

POL 616 Political Parties and Interest Groups

Spring 2005

Mondays 9:30 – 12:30

SBS – N702

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Office Hours: Tuesday 10-11 and Thursday 10-12.

1. Objectives

The primary goals of this course are to assist you in understanding the role of political parties and interest groups in American politics, to give you practice in critical thinking about research, and to have you prepare a research design that will study some aspect of political parties or interest groups. To achieve these goals you will:

- I. Complete the assigned readings for each week.
- II. Prepare literature reviews for weeks where you are the assigned discussion leader (3 total). The review will integrate the readings for the week, examine the good and bad aspects of the research, and present ideas for research designs that best address unanswered questions in the readings.
- III. Prepare a design for a research project that deals with parties or interest groups.
- IV. Write a midterm examination that should help prepare you for your comprehensive examinations in American politics.

2. Tests and Grading

Grades will be based on literature reviews, class participation, research design, and a midterm examination.

Lit Reviews = 30%

Class Participation and Presentations 15%

Research Design 30%

Midterm Examination 25%

3. Classroom participation

This is a seminar and I value and encourage in-class discussion. Do not hesitate to challenge me or other members of the class in a constructive manner. A great deal of learning in this class will come from class discussions of the readings – which is why it is essential to come to class prepared.

For each literature review you write, you will also be required to present the week's readings (as well as additional recommended readings) and lead the class in a discussion of the readings. You should focus on encouraging discussion rather than just summarizing the articles.

Some guidelines for when you lead the discussion:

- I. Have notes ready to use and examples to put on the board. Have questions ready to put to the class. 10-15 minutes of you talking uninterrupted is plenty.
- II. Give the major points of the article/chapters.
- III. Explain the method and give an example or two.
- IV. What are good and bad aspects of research in the area and where does it fit in the literature.
- V. Explain problems of research design and how you think one could better investigate the important questions in an alternative design.

4. Required Books

Buy the following books. They have been ordered for the University Book Store.

- John Aldrich. 1995. *Why Parties: The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Alan Ware. 1996. *Political Parties and Party Systems*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Leon Epstein. 1986. *Political Parties in the American Mold*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Mancur Olson. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Some recommended texts:

- Arend Lijphart. 1984. *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Countries*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Cigler and Loomis. 2002. *Interest Group Politics*, 6th Edition. CQ Press.
- Peter Mair, Ed. 1990. *The West European Party System*. Oxford University Press.
- Larry J. Sabato and Bruce Larson. 2002. *The Party's Just Begun*, 2nd Edition. New York: Longman.
- L. Sandy Maisel, Ed. 2002. *The Parties Respond*, 4th Edition. Cambridge, MA: Westview.
- Marjorie Randon Hershey and Paul Allen Beck. 2003. *Party Politics in America*, 10th Edition. New York: Longman.
- Anthony Downs. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*.
- Dalton and Wattenberg, Eds. *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*.
- Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, Eds. 2001. *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Daadler and Mair. *West European Party Systems*.
- Peter Mair. *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretation*.
- Paul Webb. *Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*.
- Morris P. Fiorina. 2003. *Divided Government*, 2nd Edition. New York: Longman.

A. James Reichley. 1992. *The Life of the Parties: A History of American Political Parties*. Rowman & Littlefield.

5. Weekly Reading Assignments

Those marked with an * are to be read by weekly discussion readers in addition to the required readings.

Week 1: January 24, 2005

TOPIC: Introduction to Parties and Interest Groups

Required reading:

Aldrich, *Why Parties* ch. 1.

Epstein, *Political Parties in the American Mold*, Ch. 2,3.

Epstein, Leon D. 1983. "The Scholarly Commitment to Parties." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, Ada Finifter, ed.. Washington, D.C.: APSA.

Recommended reading:

Lijphart, *Democracies*, Ch. 1-6.

Ranney, Austen. 1968. "The Concept of 'Party.'" In *Political Research and Political Theory*, Oliver Garceau, ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Crotty William, 1991.v "Political Parties: Issues and Trends." In *Political Science: Looking to the Future*, Volume 4, ed. William Crotty. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

APSA Committee on Political Parties. 1950. "Towards a More Responsible Two Party System." *APSR*, (Sept).

Week 2: January 31, 2005

TOPIC: Why Parties?

Required reading:

Aldrich, *Why Parties* ch. 2.

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Ch. 1.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row. pp. 1-164.

