

Political Science 873
Prof. J. Coleman
Office: T 1:30-3:00, and by appt.
214 North Hall, 265-3680
coleman@polisci.wisc.edu

II, 1998-99
Syllabus
422 North Hall
Thursday 3:30-5:25
www.polisci.wisc.edu/~coleman

THE AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEM

This course provides a general overview of American political parties. The interest in American parties has grown remarkably over the past decade as theoretical debates about understanding the American political system and political development have concerned themselves fully with the nature of American political parties. A field that was theoretically sleepy for much of the 1960s and 1970s (although not alone in this respect) has begun to focus again on core theoretical questions. To some extent, the central questions about political parties today mark a return to issues that had become peripheral in the social sciences. Some of the most interesting recent work tries instead to use parties as a lens with which to understand other key developments in American politics. The study of party cuts across many subfields.

In order to explore some of these developmental issues more carefully, this course will necessarily return often to the topic of historical changes, of the “decline” of political parties, and so on. Key conjunctural periods in party history will be explored. And while the focus of the course is not necessarily comparative, we will on occasion want to place American parties within the larger universe of political representation. Much of Americanist scholarship on parties is motivated by explicit or implicit comparisons with other countries (and other periods), so we will occasionally want to examine these comparisons. Along the way a wide array of methodological approaches will be discussed. As in many seminars, some of the topics we discuss could well deserve seminars in their own right and can be investigated further in courses in this department or others.

Requirements:

Option 1: For this course you will write eight short reaction papers, two 10-12 page essays, and lead one class discussion. Attendance, preparation, and participation are expected and will be taken into account in assigning final grades. The reaction papers should be about 3-4 pages in length and present your response to the reading for that week. You need not cover each and every reading for the week in these papers. The point is to focus on and analyze what you see as the important, interesting issues in the reading. The paper should be *analytical*, not a long summary. Because these papers are short, I do expect that they will be tightly focused, thoughtful, and well written. *Students not submitting a response paper for a given week must still read the course material carefully by the date indicated on the syllabus and be prepared to participate in class discussion.* The longer essays will be assigned and due at approximately the middle and end of the semester. They will be based on course readings. Finally, each student is responsible to open up class discussion on one or more week’s readings. While this might involved a little summarizing, the intent is to generate discussion around key issues. You should focus on what you find to be particularly interesting, problematic, or persuasive in the reading and expect to take about 15 minutes. (I will also ask a student to respond to these opening remarks.) Do not read at length from your paper or present long summaries of the material.

Option 2: The general points above still apply, but the written requirements would be for four reaction papers, a research paper, and a mid-semester 1-2 page update on your research progress. You would lead one class discussion. If you are interested in this option, come by during office hours or set up an appointment within the first three weeks of the semester and we’ll talk.

Materials:

I have ordered many books for purchase at the University Bookstore. You do not need to purchase all of these since some will only receive a short reading for course purposes:

- *John H. Aldrich, *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America* (1995)
- *Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson, *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics* (1989)
- Steven Erie, *Rainbow's End: Irish-Americans and the Dilemmas of Urban Machine Politics, 1840-1985* (1988)
- *Lawrence Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America* (1978)
- *E. Pendleton Herring, *The Politics of Democracy: American Parties in Action* (1940)
- Richard L. McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era* (1986)
- *Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Partisan Approaches to Postwar American Politics* (1998)
- *Martin P. Shefter, *Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience* (1994)
- E.E. Schattschneider, *Party Government* (1942)
- *John Geer, *Politicians and Party Politics* (1998)
- Stanley Greenberg, *Middle Class Dreams* (1996)
- *Peter Galderisi, ed., *Divided Government* (1996)
- Robert Erikson, Gerald Wright, and John McIver, *Statehouse Democracy* (1993)
- *Richard Fenno, *Learning to Govern* (1997)
- Gary Cox and Matthew McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan* (1993)

Items indicated with a * are those with relatively long reading assignments. Short reading assignments from these books as well as other reading will be available in the Graduate Reading Room. Books are also on reserve at Helen C. White.

