# P SC 5400: Political Parties

# Dr. Rachel Blum University of Oklahoma

Spring 2024

Class time: 1:30-4:20 pm on Thursdays

Class location: Monnet Hall 101 (Carl Albert Center Conference room)

Instructor email: rblum@ou.edu

Office hours: By appointment (available in-person or on zoom)

**Zoom link:** Use this link for office hours or any other time zoom is required. You must be

signed into an OU zoom account to join.

## 1 Course Goals

This course explores the role of political parties and partisanship in American democracy. We will engage the leading literature on how and why political parties form, and their consequences for policy, politics and democracy. We will consider the role of parties in a variety of settings, as well as consider how parties unite activity between settings. We will also investigate the role of partisanship in shaping individual level voting behavior. This course will bridge scholarship on political institutions, political behavior, and American political development.

This course assumes no particular background in American politics, political science or research methods. Students with such a background may get more out of this course, but since political parties permeate so many aspects of politics, this course provides a good background for future courses as well. We will review some background material as it arises. Students who complete this course will be prepared to contribute to the literature on political parties, and will write a a research paper on an original question that aims to make such a contribution.

# 2 Expectations and Graded Components

Class participation: 20% Response papers: 20% Leading discussion: 20%

Final paper: 40%

## 2.1 Class participation

This is a graduate-level discussion seminar. The success of this class depends on the full participation of each student. Participation thus forms a significant component of your grade. Participation is multi-faceted. It involves preparation before class and engagement during class.

Preparation means that you must complete the readings before class, form thoughts about them, and be ready to ask and answer interesting questions about the readings. You must also read the essays posted by the discussion leaders, and I recommend reviewing your classmates' weekly response papers before class as well (see more below).

Engagement during class involves thoughtful contributions. Quality matters more than quantity. Dominating the discussion is not valued; contributing to it is.

## 2.2 Response papers

Beginning in week three, you will write a short essay (about 750 words, or the equivalent of one single-spaced page) on the readings for each week. These papers are meant to increase your engagement with the readings by allowing you to process the information in a different way, to give you frequent writing practice, and possibly to serve as foundations of your final paper.

- Except as noted below, please do not write more than 900 words. This is a hard cap. Your classmates should be able to read through your essay in time for class.
- You may choose to focus on one part of the readings or attempt to address more than one or even all of a week's readings. (There is one exception: if you are the discussion leader, you must address all of the readings.)
- Do not simply summarize. React to the readings, raising questions or drawing connections to other ideas in the literature. You may refer to previous readings, topics raised in class, or other students' posts.
- The papers should be written in the same formal style as any other work.
- Papers must be posted, as if they were a blog post, to the canvas discussion board by 12 midnight the night before class. Late papers will be penalized.

# 2.3 Leading discussion

Each week, one to two students will lead the discussion for the class. Depending on the size of the class, you will be expected to lead discussion two or three times during the semester.

- For the weeks that you are leading discussion, your weekly paper may be up to 4,000 words (the equivalent of about five single-spaced pages), but it does not need to be longer than normal.
- Discussion-leaders' papers should be posted on the Canvas discussion board by 9 p.m. the night before class.

- Students leading discussion will then present the readings to the rest of the class and draw out questions to be discussed.
- Good discussions are not based on quizzing your fellow students. You should try to bring the class focus to important questions, concerns or implications raised by the readings.

## 2.4 Final paper

You must write an original research paper on some question involving political parties.

- You can, if you choose, co-author your final paper with another student in this class. In that case, both students receive the same grade, and both students are expected to do an equal amount of work.
- Details for the research paper will be discussed at length in class. The model is a paper that might be presented at a conference.
- An abstract of the proposed paper must be submitted by March 14, and paper topics must be approved before that abstract is due.
- The paper will be due May 6, at 11:59pm.
- In addition to turning in your final paper, you will present your findings in a brief presentation during prep week (May 2nd).
  - The grade for the final paper will include the quality of your presentation.
  - All students are expected to attend the presentations, and to be engaged, ask questions, and otherwise participate.
- Your grade for the final paper will primarily reflect the quality of the research question and how well you have addressed it. Stylistic issues in presentation (both in the in-class presentation and the paper itself) will also matter.

