

American Political Parties
Political Science 4140 & 5140
Spring 2017

Steven Rogers
Office: McGannon Hall 125
Email: smrogers@slu.edu

Classroom: McGannon Hall 121
Class time: Monday, 7:00 – 9:30pm
Office Hours: Mondays 3 – 4pm or by appointment

This course is a seminar that will survey the role American political parties in the electorate and Congress. We will study public opinion, collective decision-making, and institutional development. This course assumes basic prior knowledge about American politics (e.g. POLS 1100; 1150; 2000). The purpose of this class is to learn how to answer the following questions:

- How do voters develop partisan identification?
- How are parties used in elections?
- Why do parties form?
- What are our representatives' goals and how do these objectives influence their collective behavior?
- Do parties influence policymaking?

To answer these questions, you will be expected to evaluate the research designs, data, and resulting conclusions of political science research. By understanding both theories of politics and the evidence for them, you will learn why the American political system operates the way it does. This course will include presentations, a literature critique, and midterm and final exams.

Course Requirements

1. Class Participation (20% of the final grade)

Your class participation consists of three parts.

First, your primary assignment is to complete the readings and contribute to weekly seminar discussion. You are permitted one unexcused absence from class. For each additional unexcused absence, your final course grade will be reduced by 1.5%. If you must miss class for a legitimate reason (e.g. illness, family emergency, or University sponsored activity) you should contact the professor as soon as possible. An absence is excused only if explicitly stated by Professor Rogers by email (therefore if you speak to Professor Rogers – be sure to send a follow up email to confirm excuse).

Second, for at least three of the seminar meetings, you are required to submit a list of questions and discussion topics by 2pm on the Sunday prior to the class by email to Professor Rogers. These questions/topics should be 1 – 2 pages and reflect critical assessments of each of the week's assigned readings.

Third, you will present and lead discussion for a reading from the assigned readings. Possible readings to choose from are designated in the Course Reading list by an asterisk (*). Presentations (roughly 10 minutes) should:

- Describe the main *themes* of the reading
 - Explain what its *contributions* are to our understanding of legislative politics
 - Provide specific *criticisms* of the study (e.g., its theoretical argument, hypotheses, evidence, analysis, etc.)
 - Raise *questions* about specific theoretical or empirical issues that you did not understand
 - Include a one page handout for fellow students
- Students enrolled in POLS 4140 will submit discussion questions before three classes and present one reading in one class.
- Students enrolled in POLS 5140 will submit discussion questions before five classes and present two readings in class.

2. Midterm exam (20% of the final grade)

The midterm exam will be an in-class essay that is open book and open note. You will be given two prompts, and you will write an essay response to one.

3. Literature Critique (30% of the final grade)

The literature critique will be a paper that focuses on a topic of your choice in the study of party politics. The paper will survey the state of the literature on the topic or research question, analyze the strengths and weaknesses of existing work, and identify a research question that is either new or in your view has not yet been well addressed. Finally, you are asked to sketch a research design for how one might go about answering the research question. Any late assignment will be docked 5% for each 12 hours it is submitted late.

Literature Critique Requirements:

- A 3-4 page paper outlining your topic/question, which is due on March 17 by email. After submitting this paper, you are required to meet with the professor by appointment by March 27 to discuss the topic. Worth 10% of Literature Critique grade.
- A 10 minute in-class, presentation on their topic/question on either April 24 or May 1. There will then be 5 – 10 minutes of Q&A from the class. Worth 25% of Literature Critique grade.
- The final literature critique is due May 8. The expected final paper length for students enrolled in POLS 4140 is 12 – 15 pages, and the expected paper length for students enrolled in POLS 5140 is 15 – 20 pages with more attention focused the research design. Worth 65% of Literature Critique grade.

For the literature critique, I encourage you to take advantage of University Writing Services. Trained writing consultants can help with any writing, multimedia project, or oral presentation. During one-on-one consultations, you can work on everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. Services fill up so make an appointment. Be sure to bring your assignment description, and a few goals, to the consultation. For more information, or to make an appointment, visit www.slu.edu/writingservices.xml or call 314-977-3484.

4. Final exam (30% of the final grade)

The final exam is cumulative and will be two take home essays. The exam is open book and note. At 9am on a date to be determined in consultation with the class (from May 9th – May 15th), two sets of prompts will be posted to Blackboard. You are required to write an essay responding to one question from each set. You will have 24 hours to complete the essays. The completed exam must be emailed (in Microsoft Word or Adobe PDF formats) to the professor. The exam grade will be docked 1% for each hour the exam is submitted after 9am.

