

American Politics Proseminar*
Political Science 510
Wednesday 5:00-7:30
3113 Faner Hall
Fall 2008

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1 Course Description

This course serves as the core American politics seminar for graduate students. It introduces broad themes that motivate the empirical study of American politics, as well as key theoretical and methodological approaches employed in that enterprise. This seminar prepares students to conduct research or teach in one or more areas of American politics. It also prepares students to understand the broader setting in which contemporary events take place.

The breadth and depth of research on American politics makes it impossible to explore all but a few of the key issues in a cursory manner. We therefore focus on major conceptual and theoretical insights, primarily from the last 50 years, that help illuminate the workings of the American political system. The course assignments emphasize writing that outlines broadly important ideas and research motivated by those ideas. Because of the intellectual challenge inherent in this approach, the course is reading-intensive.

Two broad themes guide the choice of reading material. First, the readings outline the dimensions of the American politics subfield. In concrete terms, you will familiarize yourself with the key normative questions, empirical topics, and conceptual approaches that define the subfield boundaries. Second, understanding the readings will require you to exercise critical thinking and analytical skills. Although I chose readings that present core disciplinary ideas in a generally readable manner, some of the readings will be technical in nature. That is unavoidable. Nevertheless, even first year graduate students will be able to glean key insights with due effort.

Please note (again) that this course can only introduce you to the study of American politics. Mastering this material - and understanding how to deal with both the substance and art of the discipline - comes through repeated application, research experience, and additional reading. Continued learning about the theoretical and empirical approaches to American politics must occur outside of the classroom, especially for those of you who hope to write exams in this field. The syllabus includes a number of recommended readings to help you in that preparation.

*Special thanks to David Peterson, Jennifer Victor, Phil Habel, Randy Burnside, Laura Hatcher, and Jon Bond for their input on this syllabus.

2 Course Philosophy

The American political system can be broadly viewed as an experiment in applied democratic theory. Historic accounts of American politics are replete with examples of decisions that reflect the influence of core cultural concepts, such as political individualism and limited government. American history is also littered with examples of naked self-interest and the use of raw political power. It is the conflict between cultural norms and pragmatic politics that gives the American democratic experiment its unique character.

With this viewpoint in mind, the course is divided into three roughly equal sections. The first is an examination of the foundations underpinning the American political system. The focus is squarely on understanding the principals embodied in the American Constitution and the influence that this document has on our political system. In particular, we will consider how the politics of the day combined with democratic norms to produce the legal-political framework embodied in the Constitution. The second section investigates the behavioral foundations of American democracy, particularly emphasizing citizen political influence. The thematic focus centers on the aggregation of citizen interests and the subsequent transmission of those interests to policy makers. The third and final unit covers the operation of political institutions of American national government with particular attention paid to the distribution and use of political power.

The selection of course material reflects this understanding of American politics. However, this view is neither unique nor necessarily correct. I encourage you to develop your own views, ideas, and arguments; think outside the box! The more engaged and thoughtful you are, the more interesting and exciting this class will be for all of us.

3 Course Requirements

3.1 Class Preparation and Discussion

Attendance and participation are mandatory for this course. It is imperative that you come prepared to discuss all course material each week. To aid in your preparation, I have identified some of the important themes and questions for each week on the syllabus. You would be well served to think about those issues and others before you enter class each week. You should also come prepared to answer the following questions for each of the assigned readings:

1. What is the main contribution of the reading to scholarly knowledge?
2. What theoretical tradition is the reading working within or in contrast to?
3. What hypotheses are offered for empirical analysis?
4. What are the data and measures used in the paper? What methodological techniques are used to analyze the data? Are the data and methods appropriate for evaluating the theory and hypothesis?
5. What are the main findings?
6. What are the implications of the theory and results for our understanding of political behavior?
7. What are your criticisms of the research?

3.2 Weekly Talking Points

After the first week, you are required to submit **three** talking points on each week's readings. These are due by email (send them to mclurg@siu.edu) by Tuesday at 9 am each week that the class meets. These talking points will help to shape the seminar discussions, so they should be the most interesting questions or arguments that you have identified based on the week's readings. They should be submitted in the form of a short paragraph outlining the question or argument. Each talking point should refer to one or more specific sections of the weekly readings (with appropriate page references). Each talking point should refer

to a different chapter or article from the weekly readings. Talking points in excess of 160 words will not be accepted, nor will talking points that arrive late.

3.3 Supplemental Reading Review and Presentation

Each student will select one topic on the syllabus for in-depth focus. They will read an assigned book on that topic (listed under “Presentation”) and write a 3-4 page summary for distribution to their classmates. Grades will be based on the clarity of writing, the quality of the summary and critique, and the overall thoughtfulness of the paper. The paper - and enough copies for your classmates - is due the day of the assigned reading.

3.4 Critical Reaction Papers

Each student is required to write two brief papers (5-7 pages) that provide a critical review of the required and recommended readings for a week on the syllabus. Strong papers will go beyond the readings on the syllabus to get a deeper sense of the particular subject. Each paper should synthesize and react to the assigned material. Your reaction can be methodological, substantive, or theoretical, but should nevertheless be focused on a single theme. Most importantly, the paper must provide a critical point of view of the readings. Each paper is due at the beginning of the class in which we discuss that material.