The reading load will be adjusted along the way. Recommended reading listed below is for future perusal.

Outline and reading list:

I. Overview of Major Approaches Toward Political Parties

1/21 Introduction to the Course

1/28 Features of American Political Parties

Theodore Lowi, "Party, Policy, and Constitution in America," in Chambers and Burnham
Walter Dean Burnham, "Party Systems and the Political Process," in Chambers and
Burnham

V.O. Key, *Southern Politics: In State and Nation*, pp. 302-310

Denise Baer and David Bositis, *Elite Cadres and Party Coalitions: Representing the
Public in Party Politics*, chs. 1-2 (1988)

Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, chs. 1, 9

Harmon Ziegler, *Political Parties in Industrial Democracies*, ch. 2 (1993)

Gary W. Cox, *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral
Systems* (1997), ch. 11

Recommended:

- William N. Chambers, "Party Development and the American Mainstream," in William N. Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham, eds., *The American Party Systems: Stages of Political Development*, 2nd ed. (1975)
- William Crotty, "Political Parties: Issues and Trends," in William Crotty, ed., *Political Science: Looking to the Future* (1991)
- Gerald M. Pomper, *Passions and Interests: Political Party Concepts of American Democracy*, ch. 1 (1992)
- Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activities in the Modern State* (1954)
- Roberto Michels, *Political Parties*
- M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*, volume 2: *The United States*
- Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*
- Giovanni Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (1976)
- Leon D. Epstein, *Political Parties in the American Mold* (1986)
- Samuel J. Eldersveld, *Political Parties in American Society* (1982)
- Alan Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* (1996)
- William N. Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham, eds., *The American Party Systems: Stages of Political Development*, 2nd ed. (1975)
- Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System* (1969)
- Pradeep Chhibber and Ken Kollman, "Party Aggregation and the Number of Parties in India and the United States," *American Political Science Review* 92 (1998): 329-42
- Steven J. Rosenstone, Roy L. Behr, and Edward H. Lazarus, *Third Parties in America*, 2nd ed. (1996)
- Joseph Schlesinger, *Political Parties and the Winning of Office* (1991)

2/4 The Classic Debate: Functional versus Responsible Parties

- E. Pendleton Herring, *The Politics of Democracy*, (1940), chs. 1, 4, 7-8, 10-17, 21-22, 30
- E.E. Schattschneider, *Party Government* (1942), pp. 123-69
- APSA Committee on Political Parties, "A Report of the Committee on Political Parties," *American Political Science Review* 44 (1950): i-xii, 1-99
- Gerald M. Pomper, "The Alleged Decline of American Parties," in Geer, *Politicians and Party Politics* (1998)

Recommended:

- Stephen K. Bailey, "The Condition of Our National Political Parties," Occasional Paper on the Role of the Political Process in the Free Society, Fund for the Republic (1959)
- James MacGregor Burns, *The Deadlock of Democracy*
- Charles O. Jones, *The Presidency in a Separated System*
- Morris P. Fiorina, "The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics," *Daedalus* 109 (1980): 25-45

2/11 Competing Visions of Party Purposes and Party Potential

Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, chs. 2-5

Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America*, Introduction, chs. 1-2, 4, 7-8, pp. 293-310 (1978)

Recommended:

Pomper, *Passions and Interests* (1992)

2/18 Parties, Ethnicity, and Class

McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy*, ch. 1 (1986)

Richard Oestreicher, "Urban Working-Class Political Behavior and Theories of American Electoral Politics," *Journal of American History* 74 (1988): 1257-1286

Ronald P. Formisano, "The Invention of the Ethnocultural Interpretation," *American Historical Review* 99 (1994): 453-77

Richard F. Bense, *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877*, ch. 7

Giovanni Sartori, "The Sociology of Parties: A Critical Review," in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*