Grading Scale

When determining the final grade, the following grading scale will be used. I will round final grades.

Letter Grade	Percentage	Letter Grade	Percentage	Letter Grade	Percentage
A	93% - 100%	B	83% - 86%	C	73% - 76%
A-	90% - 92%	B-	80% - 82%	C-	70% - 72%
B+	87% - 89%	C+	77% - 79%	D	60% - 69%
				F	below 60%

When translating letter grades into numeric grades, the midpoint of the range will be used (e.g. A = 96.5%, A- = 91%, etc.)

Course Evaluations

Students are requested to fill out a course evaluation at the end of the course.

Academic Honesty

The University is a community of learning, whose effectiveness requires an environment of mutual trust and integrity. Academic integrity is violated by any dishonesty such as soliciting, receiving, or providing any unauthorized assistance in the completion of work submitted toward academic credit. While not all forms of academic dishonesty can be listed here, examples include copying from another student, copying from a book or class notes during a closed book exam, submitting materials authored by or revised by another person as the student’s own work, copying a passage or text directly from a published source without appropriately citing or recognizing that source, taking a test or doing an assignment or other academic work for another student, securing or supplying in advance a copy of an examination or quiz without the knowledge or consent of the instructor, sharing or receiving the questions from an on-line quiz with another student, taking an on-line quiz with the help of another student, and colluding with another student or students to engage in academic dishonesty.

All clear violations of academic integrity will be met with appropriate sanctions. In this course, academic dishonesty on an assignment will result in an automatic grade of 0 for that assignment and a report of academic dishonesty sent to the Academic Honesty Committee of the College of Arts and Sciences. In the case of Class B violations, the Academic Honesty Committee may impose a larger sanction including, but not limited to, assigning a failing grade in the course, disciplinary probation, suspension, and dismissal from the University.

Students should refer to the following SLU website for more information about Class A and B violations and the procedures following a report of academic dishonesty: <http://www.slu.edu/x12657.xml>

Students with Special Needs-Disability Services

In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to support student success are available on campus. Students who think they might benefit from these resources can find out more about:

- Course-level support (e.g., faculty member, departmental resources, etc.) by asking your course instructor.
- University-level support (e.g., tutoring/writing services, Disability Services) by visiting the Student Success Center (BSC 331) or by going to www.slu.edu/success.

Students who believe that, due to a disability, they could benefit from academic accommodations are encouraged to contact Disability Services at [314-977-8885](tel:314-977-8885) or visit the Student Success Center. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries. Course instructors support student accommodation requests when an approved letter from Disability Services has been received and when students discuss these accommodations with the instructor after receipt of the approved letter.

Required Texts

The following texts should be available from the University Bookstore or online retailers, such as Amazon.com. Other readings will be made available via Blackboard.

- Why Parties?: A Second Look – John Aldrich (2011)
 - ISBN: 978-0226012742
- The Logic of Collective Action: Goods and Theory of Groups – Mancur Olson (1971)
 - ISBN: 978-0674537514
- The Gamble: Choice and Chance in the 2012 Presidential Election – John Sides & Lynn Vavreck (2013)
 - ISBN 978-0691156880
- Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America (3rd Edition) – Morris Fiorina, Samuel Abrams, & Jeremy Pope (2010)
 - ISBN: 978-0205779888

Course Schedule

Week 1 – January 23: Why Parties?

- Madison, James; Federalist #10
- Aldrich, John. *Why Parties*: Chapter 1
- Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957) Chapter 2
- Hofstadter, Richard. *The Idea of a Party System* (1970) p. 1-9, 49-54, 64-73
- Schattschneider, E.E. *Party Government* (1942) p. 1-11, 65-98
- APSA Responsible Parties Project
 - http://www.apsanet.org/~pop/APSA1950/APSA1950_Part1.pdf
 - http://www.apsanet.org/~pop/APSA1950/APSA1950_Summary.pdf
- ❖ Questions to consider while reading
 - Is “modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties”? Why do we have a two-party system and why is it important?
 - What are the types of party theories laid out by Aldrich? How do they connect to the other readings from this week?
 - What assumptions about human nature do Downs and Madison make?

Week 2 – January 30: Partisan Identification: Sociological & Psychological Approach

- Aldrich, John. *Why Parties*: Chapter 6
- Berelson, Bernard, et al. *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chapters 1, 6-7.
- Campbell, Angus, et al. *The American Voter* (1960). Chapters 4, 6, & 7
- Green, D. P., B. Palmquist, and E. Schickler. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identity of Voters* (2002). p. 1-51.
- Gerber, Huber, and Washington, “Party Affiliation, Partisanship, and Political Beliefs: A Field Experiment” *American Political Science Review* (November 2010)*
- ❖ Questions to consider while reading
 - For the Berelson and Campbell’s studies consider:
 - What were their research designs?
 - What are the most important influences on voting?
 - How much do people care about politics?
 - Where does one acquire their partisanship?
 - What is the “perceptual screen?”
 - For Green, why do people identify with parties?