Krehbiel, Keith. 1993. "Where's the Party," *BJPS*, 23: 235-266.

Recommended reading:

Schlesinger. 1984. "On the Theory of Party Organization," *JOP*, 46(2): 369-400.

*Berger, Munger and Pothoff, "The Downsian Model Predicts Divergence," *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 12(2).

LaPalombara and Weiner, "The Origin of Political Parties", in Mair, pp. 25-31.

Shepsle and Cohen, "Multiparty Competition, Entry, and Entry Deterrence in Spatial Models of Elections," in Enelow and Hinich, *Advances in the Spatial Theory of Voting*, pp. 12-45.

Rabinowitz and MacDonald, "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting," *AJPS*, 83(1):93-121.

Week 3: February 7, 2005

TOPIC: Parties and Party Systems

Required reading:

Duverger, *Political Parties*, pp. 206-255.

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Ch. 5,6.

Riker, William. 1992. "The Two-Party System and Duverger's Law: An Essay on the History of Political Science," *APSR*, 76(4): 753-766.

Recommended reading:

*Sartori, Giovanni, "A Typology of Party Systems," in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*.

Lijphart, *Democracies*, Ch. 7-8.

King, Anthony, "Political Parties in Western Democracies," *Polity* 2(1969).

Lijphart, "Dimensions of Ideology in European Party Systems," Mair, pp. 253-265.

Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems*.

Ware, Alan. "The Party Systems of Established Liberal Democracies: Is this a Decade of Transformation?" *Government and Opposition* 30 (1995).

Kirchheimer, "The Catch-All Party," in Mair, pp. 50-61.

Dittrich, "Testing the Catch-All Thesis, in Daadler and Mair, pp. 257-267.

Week 4: February 14, 2005

TOPIC: Cleavages and Electoral Systems

Required reading:

Boix, Charles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *APSR* 93:609-24.

Lijphart, "The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws, 1945-85," *APSR*, 84(2): 481-496.

Pradeep Chhibber and Ken Kollman. 1998. "Party Aggregation and the Number of Parties in India and the United States." *APSR* 92:329-42.

Ovtavio Amorim Neto and Gary Cox. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures and the Number of Parties." *AJPS* 41:149-74.

Recommended reading:

*Cox. 1997. *Making Votes Count*.

Lipset and Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments" in Mair, pp. 91-139.

Lijphart, *Democracies*, Ch. 9.

Sartori, "The Sociology of Parties," in Mair, pp. 150-183.

Norris, Pippa, "Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian and Mixed Systems," *International Political Science Review* 18(1997).

Lijphart, Arend and Bernard Grofman, *Choosing an Electoral System*, Ch. 1-4.

Rosenstone, Steven J., Roy Behr, and Edward H. Lazarus. 1996. *Third Parties in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lijphart. 1985. "The Field of Electoral Systems Research: A Critical Survey." *Electoral Studies*, 4:1, 3-14.

Week 5: February 21, 2005

TOPIC: History of American Parties

Required reading:

Aldrich, *Why Parties*, ch. 3-4.

Nardulli. 1995. "The Concept of a Critical Realignment, Electoral Behavior, and Political Change," *APSR*, 89:10-22.

Silbey. 2002. "From 'Essential to the Existence of Our Institutions' to 'Rapacious Enemies of Honest and Responsible Government': The Rise and Fall of American Political Parties, 1790-2000." In: *The Parties Respond, 4th Edition*.

Beck, Paul Allen. 1979. "The Electoral Cycle and Patterns of American Politics." *BJPS* 9:129-56.

Miller, Gary and Norman Schofield. 2003. "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States." *APSR* 97:245-60.

Carmines, Edward J. and James A. Stimson. 1986. "On the Structure and Sequence of Issue Evolution." *APSR* 80(September): 901-20.

Recommended reading:

*Aldrich, *Why Parties*, ch. 5.

Schlesinger. 1985. "The New American Political Party," *APSR*, 79(4): 1152-1169.

Key. 1955. "A Theory of Critical Elections," *JOP*, 17(1):3-18.

Key, V.O., 1959. "Secular Realignment and the Party System." *JOP* 21 (May): 198-210.

Reichley. 1992. *The Life of the Parties*.

Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System*.

E.E. Schattschneider. 1960. *The Semi-Sovereign People*. Hinsdale, IL: Dryden, Chapter 4, pp.62-77.

