

**POLITICAL SCIENCE 100C WINTER 2020**

**AMERICAN (U.S.) POLITICAL PARTIES**

**T Th 12:30-1:50 Center 113**

**Final: Tuesday, March 17, 11:30-2:29 PM NO EARLY FINAL!!!!!!!!!!**

Note: minor changes (especially given still unpublished, new research on elections) may be made to this syllabus throughout the quarter.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 CANVAS (page).

**Instructor:** Peter Galderisi, SSB 449

Office Hours: T Th 2:15-4 (starting week 2) [pgalderisi@ucsd.edu](mailto:pgalderisi@ucsd.edu)

Please feel free to email me with questions/concerns at any time. I generally read my emails each morning and early evening until 6 PM (Sundays excluded).

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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 their modern surrogates (primary combatants? dark money), 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, complicated, sometimes discouraging, and increasingly polarized state. We will discuss the transformation of campaigning, nominating, and financing elections, and the role of parties and other institutions (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, new media venue (can we say "Twitter"?), reality shows, the demise of the English language, etc.

The major thematic focus of this course 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. We have drained the swamp and found, well, more swamp. 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 day* as the lectures progress.

One thematic text is required and can be purchased online. It highlights an increasingly important theme--polarization:

Abramowitz, *The Great Alignment: Race, Party Transformation, and the Rise of Donald Trump*

A course reader is available for purchase from Cognella Press (Order online at <https://store.cognella.com/22041> -- the first few selections (20-30%) will be available through an online link to get you started with the course. Note that this is a new edition with a few deleted and a few added essays since the last.

In addition, to reduce costs, several other essays of various lengths will be required and will be available online either directly through the UCSD library server (access on campus or at home through a VPN connection).

Directions for different platforms/operating systems can be found at:

<http://blink.ucsd.edu/technology/network/connections/off-campus/VPN/index.html>



## **POLICY ON CHEATING and PLAGIARISM**

### **Failure--no exceptions.**

“Cheating” includes copying from someone during the in-class exam or the take home final. 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 final essay, either in preparation or final production, is strictly forbidden.

“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.

If you are not sure about what qualifies as cheating or plagiarism, please ask me to clarify and/or review the university policy:

<http://academicintegrity.ucsd.edu/excel-integrity/define-cheating/index.html>

## **INCOMPLETES**

The university grants us precious little discretion here. To qualify for an incomplete, I must demonstrate that you have been doing passable work (so you must have taken the midterm and passed it) and you must demonstrate a reason for requesting an incomplete that conforms to university guidelines (documented illness, death or emergency in the family, unexpected military deployment, etc.). Again, the university makes this decision—not me nor the graders.

## **OSD ACCOMMODATIONS**

As per University and Federal regulations, all accommodation requests made through OSD certification will be honored. Please remind the professor one week before any quiz or exam date.

## **“SPECIAL” REQUESTS:**

Most of you know that I am already fairly generous with grades. Please do not ask me to change grades because you “need them” to:

- maintain a scholarship
- retain your enrollment at the university
- impress your parents
- get into Harvard Law School

You will be graded on the merits of your work, not on your needs.

**TENTATIVE OUTLINE OF READINGS:** Available in your University Reader unless marked by an \*. The latter (\*) can be accessed directly (“free online at”) or on campus or at home through a VPN. If on campus, make sure you are connected via the secured, not guest wireless connections.

- Please let me know if you have trouble with the urls as they sometimes change.

- Note: for essays (these are short and uncomplicated) from *the Forum*, enter the link, then click on:



## **PART, THE FIRST: PARTIES, PARTISANSHIP, AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE U.S.**

### **WEEK 1**                    *IN THE BEGINNING- PARTIES AS INTERMEDIARIES OF PUBLIC CHOICE:*

John Aldrich and John Griffin (2018), "Political parties, electoral competition, and effective democratic governance" (*Why Parties Matter: Political Competition and Democracy in the American South*)

### **WEEKs 1-2**                *PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS--TYPOLOGIES*

Alan Ware (1996), "Why party systems differ" (*Political Parties and Party Systems*)

\*Douglas J. Ahler (2018), "The group theory of parties: identity politics, party stereotypes, and polarization in the 21<sup>st</sup> century" (*the Forum*, v.16.1: article 1)

<https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2018.16.issue-1/for-2018-0002/for-2018-0002.xml?format=INT>

Paul Herrnsen (2002), "Two-party dominance and minor party forays in American politics" (Herrnsen and Green, eds., *Multiparty Politics in America*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)

### **WEEK 3**                    *THE CHANGING NATURE OF PARTISANSHIP IN THE U.S.—SORTING, AFFECTIVE PARTISANSHIP and POLARIZATION*

Abamowitz (2018), Preface, Chapter 1

At least two of the following four (all from *the Forum*):

\*Stephen Goggin and Alexander Theodoridis (2018), "Seeing red (or blue): how party identity colors political cognition" (*the Forum*, v 16: 1: article 5)

<https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2018.16.issue-1/for-2018-0006/for-2018-0006.xml?format=INT>

\*Lilliana Mason (2018), "Losing common ground: social sorting and polarization" (*the Forum*, v 16: 1: article 3)

<https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2018.16.issue-1/for-2018-0004/for-2018-0004.xml?format=INT>

