

POSC 341/441: ELECTIONS, VOTERS, AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Clark 210
MW 12:30-1:45pm
Spring Semester 2016

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“On the whole, the development of parties seems bound up with that of democracy, that is to say with the extension of popular suffrage and parliamentary prerogatives.”

Duverger, *Political Parties*

“[P]olitical parties created democracy and ... modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties. As a matter of fact, the condition of the parties is the best possible evidence of the nature of any regime.” Schattschneider, *Party Government*

COURSE OUTLINE AND REQUIREMENTS

Elections, Voters, and Political Parties is an examination of political parties, elections and voting behavior in the United States. As linkage organizations, political parties help to organize opinion and to mobilize voters. Relatively free of state interference (and completely unmentioned in the US Constitution), US political parties are distinctive in their instrumentalist nature: their purpose is to win elections. In addition, they help to organize elections and campaigns; they nominate candidates for office; they intend to govern; and, once in office, structure the internal workings of Congress (and of state legislatures and other governmental institutions). They also function to represent public policy preferences within government.

US political parties are distinctive for additional reasons. In comparison with the industrialized democracies of West Europe (e.g. Britain, France, Sweden), the US is a federal presidential political system, with a single-member plurality electoral system for electing Members of Congress. These factors function to limit effective competition to only two major parties, and the Democrats and the Republicans encompass all of the electoral competition at the national level – at least to date. Whether the two parties have become increasingly competitive and polarized is a current subject of debate. Additional issues include changes in campaign finance and the results for candidates and political parties, the influence of women in party electorates, the impact of changing voter demographics, the extent of “voter suppression” and organized “voter fraud” and “election fraud,” and whether protection of voting rights continues to be necessary. This course will address these questions, with particular attention to the 2016 presidential nominating system and to the 2016 election.

Evaluation of student performance in this course will be based on the following criteria. First, each student is expected to attend class every day and to be prepared for each class meeting by having read, in advance, the materials assigned for that day. Students should be prepared to discuss the material in detail in class every day, and all students are expected to participate. Informed participation in class discussion, a requirement of the course, accounts for 5 percent of the final grade.

Second, students will complete two short research papers, each of which is worth 20 percent of the student’s course grade. A separate *Guidelines for Short Research Papers* discusses the details of these papers. The *Guidelines* are available on the course Blackboard site.

Third, students will complete a final research paper, based on the two previous papers, integrating additional materials and evidence, and stating a clear position in regard to major course research questions (see *Guidelines for Final Research Papers* for details concerning the final paper, available on the course Blackboard site). The final paper is worth 30 percent of the course grade. Each student will also have responsibility for presenting his or her final paper results to the class in the last two weeks of the semester; The final paper presentation is worth 5 percent of the student's course grade. Presentation guidelines are provided in the *Guidelines for Final Paper Presentations* (available on the course Blackboard site).

To support the short research papers and the final paper, each student will select a candidate for a party's 2016 presidential nomination, and will follow the candidate's campaign across the course of the semester. We will discuss and confirm these choices in class during the first two weeks of the semester.

Fourth, each student will have responsibility for facilitating discussion during one class meeting; the student facilitating discussion for the day will also submit a brief summary discussion report. Discussion facilitation is worth 10 percent, and the summary discussion report is worth 5 percent, of the student's course grade. Discussion facilitation is assigned by the professor, and *Guidelines for Discussion Facilitation and Report* are available on the course Blackboard site.

Finally, all students are expected to present themselves in class in a professional manner. Professionalism refers to adherence to standards of behavior and performance expected from political scientists. This includes, but is not limited to, courteous behavior in class; attention to other speakers; appropriate use of language; engagement with the work at hand; and, of course, adherence to university standards of academic integrity (see below). Students are expected, and obliged, to comport themselves, in class, in a professional manner. Professionalism is a requirement of the course, and accounts for the remaining 5 percent of the final course grade.

Standards of professionalism and academic integrity are integral components of this course. Students are reminded that they are obliged to understand, to uphold, and to comply with the Academic Integrity Policy of the University. A copy of the Code may be found online at <http://students.case.edu/groups/aiboard/policy.html>. Students who do not understand the Academic Integrity Policy after having read it should make an appointment to see me to discuss it; indeed, I welcome this discussion and encourage students to see me in advance of any assignment about which they have doubts or questions. It is a course requirement that students read the University's Academic Integrity Policy.

Note that students are required to attend all classes and to complete all course assignments.