Wolbrecht, Christina. 2000 *The Politics of Women's Rights: Parties, Positions, and Change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapter 4.

Brady, *Critical Elections*.

Week 6: February 28, 2005

TOPIC: Parties in Elections

Required reading:

Aldrich, *Why Parties*, ch. 6.

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Ch. 10-11.

Abramowitz, Alan I., Albert D. Cover, and Helmut Norpoth. 1986. "The President's Party in Midterm Elections: Going From Bad to Worse." *AJPS* 30 (August): 562-76.

Lodge and Hamill, "A Partisan Schema for Political Information Processing," *APSR*, 80(2): 505-520.

Bartels, Larry M. 2000. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996." *AJPS*.

Recommended reading:

*Epstein, *Political Parties in the American Mold*, Ch. 4&6.

Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*.

Neimi and Weisberg, *Classics in Voting Behavior*, pp. 210-262.

Campbell, et al., *The American Voter*.

Herrnson, Paul. 1986. "Do Parties Make a Difference?" The Role of Party Organizations in Congressional Elections." *Journal of Politics* 48:589-615.
Nie, Verba and Petrocik, *The Changing American Voter*.

Week 7: March 7, 2005

TOPIC: Mass Partisanship

Required reading:

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Ch. 7.

Epstein, *Political Parties in the American Mold*, Ch. 8.

Burden and Kimball. 1998. "A New Approach to the Study of Ticket-Splitting." *APSR* 92, pp. 533-544.

MacKuen, Erikson and Stimson, "Macropartisanship," *APSR*, 83(4): 1125-1142.

Recommended reading:

*Abramson, Paul R. and Charles W. Ostrom, Jr. 1991. "Macropartisanship: An Empirical Reassessment." *APSR* 85(March): 181-192.

*MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, James A. Stimson, Paul Abramson, Charles W. Ostrom, Jr. 1992. "Question Wording and Macropartisanship (in Controversy)." *APSR* 86(June): 475-86.

Gerber, Elizabeth R. and John E. Jackson. 1993. "Endogenous Preferences and the Study of Institutions." *APSR* 87 (Sept.): 639-56.

Franklin, Charles H. and John E. Jackson. 1983. "The Dynamics of Party Identification." *APSR* 77(December): 957-73.

Mair, Peter, "Myths of Electoral Change and the Survival of Traditional Parties," *European Journal of Political Research* 24 (1993).

Lewis-Beck, Michael, "Comparative Economic Voting: Britain, France, Germany, Italy," *AJPS* 10(1986).

LeDuc, Lawrence, "The Dynamic Properties of Party Identification: a Four Nation Comparison," *European Journal of Political Research* 9(1981).

Week 8: March 14, 2005

TOPIC: Parties in Government

Required reading:

Aldrich, *Why Parties*, ch. 7.

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Ch. 12.

Krehbiel, Keith. 1993. "Where's the Party," *BJPS*, 23: 235-266.

Krehbiel, Keith. 2000. "Party Discipline and Measures of Partisanship." *American Journal of Political Science* 44:212-27.

Snyder, James M, and Tim Groseclose. 2000. "Estimating Party Influence in Congressional Roll Call Voting." *AJPS* 44: 187-205.

Recommended reading:

*Cox and Magar. 1999. "How Much is Majority Status in the U.S. Congress Worth?" *APSR*, 93(2): 299-310.

Poole and Rosenthal. 1997. *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting*, ch. 1-3, 6.

Milkis, Sidney. 1990. "The Presidency and Political Parties." In *The Presidency and the Political System*, 3rd Edition, ed. Michael Nelson. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Binder. 1999. "The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-1996." *APSR* 93:519-34.

Laver and Schofield, *Multiparty Government*, pp. 1-61.

Fiorina, Morris. 1996. *Divided Government*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Rohde, *Parties and Leaders in the Post-reform House*, Ch. 1-2.

Epstein, Lee and Charles D. Hadley. 1990. "On the Treatment of Political Parties in the U.S. Supreme Court, 1900-1986." *JOP* 52(May):413-32.

Week 9: March 28, 2005

TOPIC: Parties in Government, continued and Parties as Organizations

Required reading:

In government:

Cox and McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. Berkeley: University of California Press. ch. 4-6.

Organizations:

Aldrich, *Why Parties*, ch. 8.

Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Ch. 2, 3, 9.

