

POLS 560

Barry Rundquist

Seminar on American Politics

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Fall 2008

Class: 6:00-8:30 Th

Where? 1171 BSB

PRELIMINARY SYLLABUS (IV)

This is the gateway graduate reading course in the field of American politics. The course is designed to expose students to the classic and contemporary literature, key theories prevalent today, and central empirical studies. It should provide a solid basis for preparing for the American politics preliminary exams—both the general field exam and the several subfield exams. The course covers much of the American politics reading list (see below). But to some extent it also reflects the instructor's experience in and "take" on the field. Thus the current syllabus is not exactly the same as the one Lyn Ragsdale prepared a couple years ago. Although I use a lot of her ideas for the course, there are some additions to and some deletions from her syllabus. This in part reflects the fact that Lyn, Jerry Rusk, and Gerald Strom no longer teach American courses here.

The course is divided into two parts. The first half examines broad theories of politics relevant to but not limited to the United States. It also considers several analytical approaches and methodological issues associated with doing research on American politics. The second half of the course examines leading empirical studies of various topics. The idea here is to expose students to how questions are asked, research designed, and inferences drawn in this field. Some of the latter readings will be from recent editions of leading political science journals.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

- 1) **Class participation.** This involves two components. First, each student will serve as a discussion leader for the readings for one week. As discussion leader, the student will come armed with thoughtful questions and ideas about the week's readings with the goal of generating plenty of discussion in the seminar. Second, there will be a round table discussion of the week's readings in which everyone speaks unceasingly. Participation accounts for 20 percent of the class grade.
- 2) **Written work.** Students will write a paper consisting of two parts—a critique of readings for one week of the student's choosing. This may be from a topic in the required reading or from one of the more extensive suggested reading lists. Papers involve two parts. The first is an insightful, cogent, concise critique of the major work in the area. This is not a summary of the work but an analysis of what is good, bad, missing, or puzzling in the

researchers' conceptualization, research design, analysis, and inference, and conclusions. The second part is an original argument of your own about where this area of the American literature should go next. What is problematical about this literature? Why is it a problem that should be subjected to new research? What should the new research, including question, hypothesis, research design, data, and form of analysis look like? Why? The research proposal, which will not actually be tested—in most cases) is the “point” of the paper. Suggested length: 15 pages. The first complete draft is due on . One anonymous classmate reviewer and I will make extensive comments on this draft, identify problems, and provide suggestions. The second (revised) draft is due . The paper is worth 40 percent of the grade.

- 3) **Final exam.** This exam will be similar to the formal preliminary exam. It will consist of essay questions to be taken home and answered. It will be due and will be worth 40 percent of the grade for the seminar.
- 4) **Course rules:** no incompletes. No plagiarism.

BOOKS

Please obtain copies of the following books for the course:

- 1) Charles Lindblom, *Politics and Markets*
- 2) Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*
- 3) Murray Edelman, *Symbolic Uses of Politics*
- 4) Frank Baumgartner and Bryan Jones, *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*
- 5) John Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*
- 6) Theodore Lowi, *The End of Liberalism* (second Edition)

In addition a packet of readings will be available in class (probably in parts)

SUMMARY OF CLASS SCHEDULE

August 28. For this class, have read: nothing.

Sept. 4. For this class have read all and/or parts of and an essay on and maybe book reviews of:

Theodore Lowi's *End of Liberalism* (1979)

Charles Lindblom's *Politics and Markets* (1977)

Also read (or at least skim) in packet:

Charles Wolf, "Types of Market Failure", *Markets or Government* (1990), pp. 40-45.

Charles Lindblom, *Politics and Markets*, Chapters 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13 (if you don't read the whole book)

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (1957) , Chapters 4-6.

Milton Friedman and Rose Friedman, "The Power of Markets, from *Free to Choose*, 1980.

Friedrich Hayek, "Equality, Value, and Merit," from *The Constitution of Liberty*, 1960.

September 11. Democracy. For this class have read the following re democratic theory and American politics:

Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy* (19), "What is Democracy?" (Chapter 4), "Why Democracy (Chapter 5), " and "What Underlying Conditions Favor Democracy?" (Chapter 12).

Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (19). Chapter 1, "Democratization and Public Opposition."

Robert A Dahl, *Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy: Autonomy VS. Control* , Chapter 3, "The Problem of Pluralist Democracy."

Donald Wittman, *The Myth of Democratic Failure: Why Political Institutions are Efficient* Chapters 1, 2, 5, and 14.

