

## *Political Parties and Interest Groups*

Prof. Michael McDonald

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W 10-noon

or by appointment

### **Introduction**

Welcome to Political Parties and Interest Groups. The course examines political parties, which are the primary political organizations that put candidates before the voters and organize deliberations within political institutions; and interest groups, which are organizations with typically narrower interests than parties and whose narrower goals are to influence policy making.

Parties are mentioned nowhere in the United States constitution. In his farewell address, George Washington expressed his opposition to political parties shared by many of the Founding Fathers: "...the common & continual mischiefs of the spirit of Party are sufficient to make it the interest and the duty of a wise People to discourage and restrain it." Yet, even in his cabinet, the growing animosity between long-time friends John Adams and Thomas Jefferson would soon develop into the first national political parties. Parties thus play important functions in American democracy, then and today.

This is an exciting time for scholars interested in parties as the class will be held in the midst of the parties' presidential nomination contests. If that were not enough, Donald Trump is reengineering the Republican Party into his image. Much of the prior literature assumes modern parties to be static, or slow to change. The discontinuous change we are observing challenges many existing theories, which provides an opportunity for old theories to be revised or new theories to emerge.

What might a democracy without parties look like? Much political activity by organized groups in the electorate and government arises through the interest group system. Interest groups, in contrast to political parties, do not directly nominate candidates to run for office and do not play roles in organizing the government. They instead attempt to influence elections and policy making through pressure politics.

### **Readings**

There are a number of readings for the class, many of which can be found on the class Canvas website. Please contact the professor if you cannot access the folder.

Often authors will publish key pieces of books as journal articles or edited volume book chapters. I have attempted to assign these readings where I can to reduce your costs, although I recommend reading the books to prepare for comprehensive exams. There are some books, however, that are required for the class. These are:

- Aldrich, John. 2011. *Why Parties? A Second Look*.
- Morris P. Fiorina, Samuel J. Abrams, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2010. *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America, 3<sup>d</sup> Edition*.
- Alan I. Abramowitz. 2013. *The Polarized Public: Why American Government Is So Dysfunctional*.
- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*.
- Schattschneider, E. E. 1960. *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*.

### **Attendance Policy**

If you do not participate in at least one of the first two class meetings of a course or laboratory in which you are registered, and you have not contacted the department to indicate your intent, you can be dropped from the course. You must not assume that you will be dropped, however. The department will notify you if you have been dropped from a course or laboratory. You can request reinstatement on a space-available basis if you present documented evidence.

The university recognizes the right of the individual professor to make attendance mandatory (which is the case for this class). After due warning, professors can prohibit further attendance and subsequently assign a failing grade for excessive absences.

### **Grades**

Grades consist of three components: article reviews; class participation; and a term paper or final exam. The weighting of the aspects of the grade are:

<u>Assignment</u>	<u>Due</u>	<u>% of Overall Grade</u>
Weekly discussion questions		20%
Class Participation		10%
Midterm Exam	March 12	35%
Final Exam	April 29	35%

### **Article Reviews (20%)**

To facilitate class discussion and to encourage you to think critically about the class readings, you will write some questions from the reading for class discussion. The questions will be submitted to Canvas and the professor will choose among them to help guide class discussion.

What makes a good question? You are being exposed to many readings with subjects and methodological approaches that may be unfamiliar to you. Asking questions about material that puzzles you is definitely acceptable, and it may help other students if they, too, are struggling with the concepts. The best questions are those that elicit discussion on how a piece fits with others you have read in this or other classes. As the class progresses and you are exposed to more material, these latter questions will become easier to write.

### **Class Participation (10%)**

All students are required to participate in the class discussion, even if they are not assigned to summarize a reading and leading the discussion.

### **Midterm and Final Exams (35% each)**

You will be given two exams in this course, a midterm and a final exam. No collaboration is allowed and will be considered an honor code violation, although you can consult other students' reviews. If you have any questions about the degree of collaboration, please ask the professor first before proceeding. These exams will consist of a to-be-determined number of essay questions.