3.5 Final Exam

There will be a take-home exam for this class. It will consist of two essays that mimic the style of questions used on the preliminary exams required for receiving the PhD in our department. Students will have approximately twenty-four hours to complete the exam. We will work out a suitable schedule in class so that this does not conflict with your teaching responsibilities or another class final.

3.6 Grading

Talking Points & Participation	20%
Supplemental Review	10%
Critical Reaction Paper #1	15%
Critical Reaction Paper #2	15%
Final Exam	40%

3.7 Important Dates and Deadlines

Supplemental Review & Presentation	Beginning of class
Critical Reaction Papers	Beginning of class
Final Exam	May 5-6
Spring Break	March 9-13

4 Course Policies

4.1 Absences

I expect you to attend every class session. If you must miss this class for some reason, you can receive an excused absence if you contact the instructor in advance. To be absolutely clear - I do not expect to provide any excused absences except in exceptional circumstances.

4.2 Missed Assignments

All assignments are due on the date assigned unless the instructor indicates otherwise. Any assignments that are not turned in on time will lose half a letter grade for each day they are late. Any assignment more than two days late will not be accepted. **It is considered bad form to turn in late work in graduate classes, so I encourage you to meet your deadlines.**

4.3 Incompletes

There will be no incompletes given in this class except in cases of emergency or where university policy applies to the contrary.

4.4 Cheating and Academic Misconduct

Any student engaging in academic misconduct will receive an F in my course and be reported to the Dean. I will also recommend your expulsion from the graduate program. I suggest that, as a start, you use the following common sense criteria:

- Group work not approved by the instructor constitutes academic fraud.
- Representing anyone else's written work as your own is plagiarism.
- Representing anyone else's ideas as your own is academic misconduct.
- Using unauthorized resources on exams or in papers is cheating.
- Turning in work from other classes without permission is academic misconduct.

If you have any questions about what constitutes cheating or academic misconduct, you should examine the university policy and/or ask the instructor prior to turning in any assignment.

4.5 Problems and Emergencies

Anyone who has academic or personal problems is free to see me during office hours or to make appointment. Students that have difficulty making my office hours should inform me immediately. If a student has an emergency - academic or otherwise - s/he can contact me by email. If this attempt is not successful within a reasonable amount of time, it is permissible to call me at home.

4.6 Grading Policies and Standards

Grades on assignments are returned as promptly as possible. There are no guarantees on how quickly graded assignments will be returned. If students receive an assignment back and have questions about the grade, they must wait at least two days until asking the instructor to review the grade. If a student wants a re-grade, s/he must submit a single-spaced, single paragraph note explaining why the original grade is inappropriate. All assignments submitted for a re-grade can go up or down.

5 Textbooks

This course is an intensive learning experience. You will learn primarily by reading and then discussing that material with your instructor and classmates. Accordingly, there is a lot of reading for this course. A great deal of this reading is in six required books that are available from the University Bookstore. Other readings are available on-line at JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org>), in the library, or through the instructor.

5.1 Required Books

- Dahl, R. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.
- Downs, A. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: HarperCollins, 1957.
- Epstein, L. and J. Knight. *The Choices Justices Make*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1998.
- Erickson, R., M. MacKuen, and J. Stimson. *The Macro Polity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Fiorina, M. *Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Hacker, J. and P. Pierson. *Off Center*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

5.2 Recommended Books

- Althaus, S. *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Baumgartner, Frank and Bryan Jones. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Canes-Wrone, B. *Who Leads Whom?* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Harris, F., V. Sinclair-Chapman, and B. McKenzie. *Countervailing Forces in African-American*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Hillygus, D. and T. Shields. *The Persuadable Voter: Wedge Issues in Presidential Campaigns*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Lau, R. and D. Redlawsk. *How Voters Decide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Legee, D., K. Wald, B. Krueger, and P. Mueller. *The Politics of Cultural Differences: Social Change and Voter Mobilization Strategies in the Post-New Deal Period*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Leighley, J. *Strength in Numbers? The Political Mobilization of Racial and Ethnic Minorities*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Orren, K. and S. Skowronek. *The Search for American Political Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Grossback, L., D. Peterson and J. Stimson. *Mandate Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Prior, M. *Post-Broadcast Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Rapoport, R. and W. Stone. *Three's a Crowd*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005.
- Strolovich, D. *Affirmative Advocacy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Whittington, K. *Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.

6 Course Schedule and Reading Assignments

6.1 Approaches & Issues in the Study of American Politics

January 14. Introduction

This week will briefly introduce the field of American politics via lecture. The instructor will go over the basic course themes, introduce students to principle concepts in American politics, the main contours of the discipline, and basic scientific resources. Course requirements will be discussed in detail.

Required Reading

- Katznelson and Milner, “American Political Science: The Discipline’s State and the State of the Discipline.” Katznelson and Milner, eds. *State of the Discipline*.

6.2 Foundations of American Government

January 21. The Design of American Government—Principles and Democratic Theory

Like every other nation in the world, the American form of government has unique characteristics that affect politics. This week we will focus on the structure of American government by pondering its normative foundations. What normative goals influenced the American form of government? Does the Constitution outline a system that reasonably meets those goals? Why or why not? What are the strengths and flaws of the American constitutional system?

