

Political Science 683 U.S. Political Parties

Tuesdays, 1pm-3pm
5664 Haven Hall (Walker Room)

Winter 2003
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office hours: Tuesday 3-5 and by appointment

This research seminar for Ph.D. students reviews classic and contemporary approaches to understanding U.S. political parties. We will draw on sources from a wide variety of scholarly traditions, including rational choice, historical-institutionalism, behavioralism, and the sociology and economics of organizations. Where appropriate, we will draw on comparative politics research to sharpen our conceptual, theoretical, and normative thinking about party competition.

Requirements

The seminar will succeed or fail on the quality of student participation, so students are expected to engage actively and respectfully in class discussion. Good class participation requires close readings of assigned texts; the reading load will average 250 pages per week. Class participation will account for $\frac{1}{4}$ of the final course grade. Also, students must write a 2-3 page response paper (double-spaced, normal fonts and margins) for 6 of the remaining 13 weeks of the course. These should be well thought-out and organized papers that touch on the key issues of the week. They should be posted on the course webpage (accessible via CourseTools) by 5pm on Monday so that others have time to read them before class. Finally, students must write a 20-30 page literature review, research design, or research paper. These will be due during exam period, and should be based on substantial consultations with the instructor.

Grading

--participation in class discussion: 25%
--response papers: 25%
--final project: 50%

Books

The following texts should be purchased:

John H. Aldrich. 1995. *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Party Politics in America*.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gary W. Cox. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keith Krehbiel. 1998. *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

David R. Mayhew. 2002. *Electoral Realignments: Critique of an American Genre*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

The vast majority of other readings are available via MIRLYN. I will make available photocopies of the others.

Course Outline

Jan. 7: Course Introduction

Jan. 14: Concepts, Definitions, and the Shape of the Literature on US Parties

Jan. 21: Formation and Development of U.S. Mass Parties

Jan. 28: Critical Elections, Realignment, and the Quest for Meaning(s) in American Political History

Feb. 4: Party Organizations, Part One: Approaches to Studying Political Institutions

Friday, Feb. 14: Presentation by David Mayhew (Yale), "Electoral Realignment"

Feb. 18: Spatial Theories of Party Competition, Part One

Feb. 25: *Spring Break—No Class Meeting*

March 4: Challenging and Extending the Downsian Approach

Mar. 11: Party Cleavages in the U.S.

Mar. 18: Electoral Institutions and the Shaping of U.S. Parties

Mar. 25: Parties and the State

April 1: The Contemporary Debate over Legislative Parties

Apr. 8: Parties and Policy: The Consequences of Divided Government

Apr. 15: Wrap-Up and Next Steps

Required Readings

Jan. 14: Concepts, Definitions, and the Shape of the Literature on US Parties

Joseph A. Schumpeter. 1976 [1942]. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. 5th ed. London: Allen and Unwin, 269-283. [handout]

E. E. Schattschneider. 1942. *Party Government*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1-16 and 35-64. [handout]

V. O. Key, Jr. 1984 [1949]. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 298-311. [handout]

Giovanni Sartori. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-70. [handout]

Morris P. Fiorina. 1980. "The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics." *Daedalus* 109: 25-45. [handout]

Leon D. Epstein. 1986. *Political Parties in the American Mold*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 9-39. [handout]

John Aldrich. 1995. *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Party Politics in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 3-27.

Susan C. Stokes. 1999. "Political Parties and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 243-267. [available via MIRLYN]

recommended: for students brushing up on their American history, a good single-volume text is Alan Brinkley's *The Unfinished Nation* (McGraw-Hill, 1993). The best single-volume treatment of American political parties is Leon Epstein's *Political Parties in the American Mold* (1986), cheap copies of which are available over the web (e.g., www.bookfinder.com). For more on concepts of parties, see Gerald Pomper's *Passions and Interests: Political Party Concepts of American Democracy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992).

