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## **G53.3501.001: Parties and Partisanship**

The goal of this course is to provide a complete overview of the role of political parties in structuring political behavior by reading both institutionalist literature on political parties and behavioralist literature on partisanship and partisan identification. This course should be of interest to students planning on writing a dissertation on any topic related to political parties and partisanship.

### **Requirements**

The course meets once a week for two hours. Grading is based on class participation (25%) response papers during the semester (25%) and a term paper (50%). Please note that all page lengths refer to double-spaced pages with 1 inch margins.

*Class Participation:* This is a graduate seminar, and all students will be expected to have done the required reading before each week's seminar and contribute to the class discussion.

*Response Papers:* For two (2) weeks, students will be required to write a 5 page paper identifying the most important themes in that week's readings. For four (4) of the other weeks, students will be required to write a 2 page response paper addressing one of the readings. The topic of this paper is entirely up to the student: it could focus on a particularly compelling argument, raise points about the research design of an article, address issues related to the data analysis, etc.

Additionally, every student that is writing a weekly paper (either long or short) is also required to submit 3 potential discussion questions for the seminar along with their paper. Students not writing a paper that week are welcome to submit discussion questions as well, but are not required to do so. We will assign the weeks that each student will be required to write papers at the first session of this course.

All response papers must be submitted by email to Professor Tucker no later than 7:00 PM the night before class.

*Term Paper:* Each student is required to write a term paper for this course. There are three options for doing so:

1) **Literature Review:** Literature reviews are designed to provide insight into a given body of work. They do not merely summarize what has been written, but in addition point out themes, major findings, controversies, and directions for future research. Most published articles contain short literature reviews; most dissertations contain longer literature reviews. Literature reviews

will be focused on a theme, and can also have a regional dimension if desired (e.g., work on public opinion formation in Africa). Literature reviews are particularly appropriate for students that have some idea about the general topic on which they are hoping to write their QP and/or dissertation, but not enough familiarity with the literature to have identified a specific topic yet OR for students who have a very specific topic in mind, but little knowledge about the related literature. Literature reviews will be between 18-20 pages.

2) **Research Proposal:** A research proposal will look like an empirical journal article, only without the actual analysis. Thus it will include a statement of a research question or puzzle, a review of the literature related to the topic, theoretical arguments that can be used to provide an answer to the question, hypotheses drawn from these theories that can be tested empirically, and a description of what empirical evidence and methods will be used to test these hypotheses (including how the hypotheses could be falsified); it can of course also contain some initial analysis of the data. Research proposals are particularly appropriate for students who have a good idea of a particular question that they would like to explore in greater detail in the future, either in another seminar, for their QP, or dissertation and/or are would like to submit a single-authored publication to a journal in the near future. Writing a research proposal give you a chance to really explore the important questions in writing a paper (a good question, relationship to the literature, research design, appropriate and available data) without the pressure of also having to complete the data analysis. Research proposals will be between 18-20 pages.

3) **Research Paper:** Research papers are to be written with the goal of submitting the paper to a journal for publication after the course is completed. They will have all of the components of the research proposal, but will also complete the empirical analysis and contain a discussion of the implications of the findings. Research papers for this class are ONLY to be written by a collaboration of two co-authors, and the paper will be between 30-35 pages. Research papers are appropriate for people with a strong desire to produce a publishable piece of work by the end of the semester and who can come up with a very clear and specific idea of what they would like to write about within the first month of the course. Both authors will receive the same grade for the paper.

All term papers have the following deadlines:

tba: 1-2 paragraph description of the paper, including chosen option

tba: Detailed outline of the paper; you should be able to write a draft on the basis of this outline

tba: All papers due by 3:00 PM.

No incompletes are permitted on term papers for this class except in the case of extremely extenuating circumstances.

*Oral Presentation of Term Paper:* This will take place the last two weeks of the course. The idea here is to practice giving a conference presentation on your own research. So these will be 10-15 minute talks, preferably using a power point display. They will also be an opportunity for you to receive feedback on your research topic from you classmates.

## **Office Hours**

Professor Tucker will hold office hours on TBA. If you need to schedule a time to meet outside of the scheduled office hours, please email Professor Tucker directly.

## **Books for Purchase**

I recommend purchasing the following books (they have been made available at the NYU Bookstore), as we will either the whole book or significant portions of the book:

Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. Yale University Press.

