

Political Parties in the United States
Political Science 4031
Fall 2015

Dr. Hogan
TTH 9:00-10:20
228 Tureaud Hall

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Course Description

This course examines the current state of political parties within the U.S. political system. We will consider various aspects of parties – their organizational elements, the extent to which citizens identify with parties, and the role of parties within government. Our focus is on describing each of these three major elements, understanding the linkages among them, and assessing their influence within the electoral and policymaking spheres. A comparative approach will be employed when possible as we examine parties on the national, state, and local levels. Such a perspective will enable us to address several fundamental questions: Do political parties enhance or detract from representative democracy? Do the two major parties in the U.S. provide real policy alternatives to voters? Over time, have parties become too powerful? Or have they become too weak in the current candidate-centered, interest group-influenced electoral environment? In addition to aspects of parties themselves, we will focus attention on factors that condition their activities and influence. How do rules or contextual variables affect parties and what changes might reform efforts bring?

Polarization of the parties is a topic that has received significant public attention in recent years and we will spend considerable time pondering this aspect of party politics. Many observers and scholars view the high degree of party polarization currently observed in U.S. politics as a worrisome trend. Throughout the semester we will address various questions regarding polarization such as measuring the extent of polarization, the conditions responsible for its presence, and the implications of a polarized political system.

In addition to our substantive focus, we will also give attention to the methods and techniques used by scholars as they go about answering important questions about political parties. One of our objectives is to assess the evidence uncovered by scholars. How do these findings comport with common perceptions or media accounts concerning political parties? While this is not a course on political science methodology, issues involving research design and analysis will play prominently in many of our class discussions.

Time Requirements

Please keep in mind the university's definition of work required for each credit hour: "not less than one hour (50 minutes) of lecture/classroom or direct faculty instruction and a minimum of two hours out-of-class student work across 15 weeks for one semester." Given that this is a 3-hour course, this means that students are expected to devote a total of 9 hours of work each week: 3 hours in the classroom and an additional 6 hours of course related work outside the classroom (for this class it means reading, studying, and working on the course assignments).

Required Reading Materials

There is one textbook available for purchase in the bookstore: *Party Politics in America* by Marjorie Randon Hershey (16th edition, New York: Pearson Longman). However, the bulk of the readings are articles listed on the course schedule below. Each is available for download from the class Moodle site. Note a few of these readings are newspaper articles that will take only a few minutes to read, but most are lengthy pieces from academic journals that will take an hour or more to fully digest. These academic articles very often form the central part of our class discussions so it is imperative that you carefully read and take notes on these pieces. I also strongly recommend printing most of the articles given that I will often make reference to the tables and graphs in the articles (NOTE: there are a few exceptions where the article has many pages and/or much color ink is required for printing – an "Ink Warning" is indicated for these citations on the course schedule). Reading constitutes a substantial portion of the work for this course, so make certain that you plan accordingly for each class. I conduct class in a manner that assumes students have read the course materials assigned for the day, so come to class prepared.

Course Grades

The grade for the course is determined by a student's performance in the following areas:

Participation and Attendance	15%
State Party Project	30%
Mid-Term Exam	25%
Final Exam	30%
TOTAL	100%

Letter grades are assigned as follows based on a student's final numerical average:

F <60	D- 60-62	D 63-66	D+ 67-69	C- 70-72	C 73-76	C+ 77-79	B- 80-82	B 83-86	B+ 87-89	A- 90-92	A 93-96	A+ 97 ≥
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Participation and Attendance

Classes are generally conducted using a lecture-discussion format so it is necessary to keep up with the readings and to come prepared for every class. Students are strongly encouraged to take part in class discussions. In order to do so, it is necessary to complete the readings *in advance* and to spend time thinking about them in a critical manner. Also, please keep up with current political developments since these will often be used as examples in our discussions. Participation comprises a relatively large portion of your grade (15% total) and will be determined by three equally weighted components:

- Self-Reported Class Participation: During each class period I will ask questions about the day's readings and will expect to receive answers. If you have questions about the readings or comments about the substantive topics in the course, please ask them. I will track your participation based upon your self-reported participation. If you have participated in the day's class either in asking questions, answering questions, or providing comments, please hand in a sheet of paper at the end of class indicating what your contribution was for that day (briefly restating your question, answer, or comment). It is expected that you will participate on 6 different days during the course of the semester. If you provide substantive comments or ask questions (that a reasonable person would say enlightened the discussion) on 6 separate days, you will receive 100% for this portion of your participation grade (if you participate 5 times your score will be 83%, 4 times 67%, and so on).
- Class Activities: Several times during the semester I will ask you to provide written comments about a topic, answer a brief question, take a quiz, or take part in a class exercise. Your performance on these activities will be counted as a component of your overall participation grade. There will be many of these opportunities throughout the semester and your grade is determined by your successful completion of each. If you satisfactorily complete all of them, you will receive 100% for this component of your participation, complete 90% and your grade is 90, 80% is a grade of 80, etc.
- Attendance: Attending class is important and your presence will be checked regularly with a sign-in sheet or by other mechanisms. Please make certain that you come to class on time so that you will be counted as present for the day. As with the other forms of participation, if you attend 100% of the time when I have checked attendance, your grade is 100, attend 90% of the time and it is 90, etc.

State Party Project

A major portion of the course grade (30%) is determined by your work on a report and presentation about state party organizations on an assigned state. The report requires that you collect information on the party organizations, their structures, and their various activities during recent elections. Students will make brief presentations to the class in mid-November and a final report is due at the beginning of class on Thursday, November 19. Details concerning the project will be provided in an additional handout during the second week of classes.

Exams

There is a midterm and a final exam (dates are listed on the syllabus). These tests will consist of multiple-choice, short-answer, and/or brief essay questions. Note that makeup exams are all-essay exams and will only be administered when a student can produce a valid written excuse. If you anticipate a problem, please let me know as soon as possible. Also, for anyone who has special needs or who requires accommodations through Disability Services, please advise me of your situation in advance of the exams so arrangements can be made.

General Policies

Academic Honesty

Students are required to abide by the academic conduct policies outlined in the LSU Code of Student Conduct (<http://www.lsu.edu/judicialaffairs>). Examples of academic dishonesty include, but are not limited to: cheating on exams, plagiarizing, buying or selling assignments, altering grades, intentional deception, and collaborating with others without permission. I reserve the right to investigate when I suspect a violation of any of these policies. All violations of the university's academic conduct policies are turned over to the Dean of Students.

Classroom Rules

Please be respectful to those around you who are trying to listen, take notes, and participate in the class. Please make every effort to be on time to class. Be seated and ready to begin at 9:00 and leave early only for emergencies. Turn cell phones and pagers to silent. Most importantly, do not talk during class. Disruptive students will be asked to leave immediately.

Absolutely no audio or video recording devices are allowed to be used unless special permission is granted. Please do not take photographs of the overheads. Photography or videography of any kind is forbidden. This rule is strictly enforced during exams and during review of exam materials. All violators of this policy will be asked to leave the classroom immediately and the incident will be reported to the Dean of Students. These restrictions are in place to ensure the integrity of testing materials and to protect student privacy.

You are free to use laptop computers and other electronic devices for class purposes (e.g., taking notes, looking up relevant information, etc.). But please do not play on the internet, check e-mail, or use social networking sites.

Late Assignments and Missed Work

In an effort to provide a level playing field, I take deadlines very seriously and hold everyone to an identical standard. Make every effort to take scheduled exams and hand in work on time. However, I recognize there are legitimate reasons for missing a deadline or an exam. The following reasons are some, but probably not all, of the excuses that are considered acceptable: a documented illness, a family emergency, some severe mechanical failure (related to transportation, computing, etc.), or a scientifically documented anomaly in the space-time continuum. Please note that most job-related issues are not considered acceptable excuses (although see university regulations concerning military duties, official university-sponsored events, etc.). A penalty for handing in the paper late is assessed based upon the circumstances, but will generally involve a substantial loss of points (5 points for missing the deadline, and 5 points for each 24-hour period thereafter). Recognize that for reasons of fairness to other students in the class, credit cannot be given at the end of the semester for missed exams or papers not handed in. In other words, when you experience a significant problem that prevents you from meeting a deadline or taking a test, it is your responsibility to let me know about it in a timely manner and to make arrangements to make up the missed work. Excuses must be provided within one week of your return, NOT at the end of the semester. Excuse forms are available on this course's Moodle site where they must be submitted along with any other accompanying documentation (a doctor's note, etc.).