Required Reading

- Bachrach, P. and M. Baratz. 1962. “Two Faces of Power.” *American Political Science Review*. 56(4):947-52.
- *Constitution of the United States of America* (Yes, I want you to read it.)
- Dahl, Chapters 1, 2, 3, & 5
- *Federalist #10*
- *Federalist #51*
- Walker, J. 1966. “A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy.” *American Political Science Review*. 60(2):285-95.

Recommended Reading

- *Anti-Federalist Papers*
- Dahl, Chapter 4.
- *Federalist Papers*
- Schumpeter, J. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row, 1950.

Presentation

- Orren, K. and S. Skowronek. *The Search for American Political Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

January 28. Political Culture: American Civil Society

Politics is not simply about the institutional structures outlined in national constitutions. The culture and character of a society also strongly affects the nature of politics, both by influencing how a government is organized and by affecting how it operates once it is put into place. What are the principal themes in American political culture? How are those related to the type of politics that we can expect to see in the United States? In what ways is our culture embodied in the Constitution? In what ways does the constitutional structure and proposed operation of government rely on our culture? In what ways does it protect our politics from our culture?

Required Reading

- Elazar, Daniel. "Chapter Four: The States and the Political Setting." *American Federalism*. Crowell Company: New York, 1972.
- McCloskey, H and J. Zaller. *The American Ethos: Public Attitudes Towards Capitalism and Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984. Chapters 1-3.
- Monroe, J. "Introduction." *The Democratic Wish: Popular Participation and the Limits of American Government*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Putnam, R. 1995. "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America." *PS: Political Science Politics*. 28(4): 664-83.
- Schildkraut, D. 2007. "Defining American Identity in the 21st Century: How Much 'There' Is There?" *Journal of Politics*. 69:597-615.
- Smith, R. 1993. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America." *American Political Science Review*. 87(3):549-66.

Recommended Reading

- Feldman, S. and J. Zaller. 1992. "The Political Culture of Ambivalence." *American Journal of Political Science*. 36:268-307.
- Key, V.O. *Southern Politics*. New York: Vintage Books, 1949.

Presentation

- Legee, David C., Kenneth D. Wal, Brian S. Krueger, and Paul D. Mueller. *The Politics of Cultural Differences: Social Change and Voter Mobilization Strategies in the Post-New Deal Period*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

February 4. The Contemporary Implications of Constitutional Politics

The *Constitution* is a political document, reflecting the politics of the day as well as the principles. However, as we have seen repeatedly in American history, the political choices made in the *Constitution* provide the backdrop against which contemporary politics operate. This week we will consider how the *Constitution* influences politics and, more importantly, whether it establishes a workable democracy.

Required Reading

- Berry, C. 2008. "Piling On: Multilevel Government and the Fiscal Common-Pool." *American Journal of Political Science*. 52(4):802-21.
- Farhang, S. 2008. "Public Regulation and Private Lawsuits in the American Separation of Powers System." *American Journal of Political Science*. 52(4):821-40.

- Hammond, T. and G. Miller. 1987. “The Core of The Constitution.” *American Political Science Review*. 81(4):1155-74
- Riker, W. 1984. “The Heresthetics of Constitution-Making: The Presidency in 1787, With Comments on Determinism and Rational Choice.” *American Political Science Review*. 78(1):1-16.
- Randazzo, K., R. Waterman, and J. Fine. 2006. “Checking the Federal Courts: The Impact of Congressional Statutes on Judicial Behavior.” *Journal of Politics*. 68(4):1006-1017.
- Riker, *Liberalism Against Populism*. Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 5.

Recommended Reading

- Beard, C. *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*. New York: MacMillan, 1913.
- Bottom, W., C. Eavey, G. Miller, and J. Victor. 2000. “The Institutional Effect on Majority Rule Instability: Bicameralism in Spatial Policy Decisions.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 44(3):523-40.
- Martin, A. 2001. “Congressional Decision Making and the Separation of Powers.” *American Political Science Review*. 95:361-78.
- Segal, J. 1997. “Separation-of-Powers Games in the Positive Theory of Congress and Courts.” *American Political Science Review*. 91(1):28-44.

Presentation

- Harris, F., V. Sinclair-Chapman, and Brian Mckenzie. *Countervailing Forces in African-American Civic Activism, 1973-1994*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

6.3 Linking Citizens to Government

February 11. Linkage and Representation

Representative democracies are distinguished by the prominent role ascribed to ordinary citizens in the political process. Regular people are expected to communicate their demands to policy makers; policy makers are expected to ensure that those demands are reflected in the output of government. This implies that the behavior of politicians and citizens are inevitably linked, with each affecting the other. What are the different ways that citizens and politicians can be connected? What are the logical consequences of this form of linkage for the operation of a democratic system? Are those logical consequences inconsistent with the normative principals built into the American political system? If we assume that citizens and politicians are self-interested, can our system produce representation? What kind?

Required Reading

- Downs, Chapters 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, and 12.
- Pitkin, H. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967. Excerpt.

Presentation

- Althaus, S. *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

February 18. Public Opinion: The Substance of Citizen Preferences

Here we will tackle a major assumption in democratic thought - that citizens hold meaningful political preferences. Some of the questions involved here are: What constitutes a meaningful belief system? How much information do people have about politics? How do we measure people's views? How do people form them? Do opinions look meaningful at the individual level? Is it possible for people to hold meaningful opinions? Do our answers to these questions change when we consider mass publics rather than individuals?

