

Course Description

This course looks at different conceptions of political parties, and their varying activities. Although the focus is largely on the United States, we will attempt some comparative perspective, particularly in regard to western democracies. The purpose is to deal with three questions: What meanings, purposes and functions are attributed to parties? Empirically, what do parties actually do? How well do the different conceptions and activities of parties fit with theories of democratic politics?

Currently, the academic study of political parties abounds in new and competing concepts. Among the major models of parties, we will be examining them as bureaucratic organizations (and machines), as rational actors, as ideological associations, voter coalitions, and governmental institutions. At the same time, the empirical significance of parties is sharply challenged. We will examine some of these challenges as we look at party activities such as candidate selection, campaigning, and policymaking.

Course requirements include three major tasks:

(1) The core of the seminar is the weekly meetings. It is critical that you read the assigned work for each week before the class meets, and that you be prepared to ask - and answer - questions about the week's topic. If you can use a basic text, buy Paul Beck, Party Politics in America, 8th ed. (Longman, 1997)

(2) For each half of the course, you should select one of the listed optional readings, and do an analytic oral report. You can choose among items marked #, subject to negotiation with the rest of the class. Your oral report should be summarized on one typed sheet for class distribution.

About the time of each report, you should also write a short paper (2-4 typed pages), discussing an analytic question on the relevant weekly topic, building on your particular reading. One of these papers should focus on the empirical contributions of the book, the other on its contributions to theoretical analysis of political parties, and both on their implications for the world of politics generally. The papers should be completed no later than, respectively, February 27 and April 10.

(3) Individual research reports - presented both orally (April 17 and 24) and in writing (by May 8) - should delve more deeply into one of the conceptions or activities of political parties. Collaborative work is acceptable, even desirable. Topic selection is required by March 13.

A key requirement for this research is that it involve contact with actual party politicians, physically if possible, imaginatively at least. Illustrative topics might include: (a) Observation of party organization meetings; (b) Interviews with party officials, local, state, national, or foreign; (c) Analysis of how a practicing politician conceived of parties, using the categories of this seminar or others; (d) Anything else, after discussion.

Political Parties

Spring, 1997

Topics and Readings

- (** Required reading, for purchase)
 (* Required reading, in copies on reserve)
 (# Optional reading, suitable for reports)

1. The Study of Political Parties (January 23)

- *Leon Epstein, "Research Directions"
 **John Aldrich, Why Parties?, chap. 1
 (Gerald Pomper, Passions and Interests, chap. 1)

2. Theories of Political Parties (January 30)

- **Aldrich, chap. 2
 **Epstein, Political Parties in Western Democracies, [PPWD], chap. 1
 *Joseph Schlesinger, "Understanding Political Parties,"
 *William Wright, "Comparative Party Models"
 *Richard Katz, Peter Mair, and Ruud Koole, "The Cartel Party Model," Party Politics
 (1995-96)

3. Party Theory and Democratic Theory (February 6)

- *Robert Michels, Political Parties, I:A; I: B:2-4; III:1; VI:1,2,4 [Optional book for purchase]
 **Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy, chap. 2
 *Hans-Dieter Klingemann, et. al., Parties, Policies, and Democracy, chap. 2
 **Epstein, PPWD, chap. 2

- #E. E. Schattschneider, Party Government
 #Kay Lawson, Political Parties and Linkage
 #Donald Weatherman, Endangered Guardians
 Max Weber, Politics as a Vocation
 Giovanni Sartori, Parties and Party Svstems
 Maurice Duverger, Political Parties
 Denise Baer and David Bositis, Elite Cadres and Party Coalitions
 Pierre Bourdieu, The Logic of Practice

4. Party Environments: Society, Constitution, Laws (February 13)

- **Aldrich, Part 2 (PP. 65-156)
 *Epstein, "Parties as Public Utilities"
 **A. James Reichley, "The Future of the American Two-Party System," in J. Green and D. Shea, The State of the Parties [SOP]

**Joel Silbey, "The Rise and Fall of American Political Parties," in Sandy Maisel, The Parties Respond [TPR]

#V.O. Key, Southern Politics

#Richard Hofstadter, The Idea of a Party System

#Richard P. McCormick, The Presidential Game

#Arend Lijphart, Electoral Systems and Party Systems

Douglas Rae, The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws

Robert Harmel and Kenneth Janda, Parties and Their Environments

Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson, Controversies in Minority Voting