## Other notes on grading

- Graduate grades: In graduate courses, a grade less than a "B" is typically considered unsatisfactory. All work will be graded internally on a nuanced letter scale, with an "A" representing exceptional work, a "B+" good performance, and a "B" minimally satisfactory output.
- Late assignments: I will give extensions on certain assignments on a case-by-case basis. These extensions must be discussed prior to the time the assignment is due. Otherwise, late assignments will be penalized with a 10% grade reduction per week they are late.
- Incompletes: All work must be turned in no later than the start of class on the day when it is due unless you have obtained permission from me to do otherwise. I do not give incompletes, I save for truly exceptional circumstances of a serious and unforeseen nature.

• Academic integrity: In accordance with the OU Honor Code and professional standards, I expect that all work will be your own and taken very seriously any form of academic misrepresentation, including improper or omitted citation of sources and misappropriation of an other's work. We will discuss appropriate and inappropriate ways to use artificial intelligence tools. It is never acceptable to have an artificial intelligence application write an assignment for you.

# 3 Class policies

#### 3.1 Conduct

Students are expected to conduct themselves in a professional and civil manner. Listen respectfully to your classmates and keep an open mind.

# 3.2 Instructional continuity

In the event of a campus closure or other emergency that prevents us from meeting in-person, we will hold class on zoom. We will use the same zoom link for any meetings related to our course. I will communicate using email and Canvas in the event that we need to hold class on zoom.

#### 3.3 Attendance

This is a discussion-oriented class. Attendance is a necessary but not sufficient condition for participation in discussion. Since we expect to learn from one another, you have an obligation to be here to help others learn from you. However, I understand conflicts and health issues.

- If you cannot attend class in person, you have two options. You can either join via zoom, or not attend. Either way, please notify me in advance.
- Since your participation grade is holistic, you simply need to participate sufficiently in the classes when you are there to make up for your absence.
- If you have a conflict with an assignment, please contact me in advance.

# 3.4 Accessibility and Accommodations

Any student with a disability that may prevent the full demonstration of his or her abilities should contact the Disability Resource Center (University Community Center, 730 College Ave, 405-325-3852) to make a formal request for accommodation. Please inform me as soon as possible, as well, so that we can discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation and facilitate your educational opportunities.

## 4 Books to Purchase

Aldrich, John 2011. Why Parties? A Second Look. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Blum, Rachel. 2020. How the Tea Party Captured the GOP: Insurgent Factions in American Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mason, Lilliana. 2018. *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Philpot, Tasha S. 2017. Conservative but Not Republican: The Paradox of Party Identification and Ideology among African Americans. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Noel, Hans. 2013. Political Ideologies and Political Parties in America. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rosenbluth, Frances McCall and Ian Shapiro. 2018. Responsible Parties: Saving Democracy from Itself. Yale University Press.

Schattschneider, E.E. 1942. Party Government. Edison: Transaction Publishers. isbn: 0765805588 Note: There is a 1998 reprint edition from Rutledge (isbn: 9781138529557) that is easy to obtain online, but the older edition is also fine.

Tarrow, Sidney. 2021. Movements and Parties. New York: Cambridge University Press.

# 5 Class Schedule and Assigned Readings

Please complete all readings before class. The reading load is heavier some weeks than others. Plan accordingly.

# January 18 Introduction Schattschneider (1942), chapter 3, book Aldrich (1995), Chapters 1-2 What is a party? Schattschneider (1942), book Sartori (1976), selections Discuss V.O. Key Recommended further readings Key, V.O. 1942. Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups. Downs, Anthony. 1957. An Economic Theory of Democracy.

#### February 1 | Why parties?

Aldrich (2011), book Riker (1962), selection Washington (1796), online Rosenblum (2010), selection

#### February 8 | Policy demanders

Bawn et al. (2012), article

Cohen et al. (2008), chapters 3 and 7

Cohen et al. (2016), article

#### February 15 | Hollow parties or strong parties?

Schlozman and Rosenfeld (2018), selection

Azari (2016), online Schwartz (2019), selection

Hernnson (2008), article

Ban et al. (2017), working paper

Recommended further reading

Masket, Seth. 2016. The Inevitable Primary. Masket, Seth. 2020. Learning from Loss.