Required Reading

- Berinsky, A. 1999. "The Two Faces of Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science*. 43(4):1209-30.
- Converse, P. "The Nature of Mass Belief Systems in Mass Publics." D. Apter, ed. *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: Free Press, 1964. pp. 206-61.
- Erikson et al. Chapter 6.
- Gibson, J. 2008. "Intolerance and Political Repression in the United States: A Half Century After McCarthyism." *American Journal of Political Science*. 52(1):96-108.
- Gilens, Martin. 2001. "Political Ignorance and Collective Policy Preferences." *American Political Science Review*. 95: 379-396.
- Jerit, J., J. Barabas, and T. Bolsen. 2006. "Citizens, Knowledge, and the Information Environment." *American Journal of Political Science*. 50(2):266-831.
- Prior, M., and A. Lupia. 2008. "Money, Time, and Political Knowledge: Distinguishing Quick Recall and Political Learning Skills." *American Journal of Political Science*. 52(1):169-83.
- Zaller, J. and S. Feldman. 1992. "A Simple Theory of the Survey Response." *American Journal of Political Science*. 36:579-616.

Recommended Reading

- Delli Carpini, M. and S. Keeter. *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Gamson, W. *Talking Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Huckfeldt, R., P.E. Johnson, and J. Sprague. *Political Disagreement: The Survival of Diverse Opinions within Communication Networks*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Lippman, W. *Public Opinion*. New York: Free Press, 1922.
- Key, V. *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. New York: Knopf, 1961.
- Mondak, J. and M. Sanders. 2003. "Tolerance and Intolerance, 1976-1998." *American Journal of Political Science*. 47(3):492-502.
- Nelson, T., R. Clawson, and Z. Oxley. 1997. "Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and its Effect on Tolerance." *American Political Science Review*. 91(3):567-83.
- Page, B. and R. Shapiro. *The Rational Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Sniderman, P. "The New Look in Public Opinion Research." A. Finifter, ed. *State of the Discipline II*. Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association, 1993. pp. 219-46. Skim.

- Sniderman, P., R. Brody, and P. Tetlock. *Reasoning and Choice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Walsh, K. *Talking About Politics: Informal Groups and Social Identity in American Life*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Zaller, J. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Presentation

- Lau, R. and D. Redlawsk. *How Voters Decide. Information Processing During Election Campaigns*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

February 25. Political Participation—Who Participates? What Do They Say?

Even if publics and people have meaningful opinions, there is no guarantee that they communicate those desires to politicians. And if they don't communicate their views, then can government reasonably be expected to do what the public wants? This week we examine participation at the ballot box and beyond as one method for communicating the publics' demands to government. We will operate under the assumption that politicians care more about the views of those who participate than those who do not participate as we address some of the following issues: Who participates in American politics? In what ways do they participate? How useful are those as modes of participation for communicating the public's preferences to politicians? What are the trends in American political engagement? What factors increase or decrease participation?

Required Reading

- Brady, H., S. Verba, and K. Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation." *American Political Science Review*. 89(2):271-94.
- Fowler, J., L. Baker, and C. Dawes. 2008. "Genetic Variation in Political Participation." *American Political Science Review*. 70(3):579-594.
- Kam, C. and C. Palmer. 2008. "Reconsidering the Effects of Education on Political Participation." *Journal of Politics*. 70(3):612-631.
- Nickerson, D. 2008. "Is Voting Congagious? Evidence from Two Field Experiments." *American Political Science Review*. 102(1):49-58.
- Schlozman, K. "Citizen Participation in America: What Do We Know? Why Do We Care?" Katznelson and Milner, eds. *State of the Discipline*.
- Verba, S., K. Schlozman, H. Brady, and N. Nie. 1993. "Citizen Activity: Who Participates? What Do They Say?" *American Political Science Review*. 87(2):303-18.

Recommended Reading

- Aldrich, J. 1993. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science*. 37(1):246-78.
- Brody, R. "The Puzzle of Political Participation in America." A. King, ed. *The New American Political System*. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1978. pp. 287-324.
- Leighley, J. and J. Nagler. 1992. "Socioeconomic Bias in Turnout, 1964-1988: The Voters Remain the Same." *American Political Science Review*. 86(3):725-36.
- Popkin, S. and M. MacDonald. 2001. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *American Political Science Review*. 95(4):963-74.

- Powell, G., Jr. 1986. “American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective.” *American Political Science Review*. 80(1):17-43.
- Rosenstone, S. and J. Hansen. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: MacMillan, 1993.
- Verba, S. and N. Nie. *Participation in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Verba, S., K. Schlozman, and H. Brady. *Voice and Equality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Wolfinger, R. and S. Rosenstone. *Who Votes?*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980.

Presentation

- Leighley, J. *Strength in Numbers? The Political Mobilization of Racial and Ethnic Minorities*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

March 4. Choosing Representatives—Elections & Voting

One prominent view of politics argues that politicians pay attention to the public in a democratic system because their ability to retain what they want - governing power - is dependent upon their ability to please constituents. Yet this view is ripe with assumptions about how individuals vote (and, indeed, about how campaigns are run). Do voters cast issue based votes? If they are trying to vote based on issues, are they successful in choosing the correct candidate? What is the role of campaigns? How do they promote the type of connection discussed at the outset of this paragraph?

