I. Introduction: the discontent with American parties  
   A. Two sets of critics  
      1. Advocates of “responsible party government”  
      2. Advocates of ideological parties  
   B. Ideological polarization of parties since 1960s

II. The case for responsible party government  
   A. Goals  
      1. Strong and decisive government  
         a. Liberal goal:  
         b. Conservative goal:  
      2. Simplify the electoral choices:  
   B. How would party government (responsible parties) work?  
      1. Clear and coherent (and conflicting) party electoral platforms:  
      2. Candidates:  
      3. Campaigns:  
      4. Programmatic policy making to enact electoral mandate:  
      5. Control of both elected branches:  
   C. The case against party government  
      1. It would increase conflict  
         a. Rigid and dogmatic politics  
         b. Limits on representation of diverse interests  
         c. Undercut or destroy interest groups and other nonparty organizations  
         d. Splintering of the two-party system  
      2. It wouldn’t work in American politics  
         a. Constitutional barriers  
            (1) Division of powers and representation  
            (2) Separation of powers and representation  
            (3) Sharing of overlapping powers  
         b. Statutory barriers  
            (1) Direct primary  
            (2) Campaign finance  
         c. Social barriers  
            (1) Voter ignorance, disinterest, and distrust  
            (2) Issue complexity  
   D. The Gingrich experiment: a temporarily responsible party  
      1. Changed institutional arrangements  
      2. Increased organizational discipline  
      3. Increased ideological cohesion

III. Party cohesion and ideology (the semi-responsible parties)  
   A. Are the American parties ideological?  
   Box, pp. 294-95  
      1. Pragmatic  
      2. Brokerage function  
   B. Do they at least offer clear choices?  
      1. Divisive issues:  
      2. Attractive leaders with a simple message, such as Ronald Reagan:  
   C. But internal divisions remain  
      1. Economic v. social conservatives  
      2. Moderate v. extreme liberals
IV. Ideology and the American voter
   A. How ideological is the American public?
      1. Media answer:
      2. Academic answer
         a. Issue consistency:
         b. Issue voting vs. results-oriented retrospective voting:
      3. The dilemma of ideology:
      4. Differences by social class:
   B. Differences among activists, candidates, and voters
      1. Differences among the party’s three parts
      2. Regional differences
      3. Striking the right ideological balance:

V. When is party government most likely? pp. 300-02
   A. When there is strong presidential leadership:
   B. In times of crisis:
   C. When the parties’ supporting coalitions realign:
      1. Single line of partisan cleavage
      2. Greatest intra-party cohesion
      3. Greatest inter-party polarization
      4. One-party control of both elected branches at federal level (and the federal judiciary by appointments)
         and a majority of state governments:
      5. But, not as much ideological purity and policy cohesion as in European parliamentary democracies:
   D. Barriers to party responsibility: divided government
      1. Definition:
      2. Historical patterns
         a. Prior to WWII:
         b. Since WWII: Table 15.1, p. 298
      3. Causes
         a. Weakening of party identification:
         b. Increased careerism in Congress
         c. Separation and division of governmental powers
         d. Insulation of legislative from executive elections
         e. Proliferation of single-issue groups
         f. Loss of control of electoral politics
            (1) Nomination
            (2) Campaign funding
      4. Consequences:
         a. Increased of partisan conflict
         b. Increased policy gridlock
         c. Increased political distrust & cynicism in electorate
         d. Decreased political efficacy in electorate
         e. Decreased popular sovereignty

VI. Party government and popular control