Mair, Peter, ed. *The West European Party System*, Oxford Press 1990

Ware, Alan. 1996. *Political parties and party systems*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press., Ch. 1-5 (p.17-183)

Dalton, Russell J., and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2000. *Parties without partisans : political change in advanced industrial democracies*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

You are welcome to purchase any of the other books from Amazon.com. However, all of the other books from which readings are assigned will be available in my office. What I would recommend is that you take turns scanning the relevant readings and then emailing them to your classmates by week, although this is of course up to you. But do not recall these books from the library without checking with me first to see if I have them.

Please note that I am not preparing a course pack, as my assumption is that you can download journal articles from various electronic sources.

## **Class Schedule and Reading Assignments**

**Week 1, Tuesday Sept. 4 : Introduction and Course Overview**

## **Week 2, Sept 11: Historical Origins of Political Parties**

Mair, Peter, ed. *The West European Party System*, Oxford Press 1990: Ch. 1 (25-30) Ch.9 (91-138)

Aldrich, John Herbert. 1995. *Why parties? : the origin and transformation of political parties in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.. Ch.2-4 (p.28-125)

Wittenberg, Jason. 2006. *Sustaining Political Loyalties: Religion and Electoral Continuity in Hungary and Beyond*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press., Introduction and Ch.2, p.1-19, 55-75

## **Week 3, Sept 18: Theories of the Functions of Parties**

Ware, Alan. 1996. *Political parties and party systems*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press., Introduction (1-16)

Osborne, Martin. 1995. "Spatial Models of Political Competition Under Plurality Rule: A Survey of Some Explanations of the Number of Candidates and the Positions They Take." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 28 (2):261-301.

Hirshman, Albert (1970). *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Response to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press., Ch. 1-3, p.1-43

Dalton, Russell J., and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2000. *Parties without partisans : political change in advanced industrial democracies*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press., Ch. 5, 6, 9 (79-128, 180-207)

Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Richard I. Hofferbert, and Ian Budge. 1994. *Parties, policies, and democracy*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press., Ch.1, p.1-19.

*Recommended:*

Downs, Anthony (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chapters 2-3, 7-8 (p1-76, 96-141)

## **Week 4, Sept 25: Classifying Political Parties and Party Systems**

Mair, Peter, ed. *The West European Party System*, Oxford Press 1990: Ch. 2-5 (p. 31-60) and 20-24 (285-350)

Ware, Alan. 1996. *Political parties and party systems*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press., Ch. 1-5 (p.17-183)

Gunther, Richard, José R. Montero, and Juan J. Linz. 2002. *Political parties : old concepts and new challenges*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press., Ch.6, "Beyond the Catch-All Party" (136-65)

*Recommended:*

Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and party systems : a framework for analysis*. Vol. 1. Cambridge [Eng.] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 1, 2, 4 (3-55, 71-116)

### **Week 5, Oct 2: Explaining Party Systems and Party System Change**

Ware, Alan. 1996. *Political parties and party systems*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press., Ch. 6-7 (p.184-244)

Mair, Peter, ed. *The West European Party System*, Oxford Press 1990: Ch. 7-9 (75 – 138), 12 (185-194) 19 (266-284) [Note: we will have already read Ch.9 in Week 2]

Tavits, Margit. 2007. "Principle vs. Pragmatism: Policy Shifts and Political Competition." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 151-65

Gunther, Richard, José R. Montero, and Juan J. Linz. 2002. *Political parties : old concepts and new challenges*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press., Ch.2 "Parties: Denied, Dismissed of Redundant?" (39-57).

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1992. "The Formation of Party Systems in East Central Europe." *Politics and Society* 20 (1):7-50.

Recall as well Downs and Osborne readings from Week 3

*Recommended:*

Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2006. "Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More Than Others." *American Political Science Review* 100 (2): 165-81.

### **Week 6, Oct 9: Endogenous Party Formation**

Kollman, Ken, John H. Miller, and Scott E. Page. 1992. "Adaptive Parties in Spatial Elections." *American Political Science Review* 86 (4):929-37.

Laver, Michael. 2005. "Policy and the Dynamics of Political Competition." *American Political Science Review* 99 (2):263-81.

Hug, Simon. 2001. *Altering party systems : strategic behavior and the emergence of new political parties in Western democracies*. Ann Arbor [Mich.]: University of Michigan Press, Ch 3 & 5 (37-64, 79-124)

### **Week 7, Oct 16: Party ID: Michigan School, Political Psychology, and Early Classics**

Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley, Ch.6-7 (120-167)

Shively, W. Phillips. 1981. "The Development of Party Identification among Adults: Exploration of a Functional Model." *American Political Science Review* 73: 1039-54.