Epstein, *Political Parties in the American Mold*, Ch. 5,7.

Brady, Henry E., Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 1999. "Prospecting for Participants: Rational Expectations and the Recruitment of Political Activists." *APSR* 93:153-68.

Recommended reading:

John Frenreis et al. 1990. "The Electoral Relevance of Local Party Organizations," *APSR* 84: 225-235

Coleman. 1996. "Party Organizational Strength and Public Support for Parties," *AJPS*, 40(3): 805-824.

Strom, Kaare. 1990. "A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties," *AJPS* 34.

McClosky, Herbert, Paul J. Hoffman, and Rosemary O'Hara. 1960. "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers." *APSR* 54: 406-27.

Schlesinger, *Political Parties and the Winning of Office*.

Epstein, Leon *Political Parties in Western Democracies*, ch. 2-5.

Eldersveld, Samuel, *Political Parties: a Behavioral Analysis*, ch. 3-5.

Herrnson, Paul. 1994. "The Revitalization of National Party Organizations." In *The Parties Respond: Changes in American Parties and Campaigns*, ed. Sandy Maisel. Boulder, CO: Westview, Chapter 3, pp.45-68.

Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Ch. 4.

Week 10: April 4, 2005

TOPIC: 3 Theories of Groups in Political Science

Required reading:

Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Chapters 1,2,5 and 6.

Truman, David B. 1951. *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*. New York: Knopf, ch. 1, 3-7, 16 (pp. 3-13, 45-210, 501-36).

Baumgartner, Frank R. and Beth L. Leech. 1998. *Basic Interests: The Importance of Groups in Politics and in Political Science*. Chapter 3: "The Rise and Decline of the Group Approach."

Browne, William P. 1990. "Organized Interests and Their Issue Niches: A Search for Pluralism in a Policy Domain." *JOP* 52(May):477-509.

Recommended reading:

Lowi, "American business, public policy...: *World Politics* 14: pp. 677-715. (or find a replacement to describe Lowi's theory).

MacFarland, Andrew S. 1987. "Interest Groups and Theories of Power in America." *BJPS* 17(April):129-47.

Walker, Jack. 1966. "A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy." *APSR* 60(June): 285-95.

Loomis and Cigler. 2002. "The Changing Nature of Interest Group Politics." Chapter 1 in Cigler and Loomis 6th Edition, pp. 1-33.

Week 11: April 11, 2005

TOPIC: Organizing Interest Groups

Required reading:

Salisbury, "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups." *AJPS* (old Midwest) 13 (Feb. 1969): 1-32.

Walker, "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups," *APSR*, 77 (June 1983): 390-406.

King and Walker, "The Provision of Benefits by Interest Groups in the US," *JOP* (May 1992).

Hansen, "The Political Economy of Group Membership," *APSR*, 79 (March 1985).

Recommended reading:

Moe. 1980. *The Organization of Interests*.

Lowry. 1997. "The Private Production of Public Goods," *APSR* 91, pp. 308-323.

Thompson, "Mediated Corruption: The Case of the Keating Five," *APSR*, 87 (June 1993): 360-68.

Hildreth, "The Importance of Purposes in "Purposive Groups: Incentives and Participation in the Sanctuary Movement," *AJPS*, (May 1994).

Rothenberg, "Organizational Maintenance and ..." *APSR* 82 (December 1988).

Sabatier, *et al.* "Belief Congruence..." *JOP* 52 (August 1990).

Browne. 2002. "Exchange Theory and the Institutional Impetus for Interest Group Formation." Chapter 15 in Cigler and Loomis 6th Edition, pp. 313-329.

Godwin. 1988. *One Billion Dollars of Influence* Chapters 1-2.

Week 12: April 18, 2005

TOPIC: PACS and Lobbying

Required reading:

Epstein, *Political Parties in the American Mold*, Ch. 9,10.

Hall and Wayman, "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees," *APSR* 84, 1990, 797-820.

Roemer and Snyder, "An Empirical Analysis..." *AJPS* 38: (August 1994): 745-769.
Wright, John R. 1990. "Contributions, Lobbying and Committee Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives." *APSR* 84(June):417-38.