Paul Beck, "Environment and Party," APSR (1974), 1229-44

A. James Reichley, The Life of the Parties

Patricia Bonomi, The American Constitutional System under Strong and Weak Parties

Leon Epstein, Political Parties in the American Mold

Alan Rosenthal and Maureen Moakley, The Political Life of the American States

Jack Dennis, "Changing Public Support for the American Party System," in William Crotty, Paths to Political Reform

Paul Klepner, The Evolution of American Electoral Systems

William Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham, The American Party Systems

David Mayhew, Placing Parties in American Politics

5. Party Bureaucracy and Party Organization (February 20)

*Richard Katz and Robin Kolodny, "Party Organization as an Empty Vessel"

**"State Party Organizations," TPR

**Green and Shea, SOP, Part V

**Paul Herrnson, "The Revitalization of National Party Organizations," TPR

**Epstein, PPWD, chaps. 5, 9

(Pomper, Passions and Interests, chap. 2)

#Philip Klinkner, The Losing Parties

#Paul Herrnson, Party Campaigning in the 1980s

#Anthony Corrado, Paying for Presidents

#Angelo Panebianco, Political Parties: Organization and Power

Susan Scarrow, Organizing for Victory

Stephen Salmore and Barbara Salmore, Candidates, Parties and Campaigns

Xandra Kayden, Campaign Organization

Paul Herrnson, "Do Parties Make a Difference?," JOP (1986), 589-614

Denise Baer, "Party Institutionalization and Theories of Party Organization," American Review of Politics (1993), 1-38

Joseph Schlesinger, Political Parties and Winning Office

Sidney Blumental, The Permanent Campaign

Larry Sabato, The Party's Just Begun

Michael Malbin, Parties, Interest Groups and Campaign Finance Laws

Herbert Alexander, Public Financing of State Elections

Frank Sorauf, Inside Campaign Finance

Brooks Jackson, Honest Graft

Richard Katz and Peter Mair, How Parties Organize

6. The Urban Machine: Party as Interest Group (February 27)

**William Riordan, Plunkitt of Tammany Hall, ed. Terrence McDonald
at least pp. 49-59, 62-66, 87-92, 97-102, 117-134

*Moisei Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, Vol. II, Part 5, chaps. 6,7

*Michael Johnston, "Patrons and Clients, Jobs and Machines," APSR (1979), 385-98
(Pomper, Passions and Interests, chap. 5)

#Henry Jones Ford, The Rise and Growth of American Politics

#Steven Erie, Rainbow's End

#Jack Beatty, The Rascal King

James Q. Wilson, Political Organizations, chap. 6

Harold Gosnell, Machine Politics: Chicago Model, 2d ed.

Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure

Mike Royko, Boss

Amy Bridges, A City in the Republic: Antebellum New York and the Origins of Machine Politics

Thomas Guterbock, Machine Politics in Transition

Peter Clark and James Q. Wilson, "Incentive Systems: A Theory of Organization," American Sociological Q. (1961), 219-66

Kenneth Mladenka, "The Urban Bureaucracy and the Chicago Political Machine," APSR (1980), 991-98

Ray Wolfinger, "Why Political Machines Have Not Withered Away " JOP (1972), 365-98

7. Parties as Rational Office-Seekers (March 6)

**Downs, chaps. 3, 4, 5

*Joseph Schlesinger, "On the Theory of Party Organization," JOP (1984), 369-400

**Green and Shea, SOP, Part II: #5,6,7,8,9,12; Part III:#14

**Frank Sorauf and James Wilson, "Political Parties and Campaign Finance," in Maisel, TPR

(Pomper, Passions and Interests, chap. 6)

#Robert Remini, Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party

#Gary Jacobson and Samuel Kernell, Strategy and Choice in Congressional Elections

#Susan Carroll, Women Candidates for Political Office

David Price, Bringing Back the Parties

Daniel Katz and Samuel Eldersveld, "The Impact of Local Party Activity on the Electorate," Public Opinion Quarterly (1961), 1-24

Bruce Cain, et al., The Personal Vote

John Frenreis et al., "The Electoral Relevance of Local Party Organizations," APSR (1990), 226-35

Jo Freeman, "The Political Culture of Democratic and Republican Parties," Political Science Quarterly (1986), 327-56

Steven Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, Mobilization, Participation and Democracy