Stanley B. Greenberg, *Middle Class Dreams: The Politics and Power of the New American Majority*, revised and updated edition (1996), TBA

Recommended:

Walter Dean Burnham, "The Turnout Problem," in A. James Reichley, ed., *Elections American Style* (1987)

Philip J. Ethington, "Urban Constituencies, Regimes, and Policy Innovation in the Progressive Era: An Analysis of Boston, Chicago, New York City, and San Francisco," *Studies in American Political Development* 7 (1993):275-315

Frances Fox Piven, "Structural Constraints and Political Development: The Case of the American Democratic Party," in Frances Fox Piven, ed., *Labor Parties in Postindustrial Societies* (1992)

Mike Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream*, ch. 2

Jonathan Rieder, "The Rise of the 'Silent Majority'," in Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order: 1930-1980* (1989)

Ruy A. Teixeira, "Economic Change and the Middle-Class Revolt Against the Democratic Party," in Stephen C. Craig, ed., *Broken Contract? Changing Relationships Between Americans and Their Government* (1996)

Walter Dean Burnham, *The Current Crisis in American Politics* (1982)

Robert Kelley, *The Cultural Pattern in American Politics: The First Century* (1979)

Richard Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest, 1888-1896* (1971)

Paul J. Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900* (1970)

II. Understanding Developmental Changes in American Political Parties

2/25 The Realignment Synthesis in American Politics

Walter Dean Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*, chs. 1, 2, 7 (1970)

McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy*, ch. 2 (1986)

Either of the following:

Joel H. Silbey, "Beyond Realignment and Realignment Theory: American Political Eras, 1789-1989," in Shafer, ed., *The End of Realignment? Interpreting American Electoral Eras* (1991)

Byron E. Shafer, "The Notion of an Electoral Order: The Structure of Electoral Politics at the Accession of George Bush," in Shafer ed., *The End of Realignment? Interpreting American Electoral Eras* (1991)

Walter Dean Burnham, "Realignment Lives: The 1994 Earthquake and Its Implications," in Colin Campbell and Bert Rockman, eds., *The Clinton Presidency: First Appraisals* (1996)

Thomas Ferguson, *Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Competition and the Logic of Money-Driven Political Systems* (1995), chs. 1-2

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

Carmines and Stimson, *Issue Evolution*, chs. 1, 6

Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, ch. 8

Recommended:

James Sundquist, *Dynamics of the Party System* (1983)

John R. Petrocik, "Realignment: New Party Coalitions and the Nationalization of the South," *Journal of Politics* 49:347-375 (1987)

Everett Carl Ladd, "Like Waiting for Godot: The Uselessness of 'Realignment' for Understanding Change in Contemporary American Politics," in Shafer, ed., *The End of Realignment? Interpreting American Electoral Eras* (1991)

Lawrence Dodd and Calvin Jillson, eds., *The Dynamics of American Politics*

Everett Carl Ladd, "1996 Vote: The 'No Majority' Realignment Continues," *Political Science Quarterly* 112 (1997): 1-28

William G. Mayer, "Changes in Elections and the Party System: 1992 in Historical Perspective," in Bryan D. Jones, ed., *The New American Politics: Reflections on Political Change and the Clinton Administration* (1995)

Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make* (1993)

Walter Dean Burnham, "Critical Realignment: Dead or Alive?" in Shafer ed., *The End of Realignment? Interpreting American Electoral Eras* (1991)

Walter Dean Burnham, "Pattern Recognition and 'Doing' Political History: Art, Science, or Bootless Enterprise?" in Lawrence C. Dodd and Calvin Jillson, eds., *The Dynamics of American Politics* (1994)

Calvin Jillson, "Patterns and Periodicity in American National Politics," in Lawrence C. Dodd and Calvin Jillson, eds., *The Dynamics of American Politics* (1994)

