final: Monday, March 20, 11-2:29 PM NO EARLY FINAL!!!!!!!**

Note: minor changes (especially given still unpublished, new research on elections) may be made to this syllabus throughout the quarter.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 TritonEd (Ted) page.

**Instructor:** Peter Galderisi, SSB 449  
Office Hours: Wednesday 3:00-6:00 (starting week 2)  
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Please feel free to email me with questions/concerns at any time. I generally read my emails each morning and early evening until 6 PM (Sundays excluded).

**Graders:** Lucas de Abreu Maia [Ideabreu@ucsd.edu](mailto:Ideabreu@ucsd.edu)  
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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 their modern surrogates (primary combatants? dark money), 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, sometimes discouraging, and increasingly polarized state. We will discuss the transformation of campaigning, nominating, and financing elections, and the role of parties and other institutions (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 (can we say "Twitter"?), reality shows, the demise of the English language, etc.

The major thematic focus of this course 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. We have drained the swamp and found, well, more swamp. 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 day* as the lectures progress.

One thematic text is required and can be purchased online:

Abramowitz, *The Great Alignment: Race, Party Transformation, and the Rise of Donald Trump*

A course reader is available for purchase from Cognella Press (Order online at <https://store.cognella.com/18813> -- the first few selections (20-30%) will be available through an online link to get you started with the course.

In addition, to reduce costs, several other essays of various lengths will be required and will be available online either directly through the UCSD library server (access on campus or at home through a VPN connection).

Directions for different platforms/operating systems can be found at:

<http://blink.ucsd.edu/technology/network/connections/off-campus/VPN/index.html>

C. **Exams**-- One take-home midterm and one in-class/take-home 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 by Thursday, February 14, 5PM through the "Turnitin" TritonEd link for this class. The questions will be distributed by Tuesday, February 5 (TritonEd).
- The final (in-class) will be administered Wednesday, March 20, 12-1:30. A list of possible exam questions will be distributed by March 11.
- The final (take-home) will be due Wednesday, March 20, by noon.

**NO EARLY FINAL WILL BE GIVEN...NO WAY...NO HOW!!!!!!!**

**Please note:** any requests to review midterm and/or final 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.

<b>GRADING:</b>	<b>Midterm</b>	<b>40%</b>
	<b>Final</b>	<b>60% ( a second "midterm" and cumulative final)</b>

**FINAL GRADE DISTRIBUTION** (rounded to next full score, e.g.: 89.5=90): some adjustments might be made including the possibility of receiving an A+.

A	≥94	C+	77-79
A-	90-93	C	74-76
B+	87-89	<b>C-</b>	<b>70-73</b>
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, PowerPoint PDFs, or date changes will be posted on the class web page (TritonEd). Please check it on a daily basis. Go to [ted.ucsd.edu](http://ted.ucsd.edu). Your classes should be listed. If you are having trouble getting into TritonEd (students visiting from other campuses are especially vulnerable to this problem), please let me know *as soon as possible*.

## **POLICY ON CHEATING and PLAGIARISM**

### **Failure--no exceptions.**

“Cheating” includes copying from someone during the in-class exam or the take home final. 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 final essay, either in preparation or final production, is strictly forbidden.

“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.

If you are not sure about what qualifies as cheating or plagiarism, please ask me to clarify and/or review the university policy:

<http://academicintegrity.ucsd.edu/excel-integrity/define-cheating/index.html>

## **INCOMPLETES**

The university grants me precious little discretion here. To qualify for an incomplete, I must demonstrate that you have been doing passable work (so you must have taken at least one exam 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.

## **OSD ACCOMMODATIONS**

As per University and Federal regulations, all accommodation requests made through OSD certification will be honored. Please remind the professor one week before any quiz or exam date.

## **“SPECIAL” REQUESTS:**

Most of you know that I am already fairly generous with grades. Please do not ask me to change grades because you “need them” to:

- maintain a scholarship
- retain your enrollment at the university
- impress your parents
- get into Harvard Law School

You will be graded on the merits of your work, not on your needs.

**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. 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            IN THE BEGINNING**

INTRODUCTION--PARTIES AS INTERMEDIARIES OF PUBLIC CHOICE:

### **WEEKs 1-2            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*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)

### **WEEK 3            THE CHANGING NATURE OF PARTISANSHIP IN THE U.S.**

Abamowitz (2018), Preface, Chapter 1  
\*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>  
\*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>

### **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*)  
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>  
Abramowitz (2018), Chapters 2-4  
\*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>  
\*At least one essay on the 2016 election

**MIDTERM—SUBMIT BY Thursday, February 14 , 5PM**



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

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

### **WEEK 5**                    *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*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.)  
Gary Orren and William Mayer (1990), "The press, political parties, and the public-private balance in elections" (Maisel, ed. *Parties Respond*, 1st ed.)

### **WEEKs 6-7**                *THE POLARIZATION OF PARTY POLITICS--RESULTS*

Abramowitz (2018), Chapters 5-7  
Gary Jacobson (2012), "Congress: Partisanship and polarization" (Nelson, ed., *The Elections of 2012*)  
Kenneth Lowande and Sidney Milkis (2014), "We Can't Wait": Barack Obama, partisan polarization and the administrative presidency" (*the Forum*, v12.1: article 1)  
<http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2014.12.issue-1/for-2014-0022/for-2014-0022.xml?format=INT>

#### *THE POLARIZATION OF PARTY POLITICS—NOMINATION POLITICS?*

Barry Burden (2001), "The polarizing effects of congressional primaries" (Galderisi, Ezra and Lyons, eds. *Congressional Primaries*)

\*...several recent online essays will be added

### **WEEK 8**                    *THE POLARIZATION OF PARTY POLITICS --CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM (?)*

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>  
Raymond LaRaja (2013), "Richer parties, better politics? Party-centered campaign finance laws and American democracy" (*the Forum*, v11.3: article 1)  
\*Other, post *Citizens United* readings may be announced. I suggest everyone look through the following resource for information on the 2008-2016 elections: <http://www.opensecrets.org> . Type "political party" into the search field to start.

### **WEEK 9**                    *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)  
\*Essays on the post 2010 redistricting results

### **WEEK 10**                 *CONCLUSION: PARTIES AND THE 2018 ELECTIONS—ARE PARTIES STILL IMPORTANT?*

\*Readings to be assigned

**IN-CLASS FINAL Wednesday, March 20, 12-1:30**