Gregory Caldiera et al., "The Mobilization of Voters in Congressional Elections," JOP (1985), 490-509

Peter Weilhauer and Brad Lockerbie, "Party Contacting and Political Participation," AJPS (1994), 211-29

8. Candidate Selection (March 13)

**Epstein, PPWD, chaps. 7, 8

**Maisel, "Nomination Politics," TPR

**Elaine Kamarck "The Rules Do Matter," TPR

*Larry Bartels, "Candidate Choice and the Dynamics of the Presidential Nominating Process," AJPS (1987), 1-30

#Larry Bartels, Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice

#James Ceaser, Presidential Selection

#Byron Shafer, Quiet Revolution

Jean Kirkpatrick, The New Presidential Elite

John Aldrich, Before the Convention

Thomas Marshall, Presidential Nominations in a Reform Age

Scott Keeter and Cliff Zukin, Uninformed Choice

Howard Reiter, Selecting the President

Malcolm Jewell, Parties and Primaries

Gary Orren and Nelson Polsby, Media and Momentum

Paul Abramson, "Sophisticated Voting in the 1988 Presidential Primaries," APSR (1992)

Selection of Individual/Group Report Topics Due: March 13

9. Party Programs and Ideologies (March 27)

**Aldrich, chap. 6

**Epstein, PPWD, chaps. 10, 11

**Green and Shea, SOP, Part IV

**John White and John Green, The Politics of Ideas, chaps. 4, 5

*Ian Budge, "Parties, Programs and Policies"

(Pomper, Passions and Interests, chap. 4)

#Hans-Dieter Klingemann et. al., Parties, Policies, and Democracy

#Ronald Rapoport, et al., The Life of the Parties

#Henry Chappell and William Keech, "Policy Motivation and Party Differences," APSR (1986), 881-900; and

#Ian Budge, "A New Spatial Theory of Party Competition," British Journal of Political Science (1994), 443-67; and

#Rebecca Morton, "Incomplete Information and Ideological Explanations of Platform Divergence," APSR (1993), 382-92

Alan Abramowitz and Walter Stone, Nomination Politics

Alan Ware, Breakdown of Democratic Party Organization

Warren Miller and Kent Jennings, Parties in Transition

Herbert McClosky et al., "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers," APSR (1960), 406-27

Robert Montjoy, "Policy Preferences of Party Elites and Masses," American Politics Quarterly (1980), 319-43

Lawrence Goodwyn, The Populist Moment

John Gerring, "The 19th Century Democratic Party," Polity (1994), 729-68

10. Party Government (April 3)

**Aldrich, chap. 7

**Downs, chaps. 6, 7, 8, 10

**Epstein, PPWD, chap. 12

**Walter Stone et al., "Party Polarization," in Maisel, TPR

**Barbara Sinclair, "Parties in Congress," in Maisel, TPR

**David Brady and Kara Buckley, "Coalitions and Policy in the U.S. Congress," in Maisel, TPR

(Pomper, Passions and Interests, chap. 3)

#Richard Rose, Do Parties Make a Difference?

#Austin Ranney, Doctrine of Responsible Party Government

#Jeff Fishel, Presidents and Promises

#David Mayhew, Divided We Govern

#John White and Jerome Mileur, Challenges to Party Government

Sidney Milkis, The President and the Parties

Barbara and Stephen Salmore, "The Transformation of State Electoral Politics," Carl Van Horn, State of the States

Julius Turner and Edward Schneier, Party and Constituency

Benjamin Ginsburg and Martin Shefter, Politics by Other Means

Ian Budge and Richard Hofferbert, "Mandates and Policy Outputs," APSR (1990), 111-31; (1993), 744-50

Morris Fiorina, Divided Government

David Rhode, Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House

Barbara Sinclair, The Transformation of the U.S. Senate

Gerald Pomper and Susan Lederman, Elections in America

Richard Elling, "State Party Platforms and State Legislative Performance," AJPS (1979), 383-405

Alan Monroe, "American Party Platforms and Public Opinion," AJPS (1983), 27-42

Francis Castles, The Impact of Parties

11. Parties and Voters (April 10)

**Maisel, TPR, chaps. 5,6,9,11

**Epstein, PPWD, chap. 4

*Everett Ladd and W. D. Burnham, The End of Realignment?
(Pomper, Passions and Interests, chap. 7)