SCHEDULE OF COURSE ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment	Due Date	Percentage of Final Grade
Research Paper #1 Bibliography	February 10.	[10% of paper grade]
Research Paper #1	February 24.	20%
Research Paper #2 Bibliography	March 23.	[10% of paper grade]
Research Paper #2	April 4.	20%
Final Paper Bibliography	April 11.	5%
Final Research Paper Presentation	As assigned (April 13, 18, 20).	5%
Final Research Paper	May 4, by 11:30am.	25%
Discussion Facilitation	As assigned.	10%
Discussion Report	As assigned.	5%
Participation	Throughout semester.	5%
Professionalism	Throughout semester.	5%

Four books are required for this course, listed below; they are available for purchase in the University Barnes and Noble Bookstore (and elsewhere):

Marty Cohen, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. 2008. *The Party Decides*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Richard Hasen. 2016. *Plutocrats United: Campaign Money, the Supreme Court, and the Distortion of American Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Michael Heaney and Fabio Rojas. 2015. *Party in the Street: The Antiwar Movement and the Democratic Party after 9/11*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

John Sides and Lynn Vavrek. 2014. *The Gamble: Choice and Chance in the 2012 Presidential Election*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Additional readings support the required books; these are extensive and provide a deeper understanding and analysis of comparative elections and electoral systems. Additional readings are identified in the **Schedule of Readings and Assignments**, below, and are available on the course Blackboard site. Students are encouraged to read a daily national newspaper (e.g. the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*).

Nota bene: Students are encouraged to read the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post* daily.

There are several excellent political science blogs that include a focus on US politics, including *The Monkey Cage* (<http://themonkeycage.org/>), *Mischiefs of Faction* (<http://mischiefsoffaction.blogspot.com/>), *Election Updates* (<http://electionupdates.caltech.edu/>), *Rule 22* (<http://rule22.wordpress.com/>), and the *Scholars' Strategy Network* (<http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/>). Students may wish to peruse some of these blogs from time to time, for timely political science analysis and news related to US political parties and elections. Additional sites, such as *RealClearPolitics* (<http://www.realclearpolitics.com/>), *Fair Vote* (<http://www.fairvote.org/>), *Frontloading HQ* (<http://frontloading.blogspot.com/>), and *Ballot Access News* (<http://ballot-access.org/>), provide polling data, information about candidate status, and other useful evidence. Political party sites, such as *GOP* (<https://www.gop.com/the-official-guide-to-the-2016-republican-nominating-process/>) and the *Democratic National Committee* (<https://www.democrats.org/>) may be helpful (see also, e.g., <http://www.lp.org/> for the Libertarian Party and <http://www.gp.org/> for the Green Party). Finally, candidates and campaigns have their own websites as well; students may find these useful for following a specific candidate.

In addition to these, please refer to the *Research Resources* list, provided on the course Blackboard site.

SCHEDULE OF READINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS

January 11 **Introduction to the Course: Parties, Elections and Democracy in the US**

January 13 **Why Elections and Why Parties? Understanding Parties in the US**

READ: E. E. Schattschneider, *Party Government*, Chapters 1 and 3

January 18 **Martin Luther King, Jr. Birthday**

NO CLASS MEETING

January 20 **The US Party System**

READ: Kathleen Bawn et al., “A Theory of Political Parties: Groups, Policy Demands and Nominations in American Politics,” *Perspectives on Politics*, 10 (3), September 2010: 571-597; and Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, “Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party,” *Party Politics*, 1 (1), 1995: 5-28.

January 25 READ: Cohen, Karol, Noel, and Zaller, *The Party Decides*, Chapters 1-3

January 27 READ: Cohen, Karol, Noel, and Zaller, *The Party Decides*, Chapters 4 and 5

February 1 **Presidential Elections: Primary Elections and the Nominating System**

READ: Cohen, Karol, Noel, and Zaller, *The Party Decides*, Chapters 6 and 7

RECOMMENDED: *The Rules of the Republican Party* (August 2014).

February 3 READ: Cohen, Karol, Noel, and Zaller, *The Party Decides*, Chapter 10; Priscilla L. Southwell, “A Backroom without the Smoke? Superdelegates and the 2008 Democratic Nomination Process,” *Party Politics*, 18(2) 2012: 267–283; and Heather Frederick, “Reforming the Presidential Primary System: The Voter Turnout Initiative,” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, January 2012: 51-57.

February 8 **Campaign Finance and Money to Run**

READ: Hasen, *Plutocrats United: Campaign Money, the Supreme Court, and the Distortion of American Elections*, Introduction and Part I

February 10 READ: Hasen, *Plutocrats United: Campaign Money, the Supreme Court, and the Distortion of American Elections*, Part II

FIRST SHORT PAPER BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE

February 15 READ: *Federal Election Campaign Act* (1974), pp. 1-11, 39-41, 60-91, 95-101; and *Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act* (2002).