Required Reading

- Ansolabehere, S., J. Rodden, and J. Snyder, Jr. 2008. “The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting.” *American Political Science Review*. 102(2):215-32.
- Bartels, L. 1996. “Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 40:194-230.
- Dalton, R. and M. Wattenberg. “The Not So Simple Act of Voting.” A. Finifter, ed. *State of the Discipline II*. Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association, 1993. Skim.
- Erickson et al. Chapter 7.
- Freedman, P., M. Franz, and K. Goldstein. 2004. “Campaign advertising and democratic citizenship.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 48:723-41.
- Huber, G. and K. Arceneaux. 2007. “Identifying the Persuasive Effects of Presidential Advertising.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 51(4):957-77.
- Kam, C. 2006. “Political Campaigns and Open-Minded Thinking.” *Journal of Politics*. 68(4):931-45.
- Shaw, Daron. 1999. “The Effect of T.V. Ads and Candidate Appearances on Statewide Presidential Votes, 1988-96.” *American Political Science Review*. 93(2):345-61.

Recommended Reading

- Alvarez, R. *Information & Elections*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1998.
- Berelson, B., P. Lazarsfeld, and W. McPhee. *Voting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

- Campbell, A., P. Converse, W. Miller, and D. Stokes. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley, 1964.
- Carmines, E. and J. Stimson. 1980. "The Two Faces of Issue Voting." 74(1):78-91.
- Druckman, J., L. Jacobs, and E. Ostermeier. 2004. "Candidate strategies to prime issues and image." *Journal of Politics*. 66(4).
- Fiorina, M. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Huckfeldt, R. and J. Sprague. *Citizens, Politics, and Social Communication*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Hillygus, S. and S. Jackman. 2003. "Voter Decision Making in Election 2000: Campaign Effects, Partisan Activation, and the Clinton Legacy." *American Journal of Political Science*. 47(4):583-96. (Data available at <http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/hillygus/research.html>).
- Johnston, Richard, Michael Hagan, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2004. *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Key, V. *The Responsible Electorate*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Key, V. 1955. "Theory of Critical Elections." *Journal of Politics*. 17(1):3-18.
- Lau, R. and D. Redlask. 1997. "Voting Correctly." *American Political Science Review*. 91(3):585-98.
- Popkin, S. *The Reasoning Voter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Presentation

- Hillygus, D. and T. Shields. *The Persuadable Voter: Wedge Issues in Presidential Campaigns*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.

March 11. Spring Break.

March 18. Political Parties.

The diversity of American society means that citizens who try to influence government by themselves will often find the process frustrating. The primary means of overcoming this problem is through one of two principal forms of political organization - the political party and the interest group. However, both of these forms of organization aggregate preferences and then turn them into governmental influence in unique ways. Some of those ways are good, some are bad. This week we consider the two dominant American political parties. Where do these parties come from? How do they aggregate preferences? How do they influence government? What are the strengths and weaknesses of this form of organization? (We will continue this discussion beyond this week and into the next when we discuss interest groups.)

Required Reading

- Aldrich, J. *Why Parties?* Chapters 1, 2, 6, and 7.
- Abramowitz, A. and K. Saunders. 2008. "Is Polarization a Myth?" *Journal of Politics*. 70(2):542-57.
- Erickson et al., Chapters 4 and 5.
- Hirano, S. and J. Snyder, Jr. 2007. "The Decline of Third-Party Voting in the United States." *Journal of Politics*. 69(1):1-16.
- Fiorina, M. "Parties, Participation, and Representation in America: Old Theories Face New Realities." Katznelson and Milner, eds. *State of the Discipline*.

- Fiorina, M., S. Abrams, and J. Pope. 2008. "Polarization in the American Public: Misconceptions and Misreadings." *Journal of Politics*. 70(2):556-60.
- Merrill, III, B. Grofman, and T. Brunell. 2008. "Cycles in American National Electoral Politics, 1854-2006: Statistical Evidence and an Explanatory Model." *American Political Science Review*. 102(1):1-18.
- Miller, G., and N. Schofield. 2003. "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States." *American Political Science Review*. 97(2):245-60.

Recommended Reading

- APSA. 1950. "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System: A Report of the Committee on Political Parties, American Political Science Association." *American Political Science Review*. 44(3):supplement.
- Coleman, J. 1999. "Unified Government, Divided Government, and Party Responsiveness." *American Political Science Review*. 93:821-35.
- Green, D., B. Palmquist, and A. Gerber. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Hetherington, Marc. 2001. "Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization." *American Political Science Review*. 95(3):619-32.
- Layman, G. and T. Carsey. 2002. "Party Polarization and 'Conflict Extension' in the American Electorate." *American Journal of Political Science*. 46(4):786-802.
- Rosenstone, S., R. Behr, and E. Lazarus. *Third Parties in America*. Second Edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Schlesinger, J. *Political Parties and the Winning of Office*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- Wattenberg, M. *The Decline of American Political Parties, 1952-1996*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Presentation

- Rapoport, R. and W. Stone. *Three's a Crowd: The Dynamic of Third Parties, Ross Perot, and Republican Resurgence*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005.

March 25. Interest Groups.