Jan. 21: Formation and Development of U.S. Mass Parties

John Aldrich, *Why Parties*, ch. 2 (and review ch. 1 from this week)

James Madison, *Federalist No. 10* [handout]

Richard Hofstadter. 1969. *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780-1840*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969, entire

John Aldrich, *Why Parties*, ch. 3-4

recommended:

Michael Wallace, "Changing Concepts of Party in the United States: New York, 1815-1828," *American Historical Review* 74:2 (1968), 453-491 [MIRLYN]

Jan. 28: Critical Elections, Realignment, and the Quest for Meaning(s) in American Political History

The Realignments Approach and U.S. Party Systems

V. O. Key, Jr. 1955. "A Theory of Critical Elections." *Journal of Politics* 17: 3-18. [MIRLYN]

V. O. Key, Jr. 1959. "Secular Realignment and the Party System." *Journal of Politics* 21 (2): 198-210. [MIRLYN]

Walter Dean Burnham. 1970. *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*. New York: Norton, 1-33 and 71-134. [handout]

Alternative Views

Richard L. McCormick. 1979. "The Party Period and Public Policy: An Exploratory Hypothesis." *Journal of American History* 66: 279-298. [MIRLYN]

Joel H. Silbey. 1991. "Beyond Realignment and Realignment Theory: American Political Eras, 1789-1989." In *The End of Realignment? Interpreting American Electoral Eras*, edited by Byron E. Shafer. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 3-23. [handout]

A Recent Defense of Realignments Theory

Peter Nardulli. 1995. "The Concept of a Critical Realignment, Electoral Behavior, and Political Change." *American Political Science Review* 89 (1): 10-22. [MIRLYN]

A (Final?) Critique; What Next?

David R. Mayhew. 2002. *Electoral Realignments: A Critique of an American Genre*. New Haven: Yale University Press, entire.

recommended:

John H. Aldrich. 1999. "Political Parties in a Critical Era." *American Politics Quarterly* 27 (1): 9-32. [MIRLYN]

--claims that evidence from the 1990s suggest the beginnings of a new party system

Paul Allen Beck. 1993 [1974]. "A Socialization Theory of Partisan Realignment." In *Classics in Voting Behavior*, edited by Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg. Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 331-345.

--a significant "Michigan-style" contribution to the realignment approach

Feb. 4: Party Organizations, Part One: Approaches to Studying Political Institutions

Classic Texts

Max Weber. 1946 [1919]. "Politics as a Vocation." In *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, edited by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 77-128. [handout]

Albert Hirschman. 1970. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1-61, 76-105, 120-126. [handout]

The 'New Institutionalisms'

Terry M. Moe. 1984. "The New Economics of Organization." *Journal of Politics*: 739-777. [MIRLYN]

Peter A. Hall and Rosemary C. R. Taylor. 1996. "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms." *Political Studies* 44: 936-957. [handout]

Paul Pierson. 2000. "The Limits of Design: Explaining Institutional Origins and Change." *Governance* 13 (4): 475-499. [MIRLYN]

I strongly recommend that you skim the rejoinder to Pierson by Gary Miller, one of the best-known proponents of rational choice institutionalism: Gary Miller. 2000. "Rational Choice and Dysfunctional Institutions." Governance 13 (4): 535-547. [MIRLYN]

New Approaches to Party Organization

Joseph A. Schlesinger. 1984. "On the Theory of Party Organization." *Journal of Politics* 46 (2): 369-400. [MIRLYN]

If this interests you, I recommend the following brief book chapter, which is an economist's critique of the market/firm analogy for thinking about parties/electorates: Harold Demsetz. 1990. "Amenity Potential, Indivisibilities, and Political Competition." In Perspectives on Positive Political Economy, edited by James E. Alt and Kenneth A. Shepsle. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (stop by my office for a copy)

Herbert Kitschelt. 1989. *The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 41-73. [handout]