Week 3 – February 6: Partisan Identification: Rational Choice Approach

- Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957). Ch 3
 - Fiorina, Morris. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (1981). Chapters 1, 10
 - Popkin, Sam. *The Reasoning Voter* (1994) p. 1-6, 72-81, 91-95;
 - Lodge, Milton, and Ruth Hamill. “A Partisan Schema for Political Information Processing.” *American Political Science Review* (1986)
 - Lupia, A. “Shortcuts versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections.” *American Political Science Review* (1994) *
 - Kam, Cindy. “Who toes the party line? Cues, Values, and Individual Differences” *Political Behavior* (2005)
- ❖ Questions to consider while reading
- What are the key assumptions of rational choice theory?
 - What is the “expected party differential”?
 - How are Key and Downs different, according to Fiorina? How does Fiorina draw from each of these arguments for his own?
 - What are the modes of information processing laid out by Popkin?
 - How can partisanship influence how people process information about politics?
 - Do voters need to be fully informed to make informed decisions?

Week 4 – February 13: Partisanship in the Electorate

- MacKuen, Michael, Robert Erikson; and James Stimson. “Macropartisanship.” *American Political Science Review*. (1989)
 - Bartels, Larry. “Beyond the Running Tally: Partisan Bias in Political Perceptions” *Political Behavior*. (2002) *
 - *Do not get bogged down in the technical parts of p. 121 – 123*
 - Carsey, Thomas M., and Geoffrey C. Layman. “Changing Sides or Changing Minds? Party Identification and Policy Preferences in the American Electorate.” *American Journal of Political Science* (2006).
 - Aldrich, John. *Why Parties* - Chapter 8: 255 – 266 (also revisit p. 176 – 184)
 - Wattenberg, Martin. “The Decline of American Political Parties” p. 17-28.; Chapters 3 & 4.
 - Bartels, Larry "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996" *American Journal of Political Science* (2000)
- ❖ Questions to consider while reading
- How stable is partisanship?
 - What role do “objective” perceptions of real-world events shape partisanship?
 - How are awareness of partisan differences and issue salience important for whether issue positions affect partisan identification?
 - For Wattenberg, what is the decline in parties attributable to?
 - How has the relationship between partisanship and voting behavior changed over time?

Week 5 – February 20: Polarization in the Electorate

- Fiorina, Abrams, and Pope, *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America* (2010) Chapters 1 – 5; 7, 9
- Levendusky, *The Partisan Sort* (2009) Chapters 1 & 2 *
- Hetherington, “Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization.” *American Political Science Review* (2001)
- Hetherington, “Review Article: Putting Polarization in Perspective” *British Journal of Political Science* (2009)
- Sides and Vavreck, *The Gamble* (2013). Chapters 1 & 2.
- Suggested Reading:
 - Fiorina and Abrams, “Political Polarization in the American Public”
 - <http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~jcampbel/documents/AnnualReviewFiorina.pdf>
- ❖ Questions to consider while reading
 - What is the difference between being “closely divided” and “deeply divided?”
 - Why is candidate choice important for Fiorina’s argument?
 - What is the difference between sorting and polarization?
 - Why do Sides and Vavreck title Chapter 2 “The Hand You are Dealt”?

Week 6 – February 27: Party Organizations and Campaigns

- Aldrich, John. *Why Parties* - Chapter 8: 266 - 292
- Bartels, “Candidate Choice and the Dynamics of the Presidential Nominating Process” *American Journal of Political Science* (1987).*
- Cohen, et. al. *The Party Decides* (2008). Chapter 7.
- Sides and Vavreck, *The Gamble* (2013). Chapters 3, 5, 6, & 7
- ❖ Questions to consider while reading
 - What is the invisible primary?
 - Why do candidates care so much about the Iowa and New Hampshire primary?
 - How do the nominations of Romney and Trump support Cohen’s argument?
 - Do campaigns matter? If so, how?
 - What role did partisanship play in the 2012 election?