### **Optional: Research Paper (70%)**

It is customary for students seeking a PhD or writing a masters' thesis to write a research paper in a graduate seminar class. You may choose this option in lieu of the midterm and final papers, but must first receive approval from the professor. Expected format for the paper is 30-pages in 12 point Times New Roman font with 1" margins (the page count includes references/footnotes, but does not include any figures or tables).

Outline of the paper deadlines:

- A one or two paragraph description of your topic (Feb. 7) with a bibliography that may include class reading, but must include at least four books and/or articles from outside the class.
- Draft paper (Due: April 9)
- Final Paper (Due: April 29)

### **Honor Code**

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Honor Code (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor.

Basically, don't cheat. You cheat yourself of your education and more severe punishment may follow. Helping someone else is cheating, too. If you have any questions if your approach to completing an assignment may violate the honor code, please contact the instructor for guidance.

### **Disability Statement**

Students with disabilities requesting accommodations should first register with the Disability Resource Center (352-392-8565, [www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/](http://www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/)) by providing

appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter which must be presented to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Students with disabilities should follow this procedure as early as possible in the semester.

My exams tend to have an essay component. If you are eligible for disability services and your disability leads you to need more time taking an exam, please take advantage of disability services. We cannot undo poor performance on an exam if you did not make disability arrangements in advance.

### **Evaluations**

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing online evaluations at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu/results/>.

### **Provisional Nature of Syllabus**

I expect that we will follow this syllabus, but the material and sequencing may change as warranted, with advanced notice.

<b>Week 1</b> <b>Jan 9</b>	<b>No Class</b> Dr. McDonald is presenting a paper at the Southern Political Science Association Conference
<b>Week 2</b> <b>Jan 16</b>	<b>Theories of Interest Groups</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Latham, Earl. 1952. "The Group Basis of Politics: Notes for a Theory." <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 46(2): 376-97.</li> <li>• Putnam, Robert D. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 6(1): 65-78.</li> <li>• Olson, Mancur. 1965. <i>The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups</i>.</li> <li>• Schattschneider, E. E. 1960. <i>The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America</i>.</li> </ul>
<b>Week 3</b> <b>Jan 23</b>	<b>Theories of Political Parties</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Federalist #10, #51</li> <li>• Aldrich, John. 2011. <i>Why Parties? A Second Look</i>. (Chapters 1 &amp; 2).</li> <li>• American Political Science Association's Committee on Political Parties. 1950. "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System: A Report of the Committee on Political Parties." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 44(Sept. Supplement): Part I.</li> <li>• Anthony Downs. 1957. "An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy" <i>The Journal of Political Economy</i> 65(2):135-150. (A condensed version of his book, <i>An Economic Theory of Democracy</i>.)</li> </ul>
<b>Week 4</b> <b>Jan 30</b>	<b>Parties as Organizations</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aldrich, John. 2011. <i>Why Parties? A Second Look</i>. (Chapter 3).</li> <li>• Brown, M. Craig and Charles N. Halaby. 1987. "Machine Politics in America, 1870-1945" <i>The Journal of Interdisciplinary History</i> 17(3): 587-612.</li> <li>• Frenreis, John P., James L. Gibson and Laura L. Vertz. 1990. "The Electoral Relevance of Local Party Organizations." <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 84(1): 225-235.</li> <li>• Bawn, Kathleen, Martin Cohena, David Karola, Seth Masketa, Hans Noela and John Zallera. 2012. "A Theory of Political Parties: Groups, Policy Demands and Nominations in American Politics." <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 10(3):571-597.</li> <li>• Rudnick, Nicholas and Michael P. McDonald. 2019. "Planting the Seeds of Change: Non-Southern Migrants and the Growth of the Republican Party in the Postwar South". Manuscript.</li> </ul>