Beck, Paul Allen, and M. Kent Jennings. 1991. "Family Traditions, Political Periods, and the Development of Partisan Orientations." *Journal of Politics* 53(3): 742-63.

Weisberg, Herbert, and Steven Greene. 2003. "The Political Psychology of Party Identification." *Electoral Democracy*, edited by Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz. University of Michigan Press, 83-124.

### **Week 8, Oct 23: Party ID: The Rational Revisionists**

Fiorina, Morris. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. Yale Univ. Press. Ch. 4-5 (p.65-105) Note: you can skim p.65-73 of Ch.4

Franklin, Charles, and John Jackson. 1983. "The Dynamics of Party Identification." *American Political Science Review* 77: 957-73.

Achen, Christopher. 1992. "Social Psychology, Demographic Variables, and Linear Regression: Breaking the Iron Triangle in Voting Research." *Political Behavior* 14(3): 195-211.

Gerber, Alan, and Donald P. Green. 1998. "Rational Learning and Partisan Attitudes." *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (3):794-818.

Achen, Christopher. 2002. "Parental Socialization and Rational Party Identification." *Political Behavior* 24(2): 151-70.

### **Week 9, Oct 30: Party ID: Social Identity Theory (Partisan Hearts and Minds)**

Green, Donald P., Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan hearts and minds : political parties and the social identities of voters*. New Haven [Conn.] ; London: Yale University Press.

Bartels, Larry. 2002. "Beyond the Running Tally: Partisan Bias in Political Perceptions." *Political Behavior* 24(2): 117-50.

## **Week 10, Nov. 6: Cross-National Studies of Partisan Identification**

Converse, Philip. 1969. "Of Time and Partisan Stability." *Comparative Political Studies* 2: 139-71.

Brader, Ted, and Joshua A. Tucker "Of Time and Partisan Stability Revisited", unwritten manuscript, Ann Arbor, MI.

Huber, John, Georgia Kernell, and Eduardo Leoni. 2003. "Institutional Context, Cognitive Resources, and Party Attachments Across Democracies." *Political Analysis* 13:365-86.

Dalton, Russell J., and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2000. *Parties without partisans : political change in advanced industrial democracies*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press., ch.2-3 (19-63).

## **Week 11, Nov. 13: Party ID in New Democracies**

Brader, Ted, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2001. "The Emergence of Mass Partisanship in Russia, 1993-96." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (1):69-83.

Rose, Richard. 1998. "Negative and Positive Party Identification in Post-Communist Countries." *Electoral Studies* 17 (2):217-34.

Samuels, David. "Sources of Mass Partisanship in Brazil." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48(2): 1-27 (Summer 2006)

Lupu, Noam, and Susan C. Stokes. 2007. *Political Identities in Argentina's Interrupted Democracy*. New Haven, Connecticut. *manuscript*, (I will email this to you)

Miller, Arthur H., and Thomas F. Klobucar. 2000. "The Development of Party Identification in Post-Soviet Societies." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (4):667-86.

Brader, Ted, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2002. *Pathway to Partisanship: Russia's Developing Partisans*, unpublished ms. Download from: <http://homepages.nyu.edu/~jat7/Pathways2002.pdf>

## **Week 12, Nov 20: Experimental Research in Party ID**

Johnston, Richard. 1992. "Party Identification Measures in Anglo-American Democracies: A National Survey Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 36(2): 542-59.

Rahn, Wendy. 1994. "The Role of Partisan Stereotypes in Information Processing about Political Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 37:472-96.

Rahn, Wendy M., John H. Aldrich, and Eugene Borgida. 1994. "Individual and Contextual Variations in Political Candidate Appraisal." *American Political Science Review* 88(1): 193-99.

McAllister, Ian, and Martin P. Wattenberg. 1995. "Measuring Levels of Party Identification: Does Question Order Matter?" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 59(2): 259-62.

Sanders, David, Jonathan Burton, and Jack Kneeshaw. 2002. "Identifying the True Party Identifiers: A Question Wording Experiment." *Party Politics* 8(2): 193-205.

Brader, Ted, and Joshua A. Tucker, 2007 "Reflective and Unreflective Partisans", unpublished ms., download from <http://homepages.nyu.edu/~jat7/ReflectiveandUnreflectivePartisans.pdf>

## **Week 13, Nov. 27 Student Presentations**

## **Week 14: Dec. 3, Student Presentations**