Week 7 – March 6

- Midterm Exam

Week 8 – March 13: Spring Break

- **Literature Critique Topic Proposal due by email by March 17**

Week 9 – March 20: Collective Action

- Aldrich, John. “Why Parties,” Chapters 2 – 5* (*Presentation on Chapter 2 only; skim chapters 4-5*)
 - Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: Goods and the Theory of Groups* (1971)
 - Do not get bogged down in the technical parts of p. 23 – 33; Skip Chapter 4
 - Schattschneider, “The Scope and Bias of the Pressure System” in *The Semisovereign People: A Realist’s View of Democracy in America* (1960) – Chapter 2
- ❖ Questions to consider while reading
- What are collective action problems, public goods, by-products, prisoner’s dilemmas, and arrow’s theorem?
 - What is “the great principle?” How does this relate to party formation?
 - How did the expansion of the electorate influence what parties did?
 - How does Olson suggest that collective action problems are overcome?
 - What are scope and bias for Scattschneider? Why are parties good?
 - What happens as a conflict become socialized? Who wants to socialize conflict and why?

Week 10: March 27 Legislators’ Goals

- Fenno, Richard. *Congressmen in Committees* (1973) pp. Prologue & Ch. 1
 - Mayhew, David. *Congress: The Electoral Connection* (1974): Chapter 1.*
 - Krehbiel, Keith. *Pivotal Politics* (1997): Chapters 1 - 2.
 - Krehbiel, Keith “Where’s the Party” *British Journal of Political Science* (2003)
- ❖ Questions to consider while reading
- How does Fenno’s characterization of Members’ of Congress motivations differ from (and is similar to) Mayhew’s and Krehbiel’s (in Pivotal Politics)?
 - What are the kinds of activities that a Congressman engages in to be reelected?
 - How does “Pivotal Politics” help explain a president’s “honeymoon period?”
 - What point is Krehbiel trying to make with Figure 1 in “Where’s the Party?”

Week 11 – April 3: Parties in Congress

- Aldrich, John. “Why Parties,” Chapter 7
 - Rhode, David. *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House* (1991). Chapters 1, 2, & p. 162 - 179
 - Sinclair, Barbara. The Emergence of Strong Leadership in the 1980s House of Representatives. *Journal of Politics* (1992)
 - Cox & McCubbins. *Setting the Agenda* (2005). Chapters 1 - 3 & 5 *
- ❖ Questions to consider while reading
- What are the conditions for conditional party government?
 - What is negative agenda power?
 - What is the first commandment of party leadership?
 - How have institutional reforms (i.e. changes in House rules) been critical for varying levels of party strength?

Week 12 – April 10: Party Influence

- Mayhew, David. *Divided We Govern* (2005). Chapters 3 & 4 *
 - Binder, Sarah. “The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-96” *American Political Science Review* (1999)
 - Ansolabehere et al. “The Effects of Party and Preferences on Roll-Call Voting.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (2001).
 - Carson, Koger, Lebo and Young, “The Electoral Costs of Party Loyalty in Congress,” *American Journal of Political Science* (2010)
 - Stewart and Weingast, "Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation: Republican Rotten Boroughs" *Studies in American Political Development* (1992) ~ Skim section 4
- ❖ Questions to consider while reading
- How do Mayhew and Binder’s findings differ? How is measurement partly responsible for this difference?
 - What is the challenge Ansolabehere is responding to from Krehbiel? How does the NPAT survey help address this challenge?

Week 13 – April 17: Easter Break

Week 14 – April 24: Polarization and Parties in States: Part 1 and Research Design Presentations

- McCarty et. al *Polarized America* (2006). Chapters 1 – 3 *
 - Key, V.O. *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (1949): p. 15-18, p. 298-311
 - Shor, Boris, and Nolan McCarty. “The Ideological Mapping of American Legislatures.” *American Political Science Review* (2011).
 - Suggested Reading:
 - Barber, Michael, and Nolan McCarty “Causes and Consequences of Polarization” <https://www.apsanet.org/media/PDFs/Publications/Chapter2Mansbridge.pdf>
- ❖ Questions to consider while reading
- How does McCarty measure ideology and polarization?
 - Why is McCarty’s subtitle “The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches?”
 - What alternative hypotheses for the causes of polarization does McCarty (largely) rule out?
 - How representative are elite state-level actors of their constituents?

Week 15 – May 1: Polarization and Parties in States: Part 2 and Research Design Presentations

- Erikson, Wright, & McIver *Statehouse Democracy* (1993): Chapters 2 & 5
 - Rogers, Steven. “National Forces in State Legislative Elections.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. (2016)
- ❖ Questions to consider while reading
- How representative are elite state-level actors of their constituents?
 - How well does the “responsible party government” model work in states?

Week 16 – May 8: Course Catch-Up & Overview

Literature Critique Due