## February 22 | Duverger's law and party systems

Duverger (1951), selection Dunleavy (2012), blog

Dunleavy and Diwakar (2012), article Bawn and Rosenbluth (2006), article

Riker (1982), article

#### February 29 | Party realignment

Key (1959), article

Sundquist (1973 and 1983), articles Carmines and Wagner (2006), article

Petrocik (1987), article

Abramowitz and Saunders (1998), article

Miller and Schofield (2003), article

#### March 7 Factions and activists

Blum (2020), book

Blum and Cowburn (2023), article

Layman et al. (2010), article

Recommended further reading

Blum and Noel on factions and nominations (under review), on Canvas

March 14 | Movements and parties

Paper proposal due Tarrow (2021), book

Blum (under review), chapter

Cohen (2019), article

 $Recommended\ further\ reading$ 

Schlozman, Daniel. 2015. When Movements Anchor Parties.

March 21 No class - spring break

March 28 | Ideology and parties

Noel (2013), book

Grossman and Hopkins (2015), article Hopkins and Noel (2022), article

April 4 No class - MPSA

April 11 Party coalitions and cleavages

Lipset and Rokkan (1967), article

Philpot (2017), book

Wolbrecht and Hartney (2014), article

Recommended further readings

Wolbrecht, Christina. 2000. The Politics of Women's Rights.

Schickler, Eric. 2016. Racial Realignment.

April 18 | Partisanship

Mason (2018), book Margolis (2017), article

Barber and Pope (2018), article

April 25 | Parties and Democracy

Rosenbluth and Shapiro (2018), book Schattschneider (1942), Chapter 1, again

Madison's Federalist 10, online

May 2 Final presentations in class

May 6 Final papers due on Canvas at midnight

## Recommended books

You may find it useful to acquire the following books as well. You can purchase them or find them in the library.

Benjamin, Andrea. 2017. Racial coalition building in local elections: Elite cues and cross-ethnic voting. Cambridge University Press.

Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley.

Cohen, Marty, David Karol, Hans Noel and John Zaller. 2008. The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cox, Gary W. 1997. Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems. Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cross, William and Jean-Benoit Pilet, eds. 2015. The Politics of Party Leadership: A Cross-National Perspective. Oxford.

DiSalvo, Daniel. Engines of Change: Party Factions in American Politics, 1868-2010. New York: Oxford University Press.

Duverger, Maurice. 1951. Political Parties: Their Organizations and Activity in the Modern State,. London: Methuen and Co.

Frederickson, Kari A., 2001. The Dixiecrat revolt and the end of the solid south, 1932-1968. Univ of North Carolina Press.

Givens, Terri E. 2012. Voting radical right in Western Europe. Cambridge University Press.

Goodin, Robert E. 2008. The Place of Parties. In Innovating democracy: democratic theory and practice after the deliberative turn. Oxford University Press.

Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist and Eric Schickler. 2002. Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kamarck, Elaine. C., 2009. Primary politics: How presidential candidates have shaped the modern nominating system. Rowman and Littlefield.

Karol, David. 2009. Party Position Change in American Politics: Coalition Management. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Key, Jr. V. O. 1942. *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups: 5th Edition.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

Levitsky, S. and Ziblatt, D., 2019. How Democracies Die. Crown.

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Masket, Seth. 2016. The Inevitable Party: Why Attempts to Kill the Party System Fail and How they Weaken Democracy. Oxford University Press.

Masket, Seth. 2020. Learning from Loss: The Democrats, 2016-2020. Cambridge University Press.

Mayhew, D.R., 2014. Placing parties in American politics: Organization, electoral settings, and government activity in the twentieth century (Vol. 46). Princeton University Press.

Maxwell, A. and Shields, T., 2019. The long southern strategy: How chasing white voters in the South changed American politics. Oxford University Press.

Muirhead, Russell. 2014. The Promise of Party in a Polarized Age. Harvard University Press.

Riker, William. 1962. The Theory of Political Coalitions. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Riker, William. 1982. Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.

Rosenblum, Nancy L. 2010. On the Side of the Angels: An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship. Princeton University Press.

Rosenfeld, Sam. 2017. The Polarizers: Postwar Architects of Our Partisan Era. University of Chicago Press.

Sartori, Giovanni. 2005 (1976). Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis. Oxford: European Consortium on Political Research Press.

Schickler, Eric. 2016. Racial Realignment: The Transformation of American Liberalism, 1932-1965. Princeton University Press.

Schlozman,, Daniel. 2016. When Movements Anchor Parties: Electoral Alignments in American History. Princeton University Press.

Sundquist, James L., 2011. Dynamics of the party system: Alignment and realignment of political parties in the United States. Brookings Institution Press.

Wolbrecht, Christina. 2000. The Politics of Women's Rights: Parties, Positions and Change. Princeton University Press.