

### **American Political Parties and Elections**

First, this great and glorious country was built up by political parties; second, parties can't hold together if their workers don't get the offices when they win; third, if the parties go to pieces, the government they built up must go to pieces, too; fourth, then, there'll be h-- to pay.

--George Washington Plunkitt  
Ward Boss of Tammany Hall

This seminar undertakes a comprehensive examination of American political parties and elections. It reviews the major research on the subject and the principal approaches to studying it. Most of the focus is on American parties, however, comparisons may be drawn with political parties in other western democracies. The topics to be discussed include: party organization, election campaigns, party identification and voting behavior, parties in government, and parties as a source of continuity and a vehicle for change.

The goals of the seminar are to critically discuss the literature on political parties and elections, to develop ideas for research in the subfield, and to practice the professional skills used in academia.

#### **PREREQUISITES:**

There are no formal prerequisites for the course, but students are expected to have a basic knowledge of the subject. Those who have not taken an undergraduate course in political parties and elections may find it helpful to read a standard parties text, such as Beck (listed below).

#### **TEXTBOOKS:**

John H. Aldrich, *WHY PARTIES?*, University of Chicago, 1995.

Leon D. Epstein, *POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE AMERICAN MOLD*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1986.

Paul S. Herrnson, *CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS: CAMPAIGNING AT HOME AND IN WASHINGTON*, CQ Press, 1998 (on reserve).

Thomas M. Holbrook, *DO CAMPAIGNS MATTER?*, Sage, 1996.

Bruce E. Keith, et al., *THE MYTH OF THE INDEPENDENT VOTER*, Berkeley, 1992.

Paul Allen Beck, *PARTY POLITICS IN AMERICA*, Scott, Foresman, any ed. (optional).

Gary C. Jacobson, *THE POLITICS OF CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS*, HarperCollins, 1997 (optional).

### **OTHER READING ASSIGNMENTS:**

Other assignments include articles that can be found in the major political science journals and readings that have been placed on reserve at the library. Additional readings may be assigned as the semester progresses.

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

Evaluations will be based on three sets of exercises:

- 1) research paper (50%),
- 2) book review and critical reviews of two journal manuscripts (20%),
- 3) seminar participation and participation in a mini-conference (20%).
- 4) annotated bibliography (10%)

Students can write either a research paper or a literature review/research design paper. The paper should be of conference paper length (approximately 25 pages) and seek to make a contribution to our understanding of American political parties. The paper is due December 1st.

### **COURSE OUTLINE:**

September 3 Introduction

September 10 Conceptual Issues, Normative Concerns, and Research Approaches

Epstein, chs. 1-2

APSA Committee on Political Parties, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System,"  
APSR 44, supplement (1950)

Evron M. Kirkpatrick, "'Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System': Political Science,  
Policy Science, or Pseudo-Science?" APSR 65 (1971): 965-990

September 17 Parties in the American Setting and Party Development

THE FEDERALIST PAPERS, no. 10 (on reserve)

Aldrich, entire book

Epstein, chs. 5-7

September 24 Contemporary Party Organizations

Frank J. Sorauf, "Political Parties and Political Action Committees" ARIZONA LAW REVIEW 22 (1980): 445-464.

Robert J. Huckshorn, James L. Gibson, Cornelius P. Cotter, and John F. Bibby, "Party Integration and Party Organizational Strength," JOP 48 (1986): 976-991

Robert Huckfeldt and John Sprague, "Political Parties and Electoral Mobilization," APSR 86 (1992): 70-86.

Joseph A. Schlesinger, "The New American Political Party," APSR 79 (1985): 1152-1169.

\*Roundtable on research (bring hypotheses for discussion)

#### October 1 Presidential Elections

Epstein, ch. 4

Ceaser, Introduction (on reserve)

James I. Lingle and Byron Shafer, "Primary Rules, Political Power, and Social Change," APSR 70 (1976): 25-40

Jeane Kirkpatrick, "Representation in the American National Conventions," BJPS 19 (1975): 265-332

Larry M. Bartels, "Candidate Choice and the Dynamics of the Presidential Nomination Process," AJPS (1987): 1-30

James I. Lingle, Diana Owen, and Molly W. Sonner, "Divisive Nominating Mechanisms and Democratic Party Electoral Politics," JOP 57 (1995): 370-383.