#Martin Wattenberg, Decline of American Political Parties

#Edward Carmines and James Stimson, Issue Evolution

#William Galston and Elaine Kamarck, The Politics of Evasion

#Ruy Teixeira, Why Americans Don't Vote

Paul Beck, "Incomplete Realignment," in Charles Jones, The Reagan Legacy, chap. 5

Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, Vol. II, chap 10

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

Walter Dean Burnham, Critical Elections

Jerome Clubb et al., Partisan Realignment

Stuart MacDonald and George Rabinowitz, "Dynamics of Structural Realignment,"

APSR (1987), 775-96

John White, The New Politics of Old Values

Angus Campbell, et al., The American Voter

Paul Abramson, et al., Change and Continuity in the 1992 Elections

Morris Fiorina, Retrospective Voting in American National Elections

Norman Nie, et al., The New American Voter

David Baron, "Electoral Competition with Informed and Uninformed Voters," APSR
(1994), 33-44

Paul Kleppner, Who Voted?

Ray Wolfinger and Steven Rosenstone, Who Votes?

Francis Piven and Richard Cloward, Why Americans Don't Vote

Ian Budge and David Farlie, Explaining and Predicting Elections

12. Party Systems: U. S. and the World (April 17)

**Epstein, PPWD, chap. 3

*Kay Lawson, "Renewing Party Scholarship: Lessons from Abroad"

*Angelo Panebianco, Political Parties: Organization and Power, chap. 14

*Kaare Strom, "A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties," AJPS (1990),
565-90

#Pippa Norris, Party Recruitment

#John Courtney, Do Conventions Matter? Choosing National Party Leaders in
Canada

#Ian Budge et. al., Ideology, Strategy, and Party Change

David Robertson, The Theory of Party Competition

Ian Budge and Hans Keman, Parties and Democracy

Sigmund Neumann, Modern Political Parties

Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan, Party Systems and Voter Alignments

Patrick Seyd, Labour's Grass Roots

Paul Whitely, True Blues
Hans Daalder and Peter Mair, Western European Party Svstems
Russell Dalton, Citizen Politics in Western Democracies
Alan Ware, Citizens Parties and the State
Robert MacKenzie, British Political Parties

13. Research Reports on Parties (April 24)

14. Party Trends, Party Reform and Democracy (May 1)

**Aldrich, chaps. 8, 9

**John White and John Green, The Politics of Ideas, chaps. 2, 3

**Epstein, PPWD, chap. 13, Postscript

**Theodore Lowi, "Toward a Responsible Three-Party System," SOP

**Sandy Maisel, "Political Parties at Century's End," TRP
(Pomper, Passions and Interests, chaps. 8, 9)

Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, Vol. II, chap 11

Gerald Pomper, Party Renewal in America

Joseph Schlesinger, "The New American Political Party," APSR (1985), 1152-69

Kay Lawson and Peter Merkl, When Parties Fail

Richard L. McCormick, Political Parties and Modern State

Xandra Kayden and Eddie Mahe, The Party Goes On

Austin Ranney, Curing the Mischiefs of Faction

James Ceaser, Reforming the Reforms

William Crotty, Party Reform

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

Leon Epstein, "What Happened to the British Party Model?," APSR (1980), 9-22

Alexander Bickel, The New Age of Political Reform

U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, The Transformation in American Politics

Written Reports Due: May 8

Reserve Articles: Political Science 572

*Larry Bartels, "Candidate Choice and the Dynamics of the Presidential Nominating Process"

*Ian Budge, "Parties, Programs and Policies"

*Leon Epstein, "Research Directions"

*Epstein, "Parties as Public Utilities"

*Michael Johnston, "Patrons and Clients, Jobs and Machines,"

*Richard Katz and Robin Kolodny, "Party Organization as an Empty Vessel"

*Richard Katz, Peter Mair, and Ruud Koole, "The Cartel Party Model,"

*Hans-Dieter Klingemann, et. al., Parties, Policies, and Democracy

*Everett Ladd and W. D. Burnham, The End of Realignment?

*Kay Lawson, "Renewing Party Scholarship: Lessons from Abroad"

*Robert Michels, Political Parties

*Moisei Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties

*Angelo Panebianco, Political Parties: Organization and Power

*Joseph Schlesinger, "Understanding Political Parties,"

*Joseph Schlesinger, "On the Theory of Party Organization"

*Kaare Strom, "A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties"

*William Wright, "Comparative Party Models"