Kaare Strom and Wolfgang C. Muller. 1999. "Political Parties and Hard Choices." In *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*, edited by Muller and Strom. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-27. [handout]

Feb. 11: Party Organization, Part Two: Empirical Studies of Local, State, and National Parties

Leon D. Epstein. 1986. *Political Parties in the American Mold*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 79-238 (but only skim 155-199; just have a good understanding of Epstein's metaphor in that chapter). [handout]

Joseph A. Schlesinger. 1985. "The New American Political Party." *The American Political Science Review* 79 (4): 1152-1169. [MIRLYN]

review Schlesinger (1984) from last week

from *The Parties Respond: Changes in American Parties and Campaigns*, edited by L. Sandy Maisel. Boulder: Westview Press (1998) [handout]:

John F. Bibby, "State Party Organizations: Coping and Adapting to Candidate-Centered Politics and Nationalization," 23-49.

Paul S. Herrnson, "National Party Organizations at Century's End," 50-82

Frank Sorauf, "Political Parties and the New World of Campaign Finance," 225-242

John C. Green and Paul S. Herrnson. 2002. "Party Development in the Twentieth Century: Laying the Foundations for Responsible Party Government?," in Green and Herrnson, eds., *Responsible Partisanship? The Evolution of American Political Parties Since 1950* (Lawrenceville: University Press of Kansas), 37-59 [handout]

Feb. 18: Spatial Theories of Party Competition, Part One

Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957), chapters 1-8, 11-14, and 16 (pp. 3-141, 207-276, 295-300).

John Aldrich. 1983. "A Downsian Spatial Model with Party Activism." *American Political Science Review* 77: 974-990. [MIRLYN]

March 4: Spatial Theories, Part Two: Challenging and Extending the Downsian Approach

Donald E. Stokes. 1963. "Spatial Models of Party Competition." *American Political Science Review* 57 (2):368-377. [MIRLYN]

Donald Wittman. 1983. "Candidate Motivation: A Synthesis of Alternative Theories." *American Political Science Review* 77:142-157. [MIRLYN]

Torben Iversen. 1994. "Political Leadership and Representation in West European Democracies: A Test of Three Models of Voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 38 (1):45-74. [MIRLYN]

John Aldrich. 1995. *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Party Politics in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapter 6, 163-193.

Stephen Ansolabehere, James M. Snyder, Jr., and Charles Stewart, III. 2001. "Candidate Positioning in U.S. House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (1):136-159. [MIRLYN]

James M. Snyder and Michael M. Ting. 2002. "An Informational Rationale for Political Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (1):90-110. [MIRLYN]

Elizabeth R. Gerber and John E. Jackson. 1993. "Endogenous Preferences and the Study of Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 87 (3):639-656. [MIRLYN]

Ken Kollman, John Miller, and Scott Page. 1992. "Adaptive Parties in Spatial Elections." *American Political Science Review* 86:929-937. [MIRLYN]

Mar. 11: Social Cleavages and Party Factions in the U.S.

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan 1990 [1967]. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments," in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 91-139 (abridged version). [handout]