Graded Work

I do not make grades available on Moodle and I will not e-mail grades. I will return the state party project and your midterm exam to you in class. During office hours I am happy to review grades with you and talk with you about ways to improve your performance. Please note, however, I will not estimate your current grade for you (the percentage that each grade counts toward your final average is provided above).

Graduate Credit or Honors Credit

For students taking this course for graduate credit or for those who wish to receive special Honors credit, it is the student's responsibility to contact me at the beginning of the semester to make appropriate arrangements.

Special Needs

For students who have special needs or require accommodations through Disability Services, please advise me of your situation so arrangements can be made.

Course Schedule

August 25 *Introduction to the Course*

- No reading assignment.

August 27 *What Are Political Parties and Why Should We Study Them?*

- Text: Hershey pp. 1-48.
- Reading #1: Galston, William A. 2010. "Can a Polarized American Party System Be Healthy?" *Issues in Government Studies*, Brookings Institution, April.
- Reading #2: Mann, Thomas E. 2014. "Admit It, Political Scientists: Politics Really Is More Broken Than Ever," *The Atlantic*.
- Reading #3: Pew Research Center. 2015. "GOP's Favorability Rating Takes a Negative Turn," July 23. [INK WARNING – long article with several colored pages].

September 1 *Approaches to Studying Parties*

- Reading #4: Chapters from *Everything is Obvious Once You Know the Answers: How Common Sense Fails Us* by Duncan J. Watts, 2011, New York: Crown Publishing (Preface, Chapters 1 & 2).
- Reading #5: Berry, William D., and Mitchell S. Sanders. 2000. (Chapter 1) *Understanding Multivariate Research: A Primer for Beginning Social Scientists*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Reading #6: "Political Science Research Fundamentals: Some Important Concepts and Definitions."
- Reading #7: Pope, Jeremy C., and Jonathan Woon. 2009. "Measuring Changes in American Party Reputations, 1939-2004," *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 653-661.

September 3 *Party Positions and Values*

- Reading #8: Coffe, Hilde, and Catherine Bolzendahl. 2011. "Partisan Cleavages in the Importance of Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities," *Social Science Quarterly* 92: 656-74.
- Reading #9: Grossmann, Matt, and David A. Hopkins. 2015. "Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats: The Asymmetry of American Party Politics," *Perspectives on Politics* 13: 119-39.

September 8 *Party Organizations at the State and Local Levels*

- Text: Hershey pp. 49-70.
- Reading #10: Golway, Terry. 2014. "The Forgotten Virtues of Tammany Hall," *New York Times*, Jan. 17.
- Reading #11: Tau, Byron. 2014. "Last Call for State Parties?" *Politico*, February 16.
- Reading #12: Nagourney, Adam. 2014. "Midterms Give Parties Chance for Sweeping Control of States," *New York Times*, August 10. See the interactive graphics at: <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/01/11/us/politics/who-controls-the-states-and-where-they-stand.html>
- Reading #13: Robertson, Campbell, and Jonathan Martin. 2014. "Louisiana's Rogues Yield to National Issues," *New York Times*, October 29. See the interactive graphics at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/30/us/politics/national-concerns-drain-color-from-politics-in-louisiana.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&r=0#>

September 10 *Party Organizations at the National Level*

- Text: Hershey pp. 71-91.
- Reading #14: Herrnson, Paul S. 2009. "The Roles of Party Organizations, Party-Connected Committees, and Party Allies in Elections," *Journal of Politics* 71: 1207-24.