Gerry Mackie, "All Men are Liers: Is Democracy Meaningless", in John Elster, ed., *Deliberative Democracy*, (19), Chapter 3.

Recommended:

Barry R. Weingast, "The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law," *American Political Science Review*, June 1997, 245-263.

Arthur Lupia and Mathew McCubbins, *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What they Need to Know?*. Cambridge University Press: 1998.

Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture*, 1963, Chapters 1 and 15.

Ian Shapiro, *The State of Democratic Theory*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Robert Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics*, New Haven: Yale 1991.

September 18. Group Theory. For this class have read the following on group theoretical approaches to the study of American Politics:

David Truman, *The Governmental Process*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1963, pp. 14-44. (In packet)

Andrew McFarland, *Neopluralism* Lawrence: U of Kansas Press, 2004. Chapters 1-4 (In packet)

Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*, Cambridge: Harvard, 1965, Preface and Chapter 1.

Elinor Ostrom, "A Behavioral Approach to the Rational Choice of Collective Action" Presidential Address, American Political Science Association, 1997. APSR March 1998, pp. 1 to 22.

Recommended:

Frank Baumgartner and Beth Leech, *Basic Interests*. Princeton N.D., Princeton University Press, 1998.

Terry Moe, *The Organization of Interests*, U of Chicago Press, 1980.

Grant McConnell, *Private Power and American Democracy*, New York:Vintage, 1966.

E.E. Schattschneider, *The Semi-Sovereign People*, Hinsdale, IL: Dryden Press, 1960

Jack Walker, *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*, Ann Arbor: U of Michigan Press, 1991.

Gary Andres, *Lobbying Reconsidered: Politics Under the Influence*, N.Y.: Pearson-Longman Real Politics in America Series, 2008.

Arthur Bentley, *The Process of Government*, Principia Press, 1908.

September 25. Institutionalism: Old, New, and Newer

Samuel Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay," *World Politics* 17 (April 1965) pp. 386-430. (In packet)

James March and Johan Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life," *APSR* 78 (Sept 1984): pp. 734-749 (in packet)

Douglass North and Barry R. Weingast, "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutional Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth Century England," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol 49 (Dec 1989), pp. 803-832. (in packet)

Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," *APSR*, Vol 94 (June 2000), pp. 251-267. (in packet)

Sue E S Crawford and Elinore Ostrom, "A Grammar of Institutions," *APSR*, 96 (September 1995): 582-600.

Recommended:

Douglass North, *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Paul Pierson, *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis*, Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 2004.

James March and Johan Olsen, *Rediscovering Institutions*, New York: Free Press: 1987.

Richard Scott, *Institutions and Organizations*, Belmont CA: Wadsworth Press, 2000.

Robert Lieberman, "Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change," *APSR* (December 2002), pp. 697-712

October 2: Micro Theories and Approaches. For tonight have read: Chapters 1 and 2.

Angus Campbell, et. al., short excerpt on issue formation and partisan change from *The American Voter*, 1963.

Anthony Downs, Chapters *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, 1957, Chapters 1-6.

Gerald Strom, *The Logic of Lawmaking*, John Hopkins: 1990, Chapter 1.

John Alford, Carol Funk, and John Hibbing, "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" *APSR* Vol 99, No. 2 May 2005, pp. 153-167.

Murray Edelman, *Symbolic Uses of Politics*, Urbana: U of Illinois Press, 1964, Chapters 1-3 and 9-10.

Donald Green and Ian Shapiro, *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory*, New Haven: Yale, 1994, Preface and Chapters 1.

Recommended

October 9. Policy Theories and Approaches—relationships between policy processes and policy outcomes: for tonight have read the following:

Books to Report on: **Zach on two Jones and Baumgartner Books.**

Bryon Jones and Frank Baumgartner, *The Politics of Attention*, Chicago 2005

Frank Baumgartner and Bryan Jones, **Agendas and Instability in American Politics**, U of Chicago Press, 1993.

Kingdon, John W., *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*, New York, NY: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1995.

Glazer and Rothenberg, *Why Government Succeeds and Why it Fails*, Harvard University Press, 2001, Ch 1 and Ch 6.

Benjamin Page and James Simmons, *What Government Can Do Dealing With Poverty and Inequality*, Ch 3 and Ch 9.

Deborah Stone, *The Policy Paradox, The Art Of Political Decision Making*, Norton, 1988. , Chapters Preface and Conclusion.