- Gerald H. Gamm, *The Making of New Deal Democrats: Voting Behavior and Realignment in Boston, 1920-1940* (1989)
- Paul Allen Beck, "A Socialization Theory of Partisan Realignment," in Richard Niemi, ed., *The Politics of Future Citizens* (1974)
- Paul Allen Beck, "The Electoral Cycle and the Patterns of American Politics," *British Journal of Political Science* (1979)
- Peter F. Drucker, "New Political Alignments in the Great Society," in Bertram M. Gross, ed., *A Great Society?*, ch. 7
- Edward G. Carmines, "Political Issues, Party Alignments, Spatial Models, and the Post-New Deal Party System," in Lawrence C. Dodd and Calvin Jillson, eds., *New Perspectives on American Politics* (1994)
- Thomas L. Brunell and Bernard Grofman, "Explaining Divided U.S. Senate Delegations, 1788-1996: A Realignment Approach," *American Political Science Review* 92 (1998): 391-99

3/4 The State as an Explanatory Variable

- Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, ch. 2 (1968)
- Claus Offe, "Competitive Party Democracy and the Keynesian Welfare State: Factors of Stability and Disorganization," *Policy Sciences* 15:225-46 (1983)
- Gianfranco Poggi, *The Development of the Modern State: A Sociological Introduction*, pp. 138-145 (1978)
- Shefter, *Political Parties and the State*, ch. 3
- Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities* (1982), pp. 8-14, 19-84, ch. 6, epilogue
- McCormick, *The Party Period*, ch. 4
- Sidney M. Milkis, "The Presidency and Political Parties," in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*, 3rd ed. (1992)
- Robert Eden, "The New Deal Reevaluation of Partisanship," in Peter W. Schramm and Bradford P. Wilson, eds., *American Political Parties and Constitutional Politics* (1993)
- Donald R. Brand, "Political Parties and the New Deal," in Schramm and Wilson, *American Political Parties and Constitutional Politics*

Recommended:

- Otto Kirchheimer, "The Transformation of Western European Party Systems," in Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, *Political Parties and Political Development* (1966)
- Sidney M. Milkis, *The President and The Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System Since the New Deal* (1993)
- John J. Coleman, *Party Decline in America: Policy, Politics, and the Fiscal State* (1996)
- Harvey C. Mansfield Jr., "Political Parties and American Constitutionalism," in Peter W. Schramm and Bradford P. Wilson, eds., *American Political Parties and Constitutional Politics* (1993)
- Kenneth Finegold and Theda Skocpol, *State and Party in America's New Deal* (1996)

3/18 Reforming More and Enjoying It Less?

- John F. Reynolds, *Testing Democracy: Electoral Behavior and Progressive Reform in New Jersey, 1880-1920* (1988), chs. 3, 6
- Amy Bridges, "Creating Cultures of Reform," *Studies in American Political Development* 8 (1994):1-23
- Everett Carl Ladd, "Party Reform and the Public Interest," *Political Science Quarterly* 101 (1987):355-69
- Howard L. Reiter, "The Limitations of Reform: Changes in the Nominating Process," *British Journal of Political Science* 15 (1987):399-417
- Harold F. Bass Jr., "Partisan Rules, 1946-1996," in Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Partisan Approaches to Postwar American Politics* (1998)
- Shefter, *Political Parties and the State*, ch. 2, 5
- Walter Dean Burnham, "The System of 1896: An Analysis," in Paul Kleppner, ed., *The Evolution of American Electoral Systems* (1981)

Recommended:

- Kenneth Finegold, *Experts and Politicians: Reform Challenges to Machine Politics in New York, Cleveland, and Chicago* (1995)
- David Plotke, "Party Reform as Failed Democratic Renewal in the United States, 1968-1972," *Studies in American Political Development* 10 (1996): 223-88
- William J. Crotty, "Party Reforms and Party Adaptability," in Eric M. Uslaner, ed., *American Political Parties: A Reader* (1993)
- Ronald F. King and Susan Ellis, "Partisan Advantage and Constitutional Change: The Case of the Seventeenth Amendment," *Studies in American Political Development* 10 (1996): 69-102
- J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910* (1974)