The terms "pressure group" and "special interest" have a sinister connotation in American politics. Despite powerful cultural norms that lead us to question the role of interest groups, it is important to ask whether they serve an important role in protecting minority interests. This is especially true when we consider the majoritarian emphasis of nearly every other institution that aggregates majoritarian preferences. (Remember Dahl!) In what ways do interest groups promote a social good? In what ways is their influence nefarious? How do interest groups form and what are the trends in the types of groups that have organized in recent years? Are they influential in Washington? Why or why not?

Required Reading

- Baumgartner, F. and B. Leech. "Chapter 1: Progress and Confusion." *Basic Interests*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

- Esterling, K. 2007. “Buying Expertise: Campaign Contributions and Attention to Policy Analysis in Congressional Committees.” *American Political Science Review*. 101(1):93-109.
- Heinz, J., E. Lauman, R. Salisbury, and R. Nelson. 1990. “Inner Circles or Hollow Cores? Elite Networks in National Policy Subsystems.” *Journal of Politics*. 52(2):356-90.
- Schattschneider, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 6, and 8.
- Walker, J. 1983. “The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups in America.” *American Political Science Review*. 77:390-406.

Recommended Reading

- Austen-Smith, D. and J. Wright. 1994. “Counteractive Lobbying.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 38(1):25-44.
- Berry. J. *The Interest Group Society*. Second Edition. New York: HarperCollins, 1989.
- Cigler, A. “Interest Groups: A Subfield In Search of An Identity.” W. Crotty, ed. *Political Science: Looking to the Future*. Volume 4. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1991. pp. 99-135.
- Hall, R. and F. Wayman. 1990. “Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees.” *American Political Science Review*. 84:797-820.
- Hansen, J. *Gaining Access*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Olson, M. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Salisbury, R. 1984. “Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions.” *American Political Science Review*. 78(1):64-76.
- Salisbury, R. 1969. “An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups.” *Midwest Journal of Political Science*. 13(1):1-32.
- Smith, R. 1984. “Advocacy, Interpretation, and Influence in the U.S. Congress.” *American Political Science Review*. 78(1):44-63.
- Truman, D. *The Governmental Process*. Second Edition. New York: Knopf, 1971.

Presentation

- Strolovich, D. *Affirmative Advocacy: Race, Class, and Gender in Interest Group Politics*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

6.4 The Operation of Government.

April 1. The American Legislature.

Most of the work of politics takes place in the legislative branch. It is here that the diverse interests in America are brought together at the same table in an attempt to hash policy outcomes. What are the broad organizational principles of the legislative branch? Do they promote majoritarian or minority politics? What are the incentives that guide legislative decision making? Do they come from the public? From other branches? Or what?

Required Reading

- Fiorina, M. *Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.

- Gamm, G. and J. Huber, “Legislatures as Political Institutions: Beyond the Contemporary Congress.” I. Katznelson and H. Milner, eds. *State of the Discipline*. Skim.
- Hurwitz, M.S., R.J. Moiles, and D. Rohde. 2001. “Distributive and Partisan Issues in the 104th House.” *American Political Science Review*. 95(4):911-22.
- Lapinski, J. 2008. “Policy Substance and Performance in American Lawmaking, 1877-1994.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 52(2):235-51.

Recommended Reading

- Balla, S., E. Lawrence, F. Maltzman, and L. Eigelman. 2002. “Partisanship, Blame Avoidance, and the Distribution of Legislative Pork.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 46(3):515-25.
- Cox, G. and M. McCubbins. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993.
- Fenno, R. *Congressmen in Committees*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1973.
- Hall, R. and C. Evans. 1990. “The Power of Subcommittees.” *Journal of Politics*. 52:335-55.
- Lee, F. 2003. “Geographic Politics in the U.S. House of Representatives: Coalition Building and Distribution of Benefits.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 47(4):714-28.
- Kingdon, J. 1977. “Models of Legislative Voting.” *Journal of Politics*. 39:563-95.
- Mayhew, D. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974.
- Mezey, M. “Legislatures: Individual Purpose and Institutional Performance.” A. Finifter, ed. *State of the Discipline II*. Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association, 1993. pp. 219-46.
- Polsby, N. 1968. “The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives.” *American Political Science Review*. 62:144-68.
- Poole, K. and H. Rosenthal. 1991. “Patterns of Congressional Voting.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 35(1):228-78.
- Shepsle, K. 1979. “Institutional Arrangements and Multidimensional Voting Models.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 23(1):27-59.
- Smith, S. *Call To Order: Floor Politics in the House and Senate*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1989.

Presentation

- Grossback, L., D. Peterson, and J. Stimson. *Mandate Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

April 8. The American President.

The presidency is the salient part of the American political system. The president dominates the airwaves and is easily the most recognizable person in the United States. However, a close reading of the Constitution shows that the president’s power does not meet his prominence. This week, we will focus in particular on the sources of presidential power. What are the personal sources of power? The social sources? The institutional sources? What other factors are important? What trends and changes have we seen in the presidency over time?

Required Reading

- Allison, G. 1969. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 63(3):689-718.
- Canes-Wrone, B. 2001. "The President's Legislative Influence from Public Appeals." *American Journal of Political Science*. 45(2):313-29.
- Dickinson, M. and M. Lebo. 2007. "Reexamining the Growth of the Institutional Presidency, 1940-2000." *Journal of Politics*. 69(1):206-219.
- Erickson et al., Chapter 2.
- Neustadt, R. *Presidential Power*. New York: Wiley, 1980. Chapters 2 and 3.
- Ragsdale, L. and J. Theis III. 1997. "The Institutionalization of the American Presidency." *American Journal of Political Science*. 41:1280-1318.
- Howell, W. 2005. "Unilateral Powers: A Brief Overview." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. 35(4).