Holbrook, entire book

\*Roundtable on research (bring hypotheses for discussion)

#### October 8 The Context and Financing of Congressional Elections

Epstein, chs. 9-10.

Herrnson, Introduction, chs.1-6 (on reserve)

Gary C. Jacobson, "The Effects of Campaigns Spending in House Elections," and Donald Philip Green and Jonathon S. Krasno "Rebuttal," AJPS 34 (1990): 334-372

\*Roundtable on research (bring hypotheses for discussion)

#### October 15 Congressional Election Campaigns and Outcomes

Herrnson, chs.7-9,11 (on reserve)

Darrell M. West, "Political Advertising and New Coverage in the 1992 California U.S. Senate Campaigns," JOP (1994): 1053-1075

Gary W. Cox and Jonathan Katz, "Why Did the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections Grow?, AJPS 40 (1996): 478-497

\*Manuscript review due in class

#### October 22 Party Identification and Voting Behavior

Epstein, ch. 8

Keith et al., entire book

Benjamin I. Page and Calvin C. Jones, "Reciprocal Effects on Policy Preferences, Party Loyalities and the Vote," *APSR* 73 (1979): 1071-1090

Benjamin Radcliff, "Solving a Puzzle: Aggregate Analysis and Economic Voting Revisited," *JOP* 50 (1988) :440-455

Stephen Ansolabehere, Shanto Iyengar, Adam Simon, and Nicholas Valentino, "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?," *APSR* (1994): 829-838

\*Discuss paper proposals, which are due in class

#### October 29 Parties in Government

Epstein, ch.3

Lewis A. Froman, Jr. and Randall B. Ripley, "Conditions for Party Leadership," *APSR* 59 (1965): 52-63

Charles O. Jones, "Joseph B. Cannon and Howard W. Smith," *JOP* 30 (1968): 617-646

Barbara Sinclair, "The Emergence of Strong Leadership in The 1980s House of Representatives," *JOP* 54 (1992): 657-684

James G. Gimpel, *FULFILLING THE CONTRACT*, ch. 3 (on reserve)

Barbara Hinckley, "Coalitions in Congress," *APQ* 1 (1973): 339-359

Richard Fleisher and Jon R. Bond, "Assessing Presidential Support in the House," *JOP* 45 (1983): 745-758

George C. Edwards, Andrew Barrett, Jeffrey Peake, "The Legislative Impact of Divided Government," *AJPS* 41 (1997): 545-563.

Herbert Weisberg, "Evaluating Theories of Congressional Roll-Call Voting," *AJPS* 22 (1978): 554-577

\*Book review due in class

#### November 5 Parties and Continuity and Change in American Politics

V.O. Key, Jr., "A Theory of Critical Elections," *JOP* 17 (1955): 3-18

Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson, "On the Structure and Sequence of Issue Evolution," *APSR* 80 (1986): 901-920

Herrnson, ch. 10

Barbara Sinclair, "Political Upheaval and Congressional Voting," JOP 47 (1976): 326-345  
Stuart Elaine McDonald and George Rabinowitz, "The Dynamics of Structural Realignment,"

APSR 81 (1987): 775-796

Benjamin Ginsberg, "Elections and Public Policy," APSR 70 (1976): 41-49

Read and report on one of the following:

Walter Dean Burnham, CRITICAL ELECTIONS, Norton, 1970

Jerome M. Clubb, William H. Flanigan, and Nancy H. Zingale, PARTISAN REALIGNMENT,  
Sage, 1980

Everett Carl Ladd, Jr. with Charles D. Hadley, TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE AMERICAN  
PARTY SYSTEM, Norton, 1975

James L. Sundquist, DYNAMICS OF THE PARTY SYSTEM,  
Brookings, 1973

\*Manuscript review due in class

November 12-26 Individual Research Consultations (No Class)

December 1 \*Distribute papers to departmental mailboxes by 10:00  
am. One copy for each student. Two copies for the instructor.

December 3 Mini-Conference: Session I

December 10 Mini-Conference: Session II and Course Summary

\*Annotated bibliographies due in class