

**POLITICAL SCIENCE 100C Summer 2009**  
**AMERICAN (U.S.) POLITICAL PARTIES**  
TuTh 11:00a - 1:50p SOLIS 110  
Final: Saturday, August 1, 8-10:59 Room TBA

**Note: minor changes (especially given still unpublished, new research on parties in the 2008 election) may be made to this syllabus throughout the quarter.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 WebCt page.**

**Peter F. Galderisi**

Office Hours: W 10-12 SSB448

Email: [pgalderisi@ucsd.edu](mailto:pgalderisi@ucsd.edu) --please feel free to email me with questions/concerns at any time.

I will check them at least every morning and *early* evening (except Fridays).

**Grader:**

**Nicholas (Nick) Warner** [niwarner@ucsd.edu](mailto:niwarner@ucsd.edu)

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, often complicated 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. 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).

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 (35-40%) and one in-class final (60-65%) 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, July 16, at the *beginning* of class and through the "TurnItIn" WebCt link for this class. The questions will be distributed July 9. The final (in-class) will be administered August 1. A list of possible exam questions will be distributed July 23.

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

*Please note:* any requests to review exam grades must be made in writing (typed) to your grader with a full and detailed justification for the request. An appeal of that review can be made to the professor. Note that any review by either may result in a higher or lower grade (or no change).

### **CLASS WEB PAGE**

Changes to this syllabus, as well as any review guides, assignments, section discussion questions, informational emails, or date changes will be posted on the class web page (WEBCT). Please check it on a daily basis. Go to [webct.ucsd.edu](http://webct.ucsd.edu). Your classes should be listed. If you are having trouble getting into WebCt (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://www.ucsd.edu/portal/site/ucsd/menuitem.135225ab0c7ce3c0c0020010d34b01ca/?vgnnextoid=f0f8f57e403bb110VgnVCM100000c7b410acRCRD>

### **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.

**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*, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

Marjorie Hershey (2007), "Party identification" (*Party Politics 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>

B. REALIGNMENT

\*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>

**MIDTERM DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS, Thursday. July 16 and through TurnItIn**

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

### 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*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.)  
Leon Epstein (1986), "Parties as Public Utilities" (*Political Parties in the American Mold*) located separately at universityreaders.com  
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. NOMINATION REFORM (?)

- Larry Bartels (1988), "From back rooms to 'big mo'" (*Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*)  
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

#### C. CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM (?)

- Anthony Corrado (2005), "An overview of campaign finance law" (Herrnson, ed., *CQs Guide to Political Campaigns in America*)  
Diana Dwyre and Robin Kolodny (2003), "National political parties after BCRA" (Malbin, ed., *Life After Reform*)  
\*Other readings may be announced. I suggest everyone look through the following resource for information on the 2008 election: <http://www.opensecrets.org>. Type "political party" into the search field to start.

#### D. THE NATIONALIZATION OF PARTY POLITICS

- \*potential readings to be announced tied in with campaign finance

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

- \*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](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/8/3/2/7/p83270_index.html)  
\*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/>  
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>