

POS 3443  
M & W 6:25-7:40 p.m.  
Primera Casa (PC) 431  
Fall, 2001

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## Political Parties

This course introduces students to modern theories of parties and elections, with an emphasis on how the “rules of the game” affect parties and elections. Although we will apply our theories to the U.S. political system, most of our theories should help us understand other democracies as well.

After a brief introduction to parties, we will learn the effect of parties on elections and the legislative process, then continue our study using a more historical focus. Our historical investigations begin with a study of party formation after the adoption of the Constitution. This is a period when parties were uncertain. After a brief development of parties up to the Civil War, we will jump to the political machines under the gilded age of politics. The gilded age is marked by corruption and political control by local machine bosses. But this course will look more like economics than history. It use analytical theories, which look like economics, to help us understand a variety of political phenomena. Our theories will help us answer questions like why do presidents always appear moderate? Why are candidates continually vague on the issues? Why do only two parties dominate U.S. elections when multiple parties dominate elections in other countries? Why do parties form? Why were the political machines successful at the end of the nineteenth century then quickly decline? Are parties good or bad for the political process? These questions will be answered using analytical and mathematical theories, which are precise and very useful.

## Grading

Your grade will consist of a homework assignment, a research paper, a mid-term exam, and a final exam. I expect students to attend all classes, but I will also assume that you are mature enough to determine when it is acceptable to miss a class and to accept the consequences when you do not attend. Ask another student for notes if you miss a class before asking me for help.

Although I generally think of 90-100 as an A, 80-90 as a B, etc., your overall grade for the course will be based upon the following scale:

	A	94 or above	A-	90-93.99
B+	B	82-87.99	B-	80-81.99
C+	C	72-77.99	C-	70-71.99
D+	D	62-67.99	D-	60-61.99
F		59.99 or below		

### Home Work Assignment

You will be assigned one home work assignment 10% of your grade. This assignment will test your ability to apply the analytic skills taught in the course and prepare you for the final exam.

### Term Paper and Paper Outlines

30% of your grade is reserved for a 5-6 page research paper that asks you to apply the theories we have learned to a historical event of your choosing. A short paper assignment such as this may be more difficult than a long paper assignment because it requires you to distill your thoughts into a concise argument. The paper topics will require research and a fair amount of analysis time. I suggest that you start on your paper as soon as the assignments are handed out in class. You will not be able to complete a “term paper” over night.

### Exams

The final part of your grade comes from a mid-term and a final exam. Both exams may contain multiple choice, fill in the blank, problem solving, and essay type questions worth 30% of your grade each.

### Make-ups

Term papers and homework assignments require research and a fair amount of analysis time. Please plan ahead to avoid turning them in late. **Late assignments will be lowered one letter grade for every *working day* they are late.** If an assignment is late, it would be a good idea to stick it under my office door (DM 482B) as soon as possible to avoid any unnecessary late penalties. Grades are lowered for every *working day* they are late, not every class day they are late.

If you miss the midterm exam for a good reason, you will be allowed to complete a make-up midterm on Monday, October 22 at 8:00 p.m., meeting in DM 482B. **THERE WILL BE NO OTHER TIME TO MAKE UP THE MID-TERM EXAM AND NO MAKE-UP EXAM FOR THE FINAL. NO EXCUSES!** It should also be noted that the make-up exam will be considerably more difficult than the regular mid-term exam. Please plan ahead.

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Percent of Grade</u>
MIDTERM EXAM	Oct 15	30%
HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT	Oct 31	10%
TERM PAPER	Dec 3	30%
FINAL EXAM	Dec 10	30%

### Required Texts

We will read both theoretical and substantive works in this course which vary in length. Long assignments are generally more descriptive than short assignments and can be read fairly quickly. Short

assignments are generally analytical and may require more reading time than long assignments. They may even require a second or third reading in order to be fully comprehended. **READ THE ENTIRE ASSIGNMENT AT LEAST ONCE BEFORE COMING TO CLASS!** Remember, if you work hard and complete all the readings, this should be a very rewarding course. Expect two hours of reading for every hour of class time, except during exams.

The following books can be purchased from the campus book store.

1. Bibby, John (2000) *Politics, Parties, and Elections in America*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Wadsworth.
2. Downs, Anthony (1957) *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row.
3. Aldrich, John (1995) *Why Parties?* Chicago: University of Chicago.
4. Reichley, James (2000) *The Life of the Parties*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

### Schedule of Topics and Readings

#### I. FOUNDATIONS OF PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

Aug 27 Introduction

Aug 29 The Concept of Parties  
\*Bibby, *Politics, Parties, and Elections in America*, Ch 1.  
\*Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, Ch 1.

**Sept 3 NO CLASS: Labor Day**

#### II. PARTIES IN THE ELECTORATE AND THE THEORY OF ANTHONY DOWNS

Sept 5 Parties and the Electoral Process  
- Sept 10 \*Bibby, *Politics, Parties, and Elections in America*, Ch 6 and 7.

Sept 12 The Party Battle in America  
\*Bibby, *Politics, Parties, and Elections in America*, Ch 2.