III. The Parties in Operation

3/25 Party Organization Old and New

- Gerald Pomper, *Passions and Interests*, ch. 5
- Steven Erie, *Rainbow's End: Irish-Americans and the Dilemmas of Urban Machine Politics, 1840-1985* (1988), TBA
- James L. Gibson, Cornelius P. Cotter, John F. Bibby, and Robert J. Huckshorn, "Assessing Party Organizational Strength," *American Journal of Political Science* 27 (1983):193-222
- John F. Bibby, "Party Organizations, 1946-1996," in Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Partisan Approaches to Postwar American Politics* (1998)
- Byron E. Shafer, "Partisan Elites, 1946-1996," in Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Partisan Approaches to Postwar American Politics* (1998)
- Aldrich, *Why Parties?* ch. 6
- Robert Huckfeldt and John Sprague, "Political Parties and Electoral Mobilization: Political Structure, Social Structure, and the Party Canvass," *American Political Science Review* 86 (1992): 70-86

Either of the following:

Michael Margolis and David Resnick, "Responsible Political Parties and the Decentering of American Metropolitan Areas," in *The State of the Parties: The Changing Role of Contemporary American Parties* (1996)

William C. Binning, Melanie J. Blumberg, and John C. Green, "Change Comes to Youngstown: Local Parties as Instruments of Power," in *The State of the Parties* (1996)

Recommended:

Shefter, *Political Parties and the State*, ch. 4

Alan Ware, *The Breakdown of Democratic Party Organization, 1940-1980* (1985)

Cornelius P. Cotter, James L. Gibson, John F. Bibby, and Robert J. Huckshorn, *Party Organizations in American Politics* (1984)

John J. Coleman, "Resurgent or Just Busy? Party Organizations in Contemporary America," in John C. Green and Daniel M. Shea, eds., *The State of the Parties* (1996)

Paul S. Herrnson, "The Revitalization of National Party Organizations," in Maisel, *The Parties Respond* (1994)

John J. Coleman, "Party Organizational Strength and Public Support for Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 40 (1996): 805-24

John F. Bibby, "State Party Organizations: Coping and Adapting," in L. Sandy Maisel, *The Parties Respond: Changes in the American Party System*, 2nd ed (1994)

James L. Gibson and Susan E. Scarrow, "State and Local Party Organizations in American Politics," in Eric M. Uslaner, ed., *American Political Parties: A Reader* (1993)

John P. Frendreis, James L. Gibson, and Laura L. Vertz, "The Electoral Relevance of Local Party Organizations," *American Political Science Review* 84 (1990):225-35

John C. Green and Daniel M. Shea, eds., *The State of the Parties*, any edition

Robert Harmel and Kenneth Janda, *Parties and Their Environments: Limits to Reform?*

James A. McCann, Ronald B. Rapoport, and Walter J. Stone, "Heeding the Call: An Assessment of Mobilization into H. Ross Perot's 1992 Presidential Campaign," *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (1999): 1-28

4/1 Parties in Congress

David W. Brady, "Critical Elections, Congressional Parties, and Clusters of Policy Changes," *British Journal of Political Science* 8:79-99 (1978)

Samuel C. Patterson and Gregory A. Caldeira, "Party Voting in the United States Congress," *British Journal of Political Science* 17:111-131 (1988)

Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, ch. 7

Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House* (1993), chs. 3, 6, 7, 10

Richard Fenno, *Learning to Govern* (1997)

Recommended:

- Melissa P. Collie, "Universalism and the Parties in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1921-1980," *American Journal of Political Science* 32:865-883 (1988)
- John J. Coleman, "The Decline and Resurgence of Congressional Party Conflict," *Journal of Politics* 59 (1997, 1)
- David W. Rohde, *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House* (1991)
- Eric Schickler and Andrew Rich, "Controlling the Floor: Parties as Procedural Coalitions in the House," *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (1997): 1340-75, with response by Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins and rejoinder by Schickler and Rice

4/8 Divided Government: A Non-Problem?