Recommended Reading

- Barber, J. *The Presidential Character*. Fourth Edition. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1992.
- Bond, J., and R. Fleisher. 1990. *The President and the Legislative Arena*. University of Chicago Press.
- Edwards III, George C. 2003. *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Howell, William G. 2003. *Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action*. Princeton University Press.
- Kernell, S. *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1986.
- Skowronek, S. *The Politics Presidents Make*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Sullivan, T. 1990. "Bargaining With the President." *American Political Science Review*. 84:1167-1196.

Presentation

- Canes-Wrone, B. *Who Leads Whom? Presidents, Policy, and the Public*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

April 15. Bureaucratic Organizations and Responsiveness.

Ironically, government in the United States is largely run by organizations and people who have no direct link to the general public. This is, of course, the bureaucracy. Presumably, bureaucrats are limited in two ways. First, their power to make decisions should be minor relative to the constitutional branches of government. Second, they should be responsive to the demands of those constitutional branches. We examine these assumptions in earnest this week by examining the following questions: Can Congress or the president control the bureaucracy? How does the bureaucracy make decisions? What is the foundation of bureaucratic power? How is the bureaucracy structured?

Required Reading

- Bawn, K. 1995. "Political Control Versus Expertise." *American Political Science Review*. 89(1):62-73.
- Keiser, L., P. Mueser, and S. Choi. 2004. "Race, Bureaucratic Discretion, and the Implementation of Welfare Reform." *American Journal of Political Science*. 48(2):314-27.

- Krause, G. and J.K. Corder. 2007. "Explaining Bureaucratic Optimism: Theory and Evidence from U.S. Executive Agency Macroeconomic Forecasts." *American Political Science Review*. 101(1):129-42.
- Lewis, D. 2007. "Testing Pendleton's Premise: Do Political Appointees Make Worse Bureaucrats?" *Journal of Politics*. 69(4):1073-88.
- Lindblom, Charles. 1959. "The Science of Muddling Through." *Public Administration Review*. 19: 79-88.
- Wood, B. and R. Waterman. 1991. "The Dynamics of Political Control of the Bureaucracy." *American Political Science Review*. 85:801-28.

Recommended Reading

- Brehm, J. and S. Gates. *Working, Shirking, and Sabotage*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997. Chapters 2 and 3.
- Carpenter, D. 2002. "Groups, the Media, Agency Waiting Costs, and FDA Drug Approval." *American Journal of Political Science*. 46(3):490-505.
- Hecklo, H. *A Government of Strangers*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1977.
- Kaufman, Herbert. 1960. *The Forest Ranger: A Study In Administrative Behavior*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Miller, G. *Managerial Dilemmas*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Moe, T. 1984. "The New Economics of Organizations." *American Journal of Political Science*. 28(4):739-77.
- Niskanen, W. *Bureaucracy and Representative Government*. Chicago: Aldine, Atherton, 1971.
- Wilson, J. *Bureaucracy*. New York: Basic Books, 1989.

Presentation

- Prior, M. *Post-Broadcast Democracy: How Media Choice Increases Inequality in Political Involvement and Polarizes Elections*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

April 22. Structure of the American Judicial System and Decision-Making.

We turn now to the judicial branch. Despite the beliefs of many Americans to the contrary, the judicial branch is just as rife with political conflict as the rest of American government. As with the other branches of government, we will focus on the factors that influence the exercise of power in this branch. The focus will be primarily on the Supreme Court, with some attention paid to lower courts as well. What is the foundation of judicial power? What are the different explanations for how courts and justices make decisions? What decisions are important? Do those decisions promote broad representation of the public or narrower interests?

Required Reading

- R.A. Dahl. 1958. "Decision Making in a Democracy: The Supreme Court as a National Policy Maker." *Journal of Public Law*. 6:279-95.
- Epstein, L. and J. Knight. *The Choices Justices Make*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1998.
- Giles, M., B. Blackstone, and R. Vining, Jr. 2008. "The Supreme Court in American Democracy: Unraveling Linkages between Public Opinion and Judicial Decision Making." *Journal of Politics*. 70(2):293-306.

- Keck, T. 2007. "Party, Policy, or Duty? Why Does the Supreme Court Invalidate Federal Statutes?" *American Political Science Review*. 101(2):321-38.

Recommended Reading

- Baum, L. *The Puzzle of Judicial Behavior*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Clinton, R. 1994. "Game Theory, Legal History, and the Origins of Judicial Review." *American Journal of Political Science*. 38(2):285-302.
- George, T. and L. Epstein. 1992. "On The Nature of Supreme Court Decision Making." *American Political Science Review*. 86:323-37.
- Perry, H. *Deciding to Decide*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Segal, J. and H. Spaeth. *The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Murphy, W. *Elements of Judicial Strategy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Presentation

- Whittington, K. *Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.

April 29. The Output of Government: Policy and Political Representation.

This week we will examine the output of the American government, albeit from a broad policy lens. Each reading takes a slightly different view of what "representation" means. They all also come to different slightly different conclusions as to how this process functions.