- September 15 ***Party Activists: Who They Are, What They Do, and Why They Do It?***
- Text: Hershey pp. 92-108.
 - Reading #15: Charles L. Prysby. 2004. "Purist versus Pragmatist Orientations among Southern Party Activists," Chapter 9 in *Southern Political Party Activists: Patterns of Conflict and Change, 1991-2001*, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
 - Reading #16: Bailey, Michael A., Jonathan Mummolo, and Hans Noel. 2012. "Tea Party Influence: A Story of Activists and Elites," *American Politics Research* 405: 769-804.
- September 17 ***Party in the Electorate: Attachment to Political Party***
- Text: Hershey pp. 109-129.
 - Reading #17: Edsall, Thomas B. 2014. "How Much Do Our Genes Influence Our Political Beliefs?" *New York Times*, July.
 - Reading #18: Klein, Ezra. 2014. "How Politics Makes Us Stupid," *Vox*.
 - Reading #19: Resnick, Brian. 2014. "The Battle for Your Brain," *National Journal Magazine*, September 20. <http://www.nationaljournal.com/magazine/how-politics-breaks-our-brains-and-how-we-can-put-them-back-together-20140919>
- September 22 ***Party Polarization in the Electorate***
- Reading #20: Michael Dimock, Michael. 2014. "Political Polarization in the American Public," Pew Center June [INK WARNING – long article with many colored pages].
 - Reading #21: Fiorina, Morris. 2014. "Americans Have Not Become More Politically Polarized," *The Monkey Cage*, June 23.
- September 24 ***Changes in Party Identification***
- Text: Hershey pp. 130-154.
 - Reading #22: Knuckey, Jonathan. 2006. "Explaining Recent Changes in the Partisan Identifications of Southern Whites," *Political Research Quarterly* 59: 57-70.
 - Reading #23: Lyons, Jeffrey. 2011. "Where You Live and Who You Know: Political Environments, Social Pressures, and Partisan Stability," *American Politics Research* 39: 963-992.
- September 29 ***Voting Coalition Changes***
- No reading assignment.
- October 1 ***Parties and Voter Participation***
- Text: Hershey, pp. 155-176.
 - Reading #24: Miller, Patrick R., and Pamela Johnston Conover. 2015. "Red and Blue States of Mind: Partisan Hostility and Voting in the United States," *Political Research Quarterly*: 1-15.
- October 6 ***Voting Laws in the States***
- Reading #25: Mycoff, Jason D., Michael W. Wagner, and David C. Wilson. 2009. "The Empirical Effects of Voter-ID Laws: Present or Absent?" *PS: Political Science and Politics* January: 121-126.
 - Reading #26: Bentele, Keith G., and Erin E. O'Brien. 2013. "Jim Crow 2.0? Why States Consider and Adopt Restrictive Voter Access Policies," *Perspectives on Politics*, December: 1088-1116.
- October 8 **Midterm Exam**

October 13 ***Party Financing: Sums and Sources, and Rules***

- Text: Hershey: pp. 235-260.
- Reading #27: Rutenberg, Jim. 2014. "How Billionaire Oligarchs Are Becoming Their Own Political Parties," *New York Times* October 17.
- Reading #28: Tokaji Confessor, Nicholas, Sarah Cohen, and Karen Yourish. 2015. "Small Pool of Rich Donors Dominates Election Giving," *New York Times*, August 1.
- Reading #29: McCauley, Laura. 2015. "2016 Marks a New Era for Dark Money," *The American Prospect*, June 15.

October 15 ***Party Money Continued***

- Reading #30: Chapters 1-3 (PAGES 1-59) Tokaji, Daniel P., and Renata E. B. Strause. 2014. "The New Soft Money: Outside Spending in Congressional Elections," A Project of Election Law @ Moritz, Ohio State University College of Law [INK WARNING – This is a very large file with many colored pages].

October 20 ***Party Money Continued***

- Reading #31: Chapters 4-6 (PAGES 60-104) Tokaji, Daniel P., and Renata E. B. Strause. 2014. "The New Soft Money: Outside Spending in Congressional Elections," A Project of Election Law @ Moritz, Ohio State University College of Law [INK WARNING – This is a very large file with many colored pages].

October 22 ***Party Contributions and Polarization***

- Reading #32: Damore, David F., and Thomas G. Hansford. 1999. "The Allocation of Party Controlled Campaign Resources in the House of Representatives, 1989-1996," *Political Research Quarterly* 52: 371-85.
- Reading #33: Mann, Thomas E., and Anthony Corrado. "Party Polarization and Campaign Finance," *Center for Effective Public Management at Brookings*, July.
- Readings #34: LaRaja, Ray, and Brian Schaffner. 2014. "Want to Reduce Polarization? Give Parties More Money," *The Monkey Cage, Washington Post*, July 21.