\*Shanto Iyengar and Masha Krupenkin (2018), "Partisanship as social identity: implications for the study of party polarization"

<https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2018.16.issue-1/for-2018-0003/for-2018-0003.xml?format=INT>

\*Ridenhour et al. (2019), "Change, continuity and partisan sorting on moral issues" (*the Forum*, v 17: 1: article 7)

<https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2019.17.issue-1/for-2019-0008/for-2019-0008.xml?format=INT>

### **WEEK 4**                    *REALIGNMENT (additions/subtractions in the online readings may be made)*

\*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" (Herrnsen and Green, eds., *Multiparty Politics in America*)

Rosenstone et al. (1996), "A theory of third party voting" (*Third Parties in America*)

Abramowitz (2018), Chapters 2-4

\*Ron Formisano (2016), "The populist tsunami of the second gilded age" (*the Forum*, v.14.3: article 5)

<https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2016.14.issue-3/for-2016-0022/for-2016-0022.xml?format=INT>

**MIDTERM—SUBMIT BY Friday, February 14 , 5PM**



## **PART, THE SECOND: CHANGE IN U.S. PARTY SYSTEMS AND ORGANIZATION**

(additions/subtractions in the online readings may/most likely will be made)

### **WEEK 5            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.)  
Gary Orren and William Mayer (1990), "The press, political parties, and the public-private balance in elections" (Maisel, ed. *Parties Respond*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.)

### **WEEKS 6-7\*\*        THE POLARIZATION OF PARTY POLITICS--RESULTS**

Abramowitz (2018), Chapters 5-7  
Gary C. Jacobson (2012), "The electoral origins of polarized politics: evidence from the 2010 cooperative congressional election study" (*American Behavioral Scientist*, v56.12: 1612-1630)  
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0002764212463352>  
\*Kenneth Lowande and Sidney Milkis (2014), "We Can't Wait": Barack Obama, partisan polarization and the administrative presidency" (*the Forum*, v12.1: article 1)  
<http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2014.12.issue-1/for-2014-0022/for-2014-0022.xml?format=INT>  
\*Sidney Milkis and Nicholas Jacobs (2017), "'I alone can fix it' Donald Trump, the administrative presidency, and hazards of executive-centered partisanship"  
(*the Forum*, v15:3: article 9)  
<https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2017.15.issue-3/for-2017-0037/for-2017-0037.xml?format=INT>  
\*David R. Jones (2015), "Declining trust in congress: effects of polarization and consequences for democracy"  
(*the Forum*, v13.3: article 2)  
<https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2015.13.issue-3/for-2015-0027/for-2015-0027.xml?format=INT>

### **WEEK 7            THE POLARIZATION OF PARTY POLITICS—NON-POLITICAL INSTITUTIONAL CAUSES**

Jesse Sussell and James Thomson (2015), "Is geographic clustering of voters driving rising polarization in congress?"  
(*Are Changing Constituencies Driving Rising Polarization in the U.S. House of Representatives?*)  
\*Corey Lang and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz (2015), "Partisan sorting in the U.S., 1972-2012: new evidence from a dynamic analysis" (*Political Geography*, v48: 119-129)  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629814001000?via%3Dihub>  
Matthew Levandusky (2013), "Do partisan media make viewers dislike and distrust the opposition?"  
(*How Partisan Media Polarize America*)  
\*Nicholas Davis and Johanna Dunaway (2016), "Party polarization, media choice, and mass partisan-ideological sorting"  
(*Public Opinion Quarterly*, v.80:1: 272-297) <https://academic.oup.com/poq/article/80/S1/272/2223255>

### **THE POLARIZATION OF PARTY POLITICS—NOMINATION POLITICS?**

Seth Hill and Chris Tauanovitch (2017), "Southern realignment, party sorting, and the polarization of American primary electorates" (*Public Choice*, 176: 107-132)  
<https://rd.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs11127-017-0478-0.pdf>

\*...several older and recent online essays will be added

\*\*This might move to here

WEEK 8            *THE POLARIZATION OF PARTY POLITICS --CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM (?)*

\*Robert Boatright (2012), "The end of the reform era: campaign finance retrenchment in the U.S. and Canada  
(*the Forum*, v10.2: article 8)

<http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2012.10.issue-2/1540-8884.1440/1540-8884.1440.xml?format=INT> Raymond

\*LaRaja (2013), "Richer parties, better politics? Party-centered campaign finance laws and American democracy"  
(*the Forum*, v11.3: article 1)

<http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2012.10.issue-2/1540-8884.1440/1540-8884.1440.xml?format=INT>

\*Other, post *Citizens United* readings may be announced. I suggest everyone look through the following resource for information on the 2016-2018 elections: <http://www.opensecrets.org> . Type "political party" into the search field to start.

WEEKS 9-10            *GERRYMANDERING AS PARTISAN ACT and other forms of 'POLITICS BY OTHER MEANS'*

\*Essays on the post 2010 redistricting results and others

WEEK 10            *CONCLUSION: PARTIES AND THE 2016-2018 ELECTIONS—ARE PARTIES STILL IMPORTANT?*

\*Readings to be assigned

**IN-CLASS FINAL Tuesday, March 17, 11:30-2:29**