Required Reading

- Erickson et al., Chapters 8, 9, and 11.
- Hacker, J. and P. Pierson. *Off Center: The Republican Revolution and the Erosion of American Democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Soss, J., R. Fording, and S. Schram. 2008. "The Color of Devolution: Race, Federalism, and the Politics of Social Control." *American Journal of Political Science*. 52(3):536-54.

Recommended Reading

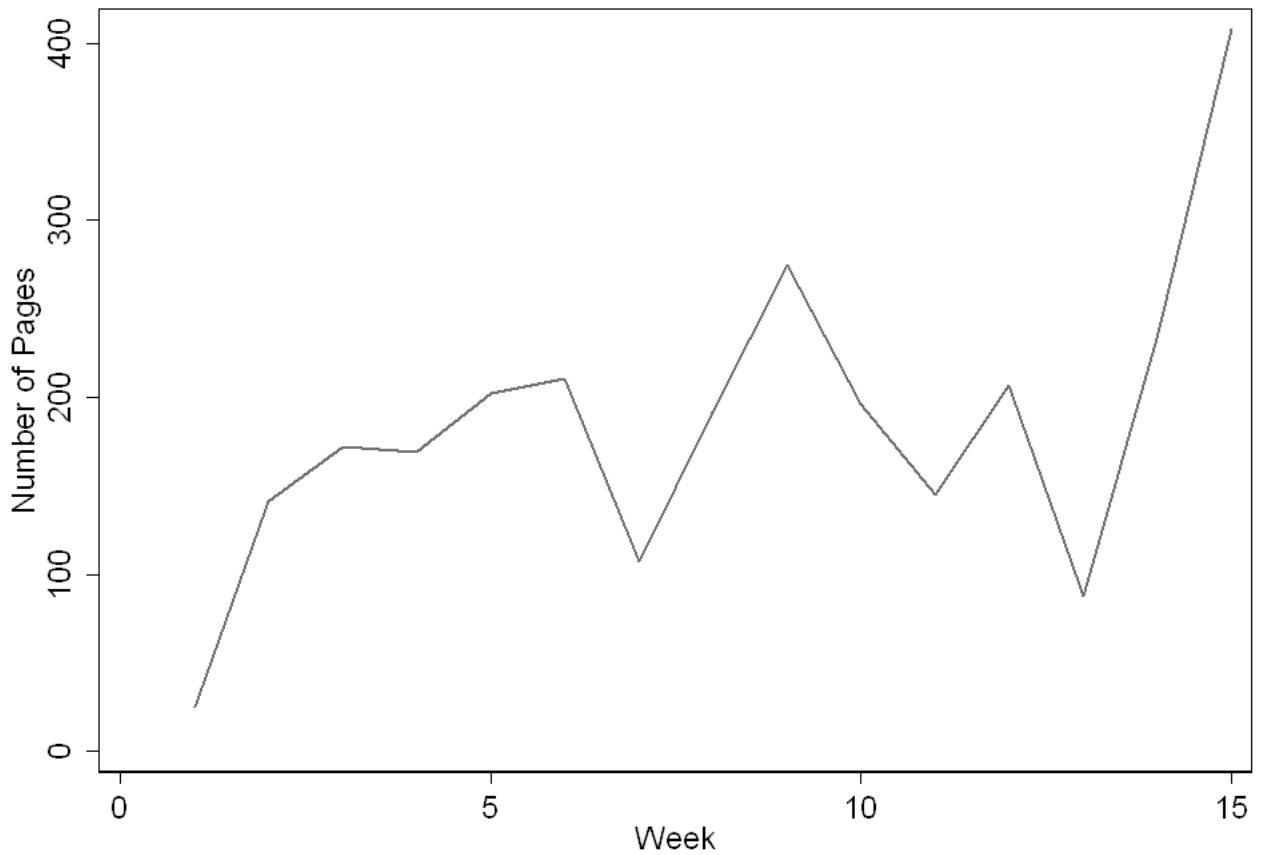
- Achen, C. 1978. "Measuring Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*. 22:475-510.
- Bartels, L. 1991. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Buildup." *American Political Science Review*. 85:475-74.
- Eualu, H. and P. Karps. 1977. "The Puzzle of Representation." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 2:233-54.
- Fenno, R. 1977. "U.S. House Members in their Constituencies: An Exploration." *American Political Science Review*. 71(3):883-917.
- Kingdon, J. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. New York: HarperCollins, 1984.
- Miller, W. and D. Stokes. 1963. "Constituency Influence in Congress." *American Political Science Review*. 57:45-56.

- Page, B. and R. Shapiro. 1983. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *American Political Science Review*. 77:175-90.
- Stein, R. and K. Bickers. 1994. "Congressional Elections and the Pork Barrel." *Journal of Politics*. 56(2):377-99.

Presentation

- Baumgartner, Frank R., and Bryan D. Jones. 1993. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Workload Information... Why You Need to Plan in Advance



- This is an *estimate* of how many of pages you are assigned each week, but it should give you a good sense of what lies ahead. Note that the amount of reading generally *increases* over the semester, so your reading load will generally be higher at the same time your papers are coming due and exams are being taken. Plan accordingly.
- The weeks with no reading are those that are holidays, not me being nice.
- The (estimated) total number of assigned reading pages is 2774 (an average of 185 pages a week).