- Herbert Kitschelt. 2000. "Linkages Between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (6/7): 845-879. [MIRLYN]
- Larry M. Bartels. 1998. "Electoral Continuity and Change, 1868-1996." *Electoral Studies* 17 (3): 301-326. [MIRLYN]
- Harold W. Stanley and Richard G. Niemi. 2001. "Partisanship, Group Coalitions, and Group Support, 1952-2000." Paper presented at the APSA Annual Meetings. [available via pro.harvard.edu]
- Michael Hout, Jeff Manza, and Clem Brooks. 1999. "Classes, Unions, and the Realignment of U.S. Presidential Voting, 1952-1992." In *The End of Class Politics? Class Voting in Comparative Context*, edited by Geoffrey Evans. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 83-96. [handout]
- Martin Shefter. 1994 [1986]. "Trade Unions and Political Machines: The Organization and Disorganization of the American Working Class." In Shefter, *Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 101-168. [handout]
- Martin Shefter. 1994 [1986]. "Political Incorporation and Political Extrusion: Party Politics and Social Forces in Postwar New York." In Shefter, *Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 197-232. [handout]
- Howard L. Reiter. 2001. "The Building of a Bifunctional Structure: The Democrats in the 1940s." *Political Science Quarterly* 116 (1): 107-129. [MIRLYN]
- Larry M. Bartels. 1998. "Where the Ducks Are: Voting Power in a Party System." In *Politicians and Party Politics*, edited by John G. Geer, 44-79. [handout]
- Mar. 18: Electoral Institutions and the Shaping of U.S. Parties (and vice versa)**
- review Leon Epstein. 1986. *Political Parties in the American Mold*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 155-199.
- Gary W. Cox. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-98, 151-172, 181-221.
- Boix, Carles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 93 (3): 609-624. [MIRLYN]
- Scott C. James and Brian L. Lawson. 1999. "The Political Economy of Voting Rights Enforcement in America's Gilded Age: Electoral College Competition, Partisan Commitment, and the Federal Election Law." *American Political Science Review* 93 (1): 115-131. [MIRLYN]
- L. Sandy Maisel and John F. Bibby. "Election Laws, Court Rulings, Party Rules and Practices: Steps Toward and Away from a Stronger Party Role." In John C. Green and Paul S. Herrnson, eds. 2002. *Responsible Partisanship? The Evolution of American Political Parties Since 1950*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 61-81. [handout]
- Nathaniel Persily and Bruce E. Cain, Jr. 2000. "The Legal Status of Political Parties: A Reassessment of Competing Paradigms." In Symposium on Law and Political Parties, *Columbia Law Review* 100 (April). [Lexis-Nexis]

Mar. 25: U.S. Parties and the State

Pradeep Chhibber and Ken Kollman. 1998. "Party Aggregation and the Number of Parties in India and the United States." *American Political Science Review* 92: 329-342. [MIRLYN]

Martin Shefter. 1994 [1978]. "Party, Bureaucracy, and Political Change in the United States." In Shefter, *Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 61-97. [handout]

Sidney M. Milkis. 1993. *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System Since the New Deal*. New York: Oxford University Press, 21-218. [handout]

April 1: The Contemporary Debate over Legislative Parties

Gary W. Cox and Matthew McCubbins. 1993. Chapters 4 and 5 in *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 85-135. [handout]

Keith Krehbiel. 1993. "Where's the Party?" *British Journal of Political Science* 23: 235-266. [MIRLYN]

John Aldrich. 1995. Ch. 7 in *Why Parties?*, 194-240.

Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. 2001. "The Hunt for Party Discipline in Congress." *American Political Science Review* 95 (3): 673-687. [MIRLYN]

Robert P. Van Houweling. 2001. "Legislators' Personal Policy Preferences and Partisan Legislative Organization" (unpublished manuscript). [handout]

Gerald C. Wright and Brian F. Schaffner. 2002. "The Influence of Party: Evidence from the State Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 96 (2): 367-379. [MIRLYN]

Apr. 8: Parties and National Policymaking: Do Parties Really Matter?

Keith Krehbiel. 1998. *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 3-75.

Sarah A. Binder. 1999. "The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-1996." *American Political Science Review* 93 (3): 519-533. [MIRLYN]

Benjamin Ginsberg and Martin Shefter. 1999. *Politics By Other Means: Politicians, Prosecutors, and the Press from Watergate to Whitewater*. Revised and updated ed. New York: W. W. Norton, 15-191.

Apr. 15: Wrap-Up and Next Steps

--class presentations

--discussion of campaign finance, including:

Stephen Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder, Jr. 2000. "Soft Money, Hard Money, Strong Parties." In Symposium on Law and Political Parties, *Columbia Law Review* 100 (April). [Lexis-Nexis]