Sept 17 The Downsian Model of Plurality Voting  
- 26 \*Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, Ch 1, 5, 7 and 8 (these are short chapters; make sure you understand 8).

- Oct 1 Applications of Downs to Presidential Elections and other Big Questions  
 - Oct 3
- \*The 1964 Election:  
<http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/specials/elections/index.html>
  - \*The 1988 Election:  
<http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/specials/elections/index.html>  
<http://www.multied.com/elections/1988.html>  
<http://www.debates.org/pages/debhis88.htm> (2 presidential debates)
  - \*The 1992 Election:  
<http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/specials/elections/index.html>  
<http://www.multied.com/elections/1992.html>  
<http://www.debates.org/pages/debhis92.html> (3 presidential debates)

### III. PARTIES IN THE LEGISLATURE, AND PARTY FORMATION

- Oct 8 The Congressional Party  
 \*Bibby, *Politics, Parties, and Elections in America*, Ch 9 (focus on parties in Congress).
- Oct 10 Intentions of the Founders  
 \*Reichley, *The Life of the Parties*, ch 2, **CP**.
- Oct 15 MIDTERM EXAM**
- Oct 17 Why Parties Form  
 - Oct 29 \*Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, ch 2 (skim 37-45, understand the rest thoroughly).
- Oct 31 \*Recommended: Shepsle and Bonchek, *Analyzing Politics*, ch 3 & ch 4 (p. 39-56), describes the social choice problem (on reserve in the Green Library).
- Nov 5 The First Parties  
 \*Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, ch 3.
- Nov 7 Jacksonian Democracy  
 - 12 \*Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, ch 4.  
 \*Reichley, *The Life of the Parties*, ch 5 (skim).  
 \*Recommended: Shepsle and Bonchek, *Analyzing Politics*, ch 8 (p. 197-206), describes the collective action problem (on reserve in Green Library).
- Nov 14 Whigs, Republicans, and the Civil War  
 \*Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, ch 5.

\*Reichley, *The Life of the Parties*, ch 6 (skim).

#### IV. THE POLITICAL MACHINES AND VOTER TURNOUT

Nov 19 Rise and Fall of the Political Machines  
\*Reichley, *The Life of the Parties*, ch 7 and ch 9 (skim).

**Nov 21 NO CLASS: Thanksgiving Break**

Nov 26 \*Reichley, *The Life of the Parties*, ch 10.

Nov 28 The Rationality of Voting  
- Dec 3 \*Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, ch 14.

#### **DEC 3: TERM PAPERS DUE**

Dec 5 REVIEW

**Dec 10 FINAL EXAM: 6:25-9:05 pm (same location)**

## **Additional Readings for Your own Research**

### **Campaigns**

- Boller, Paul (1984) Presidential Campaigns. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Congressional Quarterly's Guide to US Elections (1994) Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press --> an encyclopedia of US elections.
- Faber, Harold (1965) The Road to the White House. New York: The New York Times --> 1964 presidential elections.
- Hernson, Paul (1995) Congressional Elections: Campaigning at Home and in Washington. Congressional Quarterly Press --> nuts and bolts of campaign process, not detailed history of any campaign.
- National Journal. Washington, Government Research Corp --> journalistic descriptions of recent campaigns.
- Sorauf, Frank (1992) Inside Campaign Finance. New Haven: Yale University Press --> campaign finance reform.
- Schlesinger, Arthur (1971) The History of US Presidential Elections, 1789-1968. New York: Chealsea House Publishers, 4 vols.

### **Electoral College**

- Hardaway, Robert (1994) The Electoral College and the Constitution. Westport: Praeger.
- Natapoff, A. (1996) "A mathematical one-man rationale for Madisonian presidential voting based on maximum individual voting power" Public Choice, 88: 259-273.

### **Parties**

- Reichley, James (1992) The Life of the Parties. New York: The Free Press --> on reserve.
- Rhode, David (1991) Parties and Leaders in the Post Reform Congress. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schlesinger, Arthur (1973) History of US Political Parties. New York: Chealsea House Publishers, 4 vols.

### **Rational Choice**

- Hinch, Melvin and Michael Munger (1997) Analytical Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Holcombe, Randall (1980) "An Empirical Test of the Median Voter Model" Economic Inquiry, 18: 260-274.
- Shepsle, Kenneth and Mark Bonchek (1997) Analyzing Politics. New York: W.W. Norton.

Riker, William (1982) Liberalism against Populism. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman --> analysis of voting procedures and democracy.

### **Voter Participation**

Harris, Joseph Pratt (1929) Registration of Voters in the United States. Washington: The Brookings Institute --> methods of voter registration and registration fraud.

\_\_\_\_\_ (1934) Election Administration in the United States. Washington: The Brookings Institute --> history of the political machines and voter turnout.

Heckelman, Jac C. (1995) "The Effect of the Secret Ballot on Voter Turnout Rates" Public Choice, 82: 107-124.

Verba, Sidney and Norman Nie (1993) "Is it Rational to Vote?" in Richard Niemi and Herbert Weisberg Ed. Classics in Voting Behavior. Washigton, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.