- Keith Krehbiel, "Institutional and Partisan Sources of Gridlock: A Theory of Divided and Unified Government," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 8(1996): 7-40
- Peter F. Galderisi, ed., *Divided Government: Change, Uncertainty, and the Constitutional Order* (1996), chs. by Silbey, Fiorina, Jacobson, Petrocik and Doherty, Rieselbach, Milkis, Herzberg
- Susanne Lohmann and Sharyn O'Halloran, "Divided Government and U.S. Trade Policy: Theory and Evidence," *International Organization* 48(1994): 595-632

Recommended:

- Morris P. Fiorina, *Divided Government* (1996)
- David R. Mayhew, *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-1990* (1991)
- John J. Coleman, "Unified Government, Divided Government, and Party Responsiveness," manuscript
- Paul Frymer, "Ideological Consensus within Divided Government," *Political Science Quarterly* 109(1994): 287-311
- Lee Sigelman, Paul J. Wahlbeck, and Emmett H. Buell Jr., "Vote Choice and the Preference for Divided Government: Lessons of 1992," *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (1997): 879-94
- Mark N. Franklin and Wolfgang P. Hirczy de Mino, "Separated Powers, Divided Government, and Turnout in U.S. Presidential Elections," *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (1998): 316-26

IV. Parties and Society

4/15 The Party Relationship With Groups and Movements

Any one of the following three:

Jack L. Walker, "Interests, Political Parties, and Policy Formation in American Democracy," in Donald T. Critchlow and Ellis W. Hawley, eds., *Federal Social Policy: The Historical Dimension* (1988)

Allan J. Cigler, "Political Parties and Interest Groups: Competitors, Collaborators, and Uneasy Allies," in Eric M. Uslaner, ed., *American Political Parties: A Reader* (1993)

Robert H. Salisbury, "Parties and Pluralism," in Eric M. Uslaner, *American Political Parties: A Reader* (1993)

Baer and Bositis, *Elite Cadres and Party Coalitions*, chs. 3-4

Anna Harvey, *Votes Without Leverage: Women in American Electoral Politics, 1920-1970* (1998), chs. 5-6

Shefter, *Political Parties and the State*, ch. 6

Nicol C. Rae, "Party Factionalism, 1946-1996," in Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Partisan Approaches to Postwar American Politics* (1998)

Larry M. Bartels, "Where the Ducks Are: Voting Power in a Party System," in Geer, *Politicians and Party Politics*

Thomas R. Rochon and Ikuo Kabashima, "Movement and Aftermath: Mobilization of the African American Electorate, 1952-1992," in Geer, *Politicians and Party Politics*

Recommended:

Charles W. Wiggins, Keith E. Hamm, and Charles G. Bell, "Interest Group and Party Influence Agents in the Legislative Process: A Comparative Analysis," *Journal of Politics* 54 (1992):83-100

Howard L. Reiter, "The Rise of the 'New Agenda' and the Decline of Partisanship," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (1991)

Edward G. Carmines and Geoffrey Layman, "Issue Evolution in Postwar American Politics: Old Certainties and Fresh Tensions," in Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Present Discontents: American Politics in the Very Late Twentieth Century* (1997)

Geoffrey Layman and Edward G. Carmines, "Cultural Conflict in American Politics: Religious Traditionalism, Postmaterialism, and U.S. Political Behavior," *Journal of Politics* 59 (1997): 751-77

E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semi-Sovereign People* (1960)

Kristi Andersen, *After Suffrage: Women in Partisan and Electoral Politics before the New Deal* (1996)

Byron Shafer and William Claggett, *The Two Majorities: The Issue Context of Modern American Politics* (1995)