RECOMMENDED: <http://www.law.columbia.edu/magazine/interactive/55569/go-beyond-supreme-court-campaign-finance-decisions-timeline>;
<http://www.fec.gov/pages/brochures/fecfeca.shtml>;
http://www.fec.gov/pages/bcra/bcra_update.shtml; <http://www.fec.gov/law/litigation.shtml>.

February 17 **Presentation on Supreme Court Decisions on Campaign Finance**

READ: Hasen, *Plutocrats United: Campaign Money, the Supreme Court, and the Distortion of American Elections*, Part III

CASES: *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976) (https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/424/1#writing-USSC_CR_0424_0001_ZS); *Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee* (1982) (https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/424/1#writing-USSC_CR_0424_0001_ZS); *McConnell v. Federal Election Commission* (2003), *Syllabus* (<https://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/02-1674.ZS.html>); *Federal Election Commission v. Wisconsin Right to Life* (2007) (<http://caselaw.findlaw.com/us-supreme-court/551/449.html>).

February 22 **Presentation on Supreme Court Decisions on Campaign Finance**

READ: Hasen, *Plutocrats United: Campaign Money, the Supreme Court, and the Distortion of American Elections*, Part IV

CASES: *Shays and Meehan v. Federal Election Commission* (2008); *Citizens United* (2010); *Carey v. Federal Election Commission* (2011); *McCutcheon et al. v. Federal Election Commission* (2014)

February 24 DISCUSSION

FIRST SHORT PAPER DUE IN CLASS

February 29 **Parties as Linkage Organization: Social Movements**

READ: Heaney and Rojas, *Party in the Street*, Introduction and Chapters 1-3

RECOMMENDED: Mildred A. Schwartz, "Interactions between Social Movements and US Political Parties," *Party Politics*, 16 (5), September 2010: 587 – 607.

March 2 READ: Heaney and Rojas, *Party in the Street*, Chapters 6-8

RECOMMENDED: Christopher F. Karpowitz et al., "Tea Time in America? The Impact of the Tea Party Movement on the 2010 Midterm Elections," *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44 (2), April 2011: 303-309; and Kevin Arceneaux and Stephen P. Nicholson, "Who Wants to Have a Tea Party? The Who, What, and Why of the Tea Party Movement," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 45 (4), October 2012: 700-710.

March 7-11 SPRING BREAK

March 14 **Who Gets to Participate in Elections?**
READ: *Voting Rights Act* (1965); *Help America Vote Act* (2002); *US Constitution*, Article I, Sections 2, 3.1, 4.1; Article II, Section 1; Amendments 12, 15, 17, 19, 23, 24, and 26 (<https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution>).

March 16 READ: Henry Brady, and John McNulty, “Turning Out to Vote: The Costs of Finding and Getting to the Polling Place,” *American Political Science Review* 105 (1), February 2011: 115-134; and Stacy G. Ulbig and Tamara Waggener, “Getting Registered and Getting to the Polls: The Impact of Voter Registration Strategy and Information Provision on Turnout of College Students,” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, July 2011: 544-551.

March 21 Marjorie Randon Hershey, “What We Know About Voter ID Laws, Registration and Turnout,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 42 (1), January 2009: 87-91; and Matt A. Barreto et al., “The Disproportionate Impact of Voter-ID Requirements,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 42 (1), January 2009: 111-116

March 23 NO CLASS MEETING; class meets instead on Friday, March 25.

SECOND SHORT PAPER BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE

March 25 Class attends Center for Policy Studies Friday Lunch Lecture by Ms. Brittany Williams, Cleveland Host Committee for the Republican National Convention

March 28 **Presentation on Supreme Court Decisions on Voting Rights**
CASES: *Shelby County v. Holder* (2012); *Crawford v. Marion County* (2008)

March 30 CASES: *Texas NAACP v. Steen* (consolidated with *Veasey v. Perry*), *Evenwel v. Abbott*

April 4 DISCUSSION
SECOND SHORT PAPER DUE IN CLASS

April 6 **What Happened Last Time? The 2012 Presidential Election**
READ: Sides and Vavrek, *The Gamble*, Chapters 1-4

April 11 READ: Sides and Vavrek, *The Gamble*, Chapters 5-8
FINAL PAPER BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE

April 13 **Final Paper Presentations**

April 18 **Final Paper Presentations**

April 20 **Final Paper Presentations**

April 25 **Conclusion of the Course**

FINAL PAPER DUE WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, BY 11:30AM