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, their modern surrogates, 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, and increasingly polarized 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, new media venue, etc. 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.

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](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). For those who have not read Leon Epstein’s chapter on “Parties as public utilities” in one of my other classes (APD), a separate, downloadable version will be available.

2. In addition, to reduce costs, several other essays of various lengths will be required and will be available online either for free or through the UCSD library server (access on campus or at home through a proxy server or VPN connection). Directions for different platforms/operating systems can be found at [http://blink.ucsd.edu/Blink/External/Topics/Policy/0,1162,24528,00.html](http://blink.ucsd.edu/Blink/External/Topics/Policy/0,1162,24528,00.html).
C. **Exams**—One take-home midterm and one in-class final 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 (take home) is scheduled to be turned in Monday, February 11, at the beginning of class and through the “TurnItIn” Ted link for this class. The questions will be distributed by Friday, February 1 (Ted). The final (in-class) will be administered March 22. A list of possible exam questions will be distributed by March 8. (Please note: any requests to review exam grades must be made in writing (typed) with a full and detailed justification for the request.)

D. **Reading Guides**—after the first week, I will post a series of suggestions about what you should gain from the readings. These are not meant to be all inclusive, but (I hope) might prompt you to read before the night before the exams are due. I find that students gain much more from my lectures if they do the readings in advance of the corresponding lecture.

**GRADING:** You will receive the higher of the two scores that follow this breakdown

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<th>Midterm</th>
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<tr>
<td>Final</td>
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**FINAL GRADE DISTRIBUTION** (rounded to next full score, e.g.: 89.5=90): some adjustments might be made

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**CLASS WEB PAGE**

Changes to this syllabus, as well as any review guides, assignments, informational emails, or date changes will be posted on the class web page (Ted). Please check it on a daily basis. Go to ted.ucsd.edu. Your classes should be listed. If you are having trouble getting into Ted (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://students.ucsd.edu/academics/academic-integrity/consequences.html

**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.

**INCOMPLETES**

The university grants me precious little discretion here. In order to qualify for an incomplete I must demonstrate that you have been doing passable work (so you have to 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.

WEEK 1 A. INTRODUCTION--PARTIES AS INTERMEDIARIES OF PUBLIC CHOICE:

B. PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS--TYPOLOGIES


WEEK 2 THE CHANGING NATURE OF PARTISANSHIP IN THE U.S.

A. THE DECLINE (?) OF PARTISANSHIP


*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


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


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


MIDTERM DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS, Monday, February 11 and through TurnItIn

PART, THE SECOND: CHANGE IN U.S. PARTY SYSTEMS AND ORGANIZATION
{additions/subtractions in the online readings may be made}

WEEK 5. THE CHANGING NATURE OF DEMOCRACY AND PARTY GOVERNMENT IN THE U.S

A. OVERVIEW (expect some overlap with sections B and C)


WEEK 6. BACKGROUND: The Polarization of party politics (more will be added)

*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

C. NOMINATION REFORM (?)

Larry Bartels (1988), “From back rooms to ‘big mo’” (Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice)

*One or two more to be added from recent literature

WEEK 8. CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM (?)

Raymond La Raja (2009), "Back to the future"

*Other, post Citizens United readings may be announced. I suggest everyone look through the following resource for information on the 2008 and 2010 elections: http://www.opensecrets.org. Type “political party” into the search field to start.

WEEK 9. GERRYMANDERING AS PARTISAN ACT and other forms of POLITICS BY OTHER MEANS

Charles Bullock (2010), “Partisan Gerrymandering: All’s Fair in Love, War, and Redistricting (Bullock, Redistricting, Ch. 5)

*potential readings to be announced tied in with the most redistricting plans, polarization of Congress, use of the filibuster, etc.

WEEK 10. PARTIES AND THE 2012 ELECTIONS

Readings to be assigned.