<p><b>Week 5</b> <b>Feb 6</b></p>	<p><b>Parties in the Electorate</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Campbell, Angus, Phillip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. <i>The American Voter</i>. (Chapters 6, 7 &amp; 10). Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press.</li> <li>• Key, V. O. Jr. 1955. "A Theory of Critical Elections." <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 17(1): 3-18.</li> <li>• Jennings, M. Kent and Richard G. Niemi. 1968. "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child" <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 62(1): 169-184.</li> <li>• Michael B. MacKuen, Robert S. Erikson, James A. Stimson. 2000. "Macropartisanship." <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 83(4): 1125-1142.</li> <li>• Larry M. Bartels. 2000. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 44(1): 35-50.</li> <li>• Grossman, Matt and David A. Hopkins. 2015. "Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats: Asymmetry of American Politics." <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 13(1): 119-39.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Week 6</b> <b>Feb 13</b></p>	<p><b>How Voters Use Party</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. 1960. <i>The American voter</i>. New York: John Wiley &amp; Sons, Inc., (Chapter 2).</li> <li>• Milton Lodge and Ruth Hamill. 1986. "A Partisan Schema for Political Information Processing." <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 80(2): 505-520.</li> <li>• Richard R. Lau, David P. Redlawsk. 2001. "Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 45(4): 951-971.</li> <li>• Bartels, Larry M. 2002. "Beyond the Running Tally: Partisan Bias in Political Perceptions." <i>Political Behavior</i> 24(2): 117-150.</li> <li>• Carsey, Thomas M. and Geoffrey C. Layman. 2006. "Changing Sides or Changing Minds? Party Identification and Policy Preferences in the American Electorate." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 50(2): 464-477.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Week 7</b> <b>Feb 20</b></p>	<p><b>Party Labels and Elections</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jonathan Woon and Jeremy C. Pope. 2008. "Made in Congress? Testing the Electoral Implications of Party Ideological Brand Names." <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 70(3): 823-836.</li> <li>• Vavreck, Lynn. 2001. "The Reasoning Voters Meets the Strategic Candidate: Signals and Specificity in Campaign Advertising, 1998." <i>American Politics Research</i> 29(5): 507-29.</li> <li>• Neiheisel, Jacob R. and Sarah Niebler. 2013. "The Use of</li> </ul>

	<p>Party Brand Labels in Congressional Election Campaigns." <i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i> 38(3): 377-403.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jamie L. Carson, Gregory Koger, Matthew J. Lebo, Everett Young. 2010. "The Electoral Costs of Party Loyalty in Congress." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 54(3): 598-616.</li> <li>• Arceneaux, Kevin and David W. Nickerson. 2010. "Negative and Positive Campaign Messages: Evidence from Two Field Experiments." <i>American Politics Research</i> 38(1): 54-83.</li> </ul>
<b>Week 8 Feb 27</b>	<p><b>Representation: Parties and Electoral Rules</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tufte, Edward R. 1973. "The Relationship between Seats and Votes in Two-Party Systems." <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 67(2): 540-554.</li> <li>• Stephen Ansolabehere, James M. Snyder, Jr., Charles Stewart, III. 2000. "Candidate Positioning in U.S. House Elections" <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 45(1): 136-159.</li> <li>• Erikson, Robert S. Gerald C. Wright Jr., John P. McIver. 1989. "Political Parties, Public Opinion, and State Policy in the United States." <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 83(3): 729-50.</li> </ul>
<b>Week 9 March 5</b>	<b>SPRING BREAK</b>
<b>Week 10 March 12</b>	<p><b>The Great Polarization in the Electorate Debate</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Morris P. Fiorina, Samuel J. Abrams, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2010. <i>Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America, 3<sup>d</sup> Edition.</i></li> <li>• Alan I. Abramowitz. 2013. <i>The Polarized Public: Why American Government Is So Dysfunctional.</i></li> </ul>
<b>Week 11 March 19</b>	<p><b>Theories of Parties in Congress</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aldrich, John. Why Parties? (Chapters 7 &amp; 8)</li> <li>• Cooper, Joseph and David W. Brady. 1981. "Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn." <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 75(2): 411-425.</li> <li>• Keith Krehbiel. 1993. "Where's the Party?" <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 23(2): 235-266.</li> <li>• David W. Rohde. 1994. "Parties and Committees in the House: Member Motivations, Issues, and Institutional Arrangements." <i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i> 19(3): 341-359.</li> </ul>
<b>Week 12 March 26</b>	<p><b>Parties and Legislative Behavior</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Groseclose, Tim. 1996. "An Examination of the Market for Favors and Votes in Congress." <i>Economic Inquiry</i> 34(2): 320-40.</li> <li>• Binder, Sarah A. and Eric D. Lawrence and Forrest</li> </ul>