Recommended reading:

*Grier, Munger, and Roberts, "The Determinants of Industry Political Activity, 1978-1986," *APSR* 88, 1994.
McCarty and Rothenberg, "Commitment and the Campaign Contribution Contract," *AJPS* 40, (August 1996).
Gopoian. 1984. "What Makes PACs Tick?" *AJPS* 28.
Grensky, "PACs and the Congressional Supermarket," *AJPS* 3: 1-24.
Langbein, "Money and Access..." *JOP* 48 (1986): 1052-62.
Conway, Green and Currinder. 2002. "Interest Group Money in Elections." Chapter 6 in Cigler and Loomis, 6th Edition, pp. 117-140.
Loomis. 2002. "Interest, Lobbying, and the U.S. Congress: Past as Prologue." Chapter 9 in Cigler and Loomis, 6th Edition, pp. 185-201.
Godwin and Seldon. 2002. "What Corporations Really Want from Government." Chapter 10 in Cigler and Loomis, 6th Edition, pp. 205-224.
Leetch, et al. 2002. "Organized Interests and Issue Definition in Policy Debates." Chapter 13 in Cigler and Loomis, 6th Edition, pp. 275-292.
Conway and Green. 1995. "Political Action Committees and the Political Process in the 1990s." Chapter 7 in Cigler and Loomis 4th Edition, pp. 155-173.

Week 13: May 2, 2005

TOPIC: Lobbying and Methodological Issues in Studying Lobbying and Its Effects

Required reading:

Marie Hojnacki & David C. Kimball, "Organized Interests and the Decision of Whom to Lobby in Congress," *APSR* 92 (December 1998), 775-90.
Kollman, "Inviting Friends to Lobby: Interest Groups, Ideological Bias and Congressional Committees." *AJPS* 41 (April 1997):519-44.
Hojnacki, "Interest Groups' Decisions to Join Alliances or Work Alone," *AJPS* 41 (January 1997): 61-87.
Austen-Smith and Wright, "Counteractive Lobbying," *AJPS* 38: (1994) pp. 25-44.
Baumgartner & Leech, "The Multiple Ambiguities of Counteractive Lobbying," *AJPS* 40: (1996) pp. 521-42.
Austen-Smith and Wright, "Theory and Evidence for Counteractive Lobbying," *AJPS* 40: pp. 543-64.
Baumgartner & Leech, "Good Theories Deserve Good Data," *AJPS* 40: 565-69.

Recommended reading:

Salisbury *et al.*, "Who Works with Whom? Interest Group Alliances and Opposition," *APSR* 81 (December 1987).
Gary Jacobson, "The Effect of the AFL-CIO's 'Voter Education' Campaigns on the 1996 House Elections," *JOP* 61 (1999), 185-94.
Richard A. Smith, "Advocacy, Interpretation, and Influence in the U.S. Congress," *APSR* 78 (1984), 44-63.

Darrell M. West, "Activists and Policymaking in Congress," *AJPS* 32 (1988), 662-80.
Richard L. Hall, *Participation in Congress* (1996).
Baumgartner and Jones. 1993. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1 & 2.
Birnbaum. *The Lobbyists*.
Hansen, *Gaining Access*. 1991. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Week 14: May 9, 2005

TOPIC: Interest Groups and the Lobbying of Institutions

Required reading:

Caldiera, Gregory, Marie Hojnacki, and John R. Wright. 2000. "The Lobbying Activities of Organized Interests in Federal Judicial Nominations." *JOP* 62:51-69.
Caldeira, Gregory and John R. Wright. 1988. "Organized Interests and Agenda Setting in the U.S. Supreme Court." *APSR* 78(December):1109-27.
Epstein, Lee and C.K. Rowland. 1991. "Debunking the Myth of Interest Group Invincibility in the Courts." *APSA* 85(March):205-17.
Ginsberg, Benjamin and Martin Shefter. 1990. "The Presidency, Interest Groups, and Social Forces: Creating a Republican Coalition." In *The Presidency and the Political System* (3rd Edition), ed. Michael Nelson. Washington, D.C.: C.Q. Press.

Recommended reading:

Heclo, Hugh. "Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment" in Anthony King, ed. *The New American Political System*.
DeGregorio and Rossotti. 1995. "Campaigning for the Court: Interest Group Participation in the Bork and Thomas Confirmation Processes." Chapter 10 in Cigler and Loomis 4th Edition, pp. 215-238.
Uslaner. 2002. "Cracks in the Armor? Interest Groups and Foreign Policy. Chapter 17 in Cigler and Loomis 6th Edition, pp. 355-377.