Paul Frymer and John David Skrentny, "Coalition-Building and the Politics of Electoral Capture During the Nixon Administration: African Americans, Labor, Latinos," *Studies in American Political Development* 12 (1998): 131-61

- William G. Mayer, "Mass Partisanship, 1946-1996," in Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Partisan Approaches to Postwar American Politics* (1998)
- John Zaller, "Politicians as Prize Fighters: Electoral Selection and Incumbency Advantage," in Geer, *Politicians and Party Politics*
- John G. Geer, "Campaigns, Party Competition, and Political Advertising," in Geer, *Politicians and Party Politics*
- James DeNardo, "The Turnout Crash of 1992: Hard-Won Lessons in Electoral Interpretation," in Geer, *Politicians and Party Politics*
- Richard Fleisher and Jon R. Bond, "Why Has Party Conflict among Elites Increased if the Electorate is Dealigning?" paper prepared for the 1996 annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association
- Robert S. Erikson, Gerald C. Wright, John P. McIver, *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States*, ch. 8
- Michael B. MacKuen, Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson, "Macropartisanship," *American Political Science Review* 83 (1989): 1125-42
- Geoffrey C. Layman, "Religion and Political Behavior in the United States," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 61 (1997): 288-316

Recommended:

- Michael E. McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865-1928* (1986)
- Anna L. Harvey, "The Political Economy of Minor Party Support," paper prepared for the 1997 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association
- John Zaller and Mark Hunt, "The Rise and Fall of Candidate Perot: Unmediated Versus Mediated Politics—Part I," *Political Communication* 11 (1994): 357-90
- Alan I. Abramowitz, "Issue Evolution Reconsidered: Racial Attitudes and Partisanship in the U.S. Electorate." *American Journal of Political Science* 38 (1994): 1-24
- John J. Coleman, "Party Images and Candidate-Centered Campaigns in 1996: What's Money Got to Do With It?" in Daniel M. Shea and John C. Green, eds., *The State of the Parties*. 3rd ed. (1998)
- Jack Dennis, "Political Independence in America," parts 1, 2, and 3: *British Journal of Political Science* 18 (1988): 77-109; *British Journal of Political Science* 18 (1988): 197-219; *Political Behavior* 14 (1992): 261-296
- Charles H. Franklin, "Measurement and the Dynamics of Party Identification," *Political Behavior* 14 (1992)
- Alan Gerber and Donald P. Green, "Rational Learning and Partisan Attitudes," *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (1998): 794-818
- John J. Coleman, "The Importance of Being Republican: Forecasting Party Fortunes in House Midterm Elections," *Journal of Politics* 59 (1997): 497-519
- Robert C. Luskin, John P. McIver, and Edward G. Carmines, "Issues and the Transmission of Partisanship," *American Journal of Political Science* 33 (1989): 440-58
- Paul R. Abramson and Charles W. Ostrom, "Macropartisanship: An Empirical Reassessment," *American Political Science Review* 85 (1991): 181-92