	<p>Maltzman. 1999. "Uncovering the Hidden Effect of Party." <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 61(3): 815-831.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stephen Ansolabehere, James M. Snyder, Jr., Charles Stewart III. 2001. "The Effects of Party and Preferences on Congressional Roll-Call Voting." <i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i> 26(4): 533-572.</li> <li>• Binder, Sarah A. 1999. "The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-96." <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 93(3): 519-533.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Week 13</b> <b>April 2</b></p>	<p><b>Interest Group Membership and Organization</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Walker, Jack L. 1983. "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups in America." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 77(2) 390-406.</li> <li>• Hansen, John Mark. 1985. "The Political Economy of Group Membership." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 79(1): 79-96.</li> <li>• Ainsworth, Scott H. 2000. "Modeling Political Efficacy and Interest Group Membership." <i>Political Behavior</i> 22(2): 89-108.</li> <li>• Gray, Virginia, and David Lowery. 1996. "A Niche Theory of Interest Representation." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 58(1): 91-111.</li> <li>• Schlozman, Kay Lehman. 1984. "What Accent the Heavenly Chorus? Political Equity and the American Interest Group System." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 46(3): 1006-32.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Week 14</b> <b>April 9</b></p>	<p><b>Interest Groups and Lobbying</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Austen-Smith, David, and John R. Wright. 1994. "Counteractive Lobbying." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 38(1): 25-44.</li> <li>• Richard Hall and Alan Deardorff. 2006. "Lobbying and Legislative Subsidy." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 100(1): 69-84.</li> <li>• Baumgartner, Frank R., and Beth L. Leech. 2001. "Interest Niches and Policy Bandwagons: Patterns of Interest Group Involvement in National Politics." <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 63(4): 1191-213.</li> <li>• Hojnacki, Marie, and David C. Kimball. 1998. "Organized Interests and the Decision of Whom to Lobby in Congress." <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 92(4): 775-90.</li> <li>• Lowery, David. 2007. "Why do Organized Interests Lobby? A Multi-Goal, Multi-Context Theory of Lobbying." <i>Polity</i> 39(1): 29-54.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Week 15</b> <b>April 16</b></p>	<p><b>Interest Groups and Electoral Strategies</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wright, John R. 1985. "PACs, Contributions, and Roll Calls: An Organizational Perspective." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 79(2): 400-14.</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hall, Richard L., and Frank W. Wayman. 1990. "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees." <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 84(3): 797-820.</li> <li>• Esterling, Keven M. 2007. "Buying Expertise: Campaign Contributions and Attention to Policy Analysis in Congressional Committees." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 101(1): 3-110.</li> <li>• Victor, Jennifer Nicoll. 2012. "Gridlock Lobbying: Breaking, Creating and Maintaining Legislative Stalemate" in <i>Interest Group Politics</i>, Cigler and Loomis eds.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Week 17</b> <b>April 29</b></p>	<p><b>Thursday: FINAL @ 10am-noon</b></p>