October 27 ***Parties in Candidate Recruitment and Nomination***

- Text: Hershey pp. 177-195.
- Reading #35: Maestas, Cherie, L. Sandy Maisel, and Walter Stone 2005 "Strategic Contact: Party Efforts to Recruit State Legislators to Run for the U.S. House" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 30: 277-300.
- Reading #36: Thomsen, Danielle M. 2014. "Ideological Moderates Won't Run: How Party Fit Matters for Partisan Polarization in Congress," *Journal of Politics* July: 786-97.

October 29 **Fall Break**

November 3 ***Party Nomination Rules***

- Reading #37: Schumer, Charles. 2014. "End Partisan Primaries, Save America." *New York Times*, July 21.
- Reading #38: Karol, David. 2014. "Charles Schumer's Flawed Diagnosis of Polarization," *The Monkey Cage, Washington Post* July 23.
- Reading #39: McGhee, Eric, Seth Masket, Boris Shor, Steven Rogers, and Nolan McCarty. 2014. "A Primary Cause of Partisanship? Nomination Systems and Legislator Ideology," *American Journal of Political Science* 58: 337-51.

November 5 ***Parties and Presidential Nominations***

- Text: Hershey: pp. 196-215.
- Reading #40: Karpowitz, Christopher F., Jeremy C. Pope. 2014. "Who Caucuses? An Experimental Approach to Institutional Design and Electoral Participation," *British Journal of Political Science* July: 1-23.

November 10 *Political Parties in the General Election*

*** Presentations: Set #1 ***

- Text: Hershey: pp. 216-234.
- Reading #41: Brooks, David. 2014. "Death by Data" *New York Times* November 3.
- Reading #42: Chen, Lanhee J., and Andrew Reeves. 2011. "Turning Out the Base or Appealing to the Periphery? An Analysis of County-Level Candidate Appearances in the 2008 Presidential Campaign," *American Politics Research* 39: 534-556.

November 12 *Minor Parties in U.S. Elections*

*** Presentations: Set #2 ***

- Text: Hershey: Re-read pp. 34-46.
- Reading #43: Lee, Daniel J. 2011. "Take the Good with the Bad: Cross-Cutting Effects of Ballot Access Requirements on Third-Party Electoral Success," *American Politics Research* 20: 1-26.

November 17 *Parties in Legislatures*

*** Presentations: Set #3 ***

- Text: Hershey, pp. 261-286.
- Reading #44: Jenkins, Shannon. 2006. "The Impact of Party and Ideology on Roll-Call Voting in State Legislatures," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31: 235-57.
- Reading #45: Nokken, Timothy P. 2000. "Dynamics of Congressional Loyalty: Party Defection and Roll-Call Behavior, 1947-97," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25: 417-45.
- Reading #46: Farrell, John Aloysius. 2012. "Divided We Stand," *National Journal*, February 24.

November 19 *Party Effects in Government*

***** Printed copy of State Party Project due at the beginning of class *****

- Text: Hershey, pp. 287-300.

November 24 *Party Polarization Effects*

- Reading #47: Barber, Michael JI., and Nolan McCarty. "Causes and Consequences of Polarization," *Task Force Report: Negotiating Agreement in Politics*, American Political Science Association.
- Reading #48: Barro, Josh. 2014. "Welcome to Rhode Island, America's Least Polarized State," *New York Times*, August.

November 26 *Thanksgiving*

December 1 *Parties Representation and Public Policy*

- Readings #49: Hajnal, Zoltan L., and Jeremy D. Horowitz. 2014. "Racial Winners and Losers in American Party Politics," *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 12: 100-118.
- Reading #50: Treul, Sarah A. 2009. "Ambition and Party Loyalty in the U.S. Senate," *American Politics Research* 37: 449-464.

December 3 *Parties and Democratic Governance: Summation and Review*

- Text: Hershey, pp. 301-334.

December 12 *Final Exam in this classroom on Saturday, December 12 from 10:00 a.m. - NOON.*