- Paul R. Abramson and Charles W. Ostrom, "Question Wording and Partisanship: Change and Continuity in Party Loyalties during the 1992 Election Campaign," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 58 (1994): 21-48
- Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler, "Macropartisanship: A Replication and Critique," *American Political Science Review* 92 (1998): 883-99
- Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. Mackuen, and James A. Stimson, "What Moves Macropartisanship? A Response to Green, Palmquist, and Schickler," *American Political Science Review* 92 (1998): 901-12
- Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Kathleen Knight, and Lee Sigelman, "The Interplay of Macropartisanship and Macroideology: A Time Series Analysis," *Journal of Politics* 60 (1998): 1031-49
- Martin Wattenberg, *The Decline of American Political Parties, 1952-1996* (1998)
- John E. Stanga and James F. Sheffield, "The Myth of Zero Partisanship: Attitudes toward American Political Parties, 1964-84," *American Journal of Political Science* 31 (1987):829-855
- Burnham-Rusk-Converse debate on nineteenth-century political parties:
 "The Changing Shape of the American Political Universe," *American Political Science Review* 59 (1965):7-28 [Walter Dean Burnham]
 "The Effect of the Australian Ballot Reform on Split-Ticket Voting, 1876-1908," *American Political Science Review* 64 (1970):1220-1238 [Jerrold Rusk]
 "Change in the American Electorate," in *The Human Meaning of Social Change*, ed. Angus Campbell and Philip E. Converse (1972), pp. 263-301 esp. [Philip Converse]
 "Theory and Voting Research: Some Reflections on Converse's 'Change in the American Electorate,'" *American Political Science Review* 68 (1974):1002-1023 [Burnham]
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- Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (1993)
- Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich, and Phil Paolino, "Third-Party and Independent Candidates in American Politics: Wallace, Anderson, and Perot," *Political Science Quarterly* 110 (1995): 349-67

Carmines and Stimson, *Issue Evolution*, chs. 2, 3 (1989)

Any one of the following:

Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr., *The American Political Economy: Macroeconomics and Electoral Politics* (1987), ch. 7

Gretchen Ritter, *Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance in America, 1865-1896*, ch. 2

Geoffrey Garrett, *Partisan Politics in the Global Economy* (1998), ch. 6

Ian Budge and Richard I. Hofferbert, "Mandates and Policy Outputs: U.S. Party Platforms and Federal Expenditures," *American Political Science Review* 84 (1990): 111-32

Elisabeth R. Gerber and John E. Jackson, "Endogenous Preferences and the Study of Institutions," *American Political Science Review* 87(1993): 639-56

Richard J. Ellis and Stephen Kirk, "Presidential Mandates in the Nineteenth Century: Conceptual Change and Institutional Development," *Studies in American Political Development* 9 (1995): 117-86

Robert A. Dahl, "Myth of the Presidential Mandate," in John G. Geer, *Politicians and Party Politics* (1998)

Robert S. Erikson, Gerald C. Wright, John P. McIver, *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States*, ch. 6

Either of the following:

Scott C. James, "Building a Democratic Majority: The Progressive Party Vote and the Federal Trade Commission," *Studies in American Political Development* 9 (1995): 331-85

Christopher Howard, "Protean Lure for the Working Poor: Party Competition and the Earned Income Tax Credit," *Studies in American Political Development* 9 (1995): 404-36

Recommended:

Margaret Weir, "Political Parties and Social Policymaking," in Margaret Weir, ed., *The Social Divide: Political Parties and the Future of Activist Government* (1998)

John Gerring, "Party Ideology in America: The National Republican Chapter, 1828-1924," *Studies in American Political Development* 11 (1997): 44-108

Charles Stewart and Barry Weingast, "Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation: Republican Rotten Boroughs, Statehood Politics, and American Political Development," *Studies in American Political Development* 7 (1993)

Alan Stone, "Capitalism, Case Studies, and Public Policy: Trade Expansion Re-examined," in Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers, eds., *The Political Economy: Readings in the Politics and Economics of American Public Policy* (1984)

Scott C. James, "A Party System Perspective on the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887: The Democracy, Electoral College Competition, and the Politics of Coalition Maintenance." *Studies in American Political Development* 6 (1992): 163-200

Sharyn O'Halloran, *Politics, Process, and American Trade Policy* (1994)

Daniel Verdier, *Democracy and International Trade: Britain, France, and the United States, 1860-1990* (1994)

Thomas Ferguson, *Golden Rule* (1995)

John Gerring, *Party Ideologies in America, 1828-1996* (1998)
Mark A. Smith, "The Nature of Party Governance: Connecting Conceptualization
and Measurement," *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (1997):
1042-56

5/6 Conclusion

This week is open for follow-up discussions and informal presentation of research results.
Reading will be arranged in the preceding week.