

PLAP 824
The Development of the American Party System

W 2:15 – 4:30
Scripps Library
The Miller Center of Public Affairs

Professor Jeffery A. Jenkins

Office: Miller Center G029
Office Hours: by appointment
E-mail: jajenkins@virginia.edu

Course Description

This course will focus on the development of the political party system in the United States, from the late 18th Century through the present day. Over the semester, we will examine why political parties emerged in the U.S., both in Congress and at the mass level; why particular parties like the Federalists and Whigs collapsed; and how different “party systems” have developed historically. Much of the course will focus on the changing electoral fortunes and underlying constituencies of the Democratic and Republican parties in the U.S.

In addition, rather than simply document the dynamics of parties and party systems across time, we will study American party development from various theoretical perspectives, including an economic-based perspective (referred to as Rational-Choice Institutionalism), a sociological-based perspective (referred to as Historical Institutionalism), and a more traditional historical perspective. The initial emergence of political parties, the demise of particular parties at various points in time, and the development of different party systems across time have been the result of multiple factors. Different perspectives emphasize different factors – for example, economic-based studies often emphasize the decision-making of elite actors; sociological-based studies typically emphasize pressures from groups in society; and traditional historical studies often emphasize the interaction of multiple (elite and mass) actors in the larger political system – so a complete and thorough accounting of party development and partisan change should incorporate each perspective.

Course Materials

We will use eleven books, all of which will be available at the UVA Bookstore. Some additional readings will be available on-line; these will be identified on the weekly outline. The eleven books we will use are:

- (1) John H. Aldrich. 1995. *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*. University of Chicago Press. ISBN: 0226012727.
- (2) Richard Hofstadter. 1970. *The Idea of a Party System*. University of California Press. ISBN: 0520017544.

- (3) James L. Sundquist. 1983. *Dynamics of the Party System: Alignment and Realignment of Political Parties in the United States*, Revised Edition. Brookings Institution Press. ISBN: 081578225X.
- (4) David Lublin. 2004. *The Republican South: Democratization and Partisan Change*. Princeton University Press. ISBN: 0691130477.
- (5) Leonard L. Richards. 2000. *The Slave Power: The Free North and Southern Domination, 1780-1860*. Louisiana State University Press. ISBN: 0807126004.
- (6) Scott C. James. 2006. *Presidents, Parties, and the State: A Party System Perspective on Democratic Regulatory Choice, 1884-1936*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 0521030021.
- (7) Alan Ware. 2006. *The Democratic Party Heads North, 1877-1962*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 0521675006.
- (8) Barbara Sinclair. 2006. *Party Wars: Polarization and the Politics of National Policy Making*. University of Oklahoma Press. ISBN: 0806137797.
- (9) John Gerring. 1998. *Party Ideologies in America, 1828-1996*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 0521785901.
- (10) Marty Cohen, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. 2008. *The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform*. University of Chicago Press. ISBN: 0226112373.
- (11) Jessica Trounstein. 2008. *Political Monopolies in American Cities: The Rise and Fall of Bosses and Reformers*. University of Chicago Press. ISBN: 0226812820.

Course Requirements

Students should finish each week's reading in advance of our scheduled meeting time. The course will follow a seminar format. This means that I will do little direct lecturing; rather, I will provide background context for the various readings, suggest important questions that should be pursued, and guide the class discussion on a meeting-by-meeting basis. Students are thus expected to participate actively and routinely in class discussion. As a result, class attendance will be mandatory, and participation in class discussion will represent 50% of the course grade. The remaining 50% of the course grade will come from a research paper (the content of which we'll discuss in the early weeks of the class).

Academic Dishonesty

Plagiarism and cheating will not be tolerated. Students who plagiarize or cheat will be held accountable to the full-extent of university guidelines.

Readings

An * next to a piece indicates that I will make it available to you electronically (via a PDF attachment).

Week 1: January 21

Focus: Introduction to the course and discussion of the syllabus

Week 2: January 28

Focus: Understanding the rational-basis for party emergence and formation; introduction to the concept of a “party system.”

Readings:

John Aldrich. *Why Parties?*. Chapters 1 and 2

Marjorie Randon Hershey. 2007. *Party Politics in America*, 12th Edition. Pearson-Longman Publishers. Chapters 1, 2, and 7*

Week 3: February 4

Focus: Examining the rise of the first political parties in America; discussion of the transition from the First Party System to the Second Party System.

Readings:

John Aldrich. *Why Parties?*. Chapters 3 and 4

Richard Hofstadter. *The Idea of a Party System*. All.

Week 4: February 11

Focus: Examining the development of the Second Party System and the rise of the Third Party System.

John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*. Chapter 5

Joel H. Silbey. 2001. “‘To One or Another of These Parties Every Man Belongs’: The American Political Experience from Andrew Jackson to the Civil War.” In Byron E. Shafer and Anthony J. Badger, eds. *Contesting Democracy: Substance and Structure in American Political History, 1775-2000*. University Press of Kansas.*

Leonard Richards. *The Slave Power*. All.

Week 5: February 18

Focus: Examining and critiquing the “broad brush stroke” of party realignment theory.

V.O. Key, Jr. 1955. “A Theory of Critical Elections.” *Journal of Politics* 17: 3-18.
(Available on-line, via JSTOR)

James Sundquist, *Dynamics of the Party System*, All.

Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal. 1993. “Spatial Realignment and the Mapping of Issues in U.S. History: The Evidence from Roll Call Voting.” In William H. Riker, ed. *Agenda Formation*. University of Michigan Press.*

David W. Mayhew. 2000. “Electoral Realignments.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 449-74. (Available on-line, via *Annual Review* website)

Week 6: February 25

Focus: Analyzing the ideology of political parties across time, with emphasis on how ideology drives (and reinforces) partisan change.

John Gerring. *Party Ideologies in America*. All.

Hans Noel. 2007. “Listening to the Coalition Merchants: Measuring the Intellectual Influence of Academic Scribblers.” *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics* vol. 5 (issue 3). (Available on-line, via Berkeley Electronic Press)

Week 7: March 4

Spring Break – No Class.

Week 8: March 11

Focus: Analyzing the politics of the Third Party System, moving into the Fourth Party System; party-building strategies across national institutions.

Scott James. *Presidents, Parties, and the State*. All.

Gretchen Ritter. 1999. *Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance, 1865-1896*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.*

Charles Stewart III and Barry R. Weingast. 1992. "Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation: Republican Rotten Boroughs, Statehood Politics, and American Political Development." *Studies in American Political Development* 6: 223-71.*

Howard Gillman. 2000. "How Political Parties Can Use the Courts to Advance Their Agendas: Federal Courts in the United States, 1875-1891." *American Political Science Review* 96: 511-24. (Available on-line, via JSTOR)

Week 9: March 18

Focus: Further analysis of the Fourth Party System; transition to the Fifth Party System; the rise of the Conservative Coalition.

Alan Ware. *The Democratic Party Heads North, 1877-1962*. All.

Sidney M. Milkis. 1993. *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System since the New Deal*. Oxford University Press. Chapters 2-3.

Ira Katznelson, Kim Geiger, and Daniel Kryder. 1993. "Limiting Liberalism: The Southern Veto in Congress, 1933-1950." *Political Science Quarterly* 108: 283-306. (Available on-line, via JSTOR)

Week 10: March 25

Focus: Examining partisanship and institutional change during the Progressive Era.

Ronald F. King and Susan Ellis. 1996. "Partisan Advantage and Constitutional Change: The Case of the Seventeenth Amendment." *Studies in American Political Development* 10: 69-102.*

Anna L. Harvey. 1997. "Women, Policy, and Party, 1920-1970: A Rational Choice Approach." *Studies in American Political Development* 11: 292-324.*

Alan Ware. 2000. "Antipartism and Party Control of Political Reform in the United States: The Case of the Australian Ballot." *British Journal of Political Science* 30: 1-29. (Available on-line, via JSTOR)

John F. Reynolds. 2006. *The Demise of the American Convention System, 1880-1911*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2, 6.*

Shigeo Hirano and James M. Snyder. 2007. "The Decline of Third Party Voting in the United States." *Journal of Politics* 69: 1-16. (Available on-line, via Cambridge Journals On-line)

Stephen Ansolabehere, Shigeo Hirano, and James M. Snyder. 2007. "What Did the Direct Primary Do to Party Loyalty in Congress?" In David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins, eds. *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress, Volume 2*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.*

Week 11: April 1

MPSA meetings – No Class.

Week 12: April 8

Focus: Examining parties and political change at the sub-national level, with specific emphasis on the dynamics of machine-based politics.

Harold F. Gosnell. 1933. "The Political Party versus the Political Machine." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 169: 21-28. (Available on-line, via JSTOR)

Anirudh V. S. Ruhil. 2003. "Urban Armageddon or Politics as Usual? The Case of Municipal Civil Service Reform." *American Journal of Political Science* 47: 159-70. (Available on-line, via JSTOR)

Jessica Trounstein. 2008. *Political Monopolies in American Cities: The Rise and Fall of Bosses and Reformers*. All.

Week 13: April 15

Focus: Analyzing the contemporary period in partisan politics, sometimes called the Sixth Party System; the emergence of the conservative movement within the Republican Party and rise of the Southern Republicans.

David Lublin, *The Republican South*. All.

John Aldrich. *Why Parties?*. Chapter 8.

Larry M. Bartels. 2000. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 35-50. (Available on-line, via JSTOR)

Week 14: April 22

Focus: Examining how partisan differences in recent decades have led to greater polarization in Congress; investigation of factors that have led to polarization at different political levels.

Barbara Sinclair. *Party Wars*. All.

Geoffrey Layman, Thomas Carsey, and Juliana Menasce Horowitz. 2006. "Party Polarization in American Politics: Characteristics, Causes, and Consequences." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 83-110. (Available on-line, via *Annual Review* website)

Nolan McCarty. 2007. "The Policy Effects of Political Polarization." In Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol, eds. *The Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton University Press.*

Week 15: April 29

Focus: Examining the role of parties in the presidential nomination (selection) process across time.

Marty Cohen et. al, *The Party Decides*. All.

Byron Shafer and Amber Wichowsky. 2008. "The Nomination and the Election: Clearing Away the Underbrush." *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics* vol. 6 (issue 4) (Available on-line, via Berkeley Electronic Press)

Philip A. Klinkner and Thomas A. Schaller. 2008. "LBJ's Revenge: The 2008 Election and the Rise of the Great Society Coalition." *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics* vol. 6 (issue 4) (Available on-line, via Berkeley Electronic Press)