Ken Bickers and Robert Stein, "A Portfolio Theory of of policy subsystems. *Administration & Society* 26.n2 (August 1994): pp158(27). This basically conveys the

main idea of their book *Perpetuating the Pork Barrel: Policy Subsystems and American Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," *APSR* June 2000—we tried but failed to read it earlier, so let's try again. It is about policy as well as institutions.

Specialty List

Derthick, Martha and Quirk, Paul, *The Politics of Deregulation*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1985.

Meier, Ken, *The Politics of Sin: Drugs, Alcohol, and Public Policy*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.

Recommended:

Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Constructive Redundance:

Wolf, Charles, *Markets or Government: Choosing between Imperfect Alternatives*. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1993. (Already covered in second week)

Wittman, Donald, *The Myth of Democratic Failure: Why Political Institutions are Efficient*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995. (Already covered in second week)

Lindblom, Charles, *Politics and Markets*. Think: what does he say about what government can and cannot do.

October 16. Voting and Parties. Jason Stodolka and Catherine Griffith

Have read: Morris Fiorina, **Retrospective Voting in American National**, Yale Univeristy Press, 1981. Government, Chapters 1, 2, and 10.

Morris Fiorina, "Parties, Participation, and Representation in America: Old Theories Face New Realities," in Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner, *Political Science State of the Discipline*, 2002, pp. 511-541.

R. Douglas Arnold, *The Logic of Congressional Action*, Yale UNIVERSITY Press, 1990, Chapter 3.

Paul Allen Beck, et al, "The Social Calculus of Voting: Interpersonal Media and Organizational Influences of Presidential Choice," *APSR*, March 2002), pp. 57-73.

George Rabinowitz and Stuart McDonald, "A Directional Theory of Voting," *AJPS*, March 1989: pp 93-121.

Walter Dean Burnham, "The Changing Shape of the American Political Universe," *APSR*, 1965: pp7-28.

Peter Nardulli, "The Concept of Critical Realignment, Electoral Behavior, and Political Changes," *APSR*, 1995: 10-22.

Michael Mackuen, Robert Erickson. And James Stimson, Macropartisanship," *APSR* 83 December 1989, pp 1125-1142.

Donald Green, et al, MacropartisanshipL: A Replication and Critique," *APSR* December 1998, 901-912.

Robert Erikson, Michael Mackuen, and James Stimson, What Moves Macropartisanship: A Response to Green, Palmquist, and Schickler, *APSR*, December 1998: pp 901-912.

Michael Mackuen, Robert Erikson, and James Stimson, "Peasants or Bankers? The American Electorate and the U.S. Economy," *APSR*, September 1992: 597-611.

Larry Bartels, "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996," *AJPS*, January 2000: pp. 35-50.

Recommended:

Niemi, Richard G. & Weisberg, Herbert F., *Controversies in Voting Behavior*: Washington D.C., CQ Press, 2001.

Popkin, Samuel L., *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994. **November 20. Parties and Interest Groups**

Aldrich, John. *Why parties?: The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in*

America. Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 199

David Mayhew, ***Electoral Realignments: Critique of a Genre***: Yale University Press, 2002.

October 23: Federalism, Pork, and the Governor. I'm away but Governor Edgar will be here.

Book to report on (if it works out): Peterson, Paul, ***The Price of Federalism***. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1995. (Packet)

Things to have read:

Rich, Michael, ***Federal Policy Making and the Poor: National Goals, Local Choices, and Distributive Outcomes***. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993. (Packet)

Trubowitz, Peter, ***Defining the National Interest: Conflict and Change in American Foreign Policy***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. (Packet)

Anton, Thomas T., ***American Federalism and Public Policy: How the System Works***, Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 199 . (Packet)

Arnold, R. Douglas. ***Congress and the Bureaucracy: A Theory of Influence***. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979. Chapter 3. (Packet)

Lee, Frances E. and Bruce L. Oppenheimer. ***Sizing Up the Senate: the Unequal Consequences of Equal Representation***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999. (Packet)

Elazar, Daniel, ***American Federalism: A View From the States*** 1972.

October 30. I'm (still) away. Read about Courts. Heidi will lead this discussion.

Book to report on: Perry, H. W. ***Deciding to Decide : Agenda Setting in the United States Supreme Court***, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Things to have read:

Jeffrey Segal and Harold Spaeth, "The Influence of Stare Decisis on the Votes of United States Supreme Court Justices," **AJPS**, November 1996.

Gregory Caldeira and John Wright, Organized Interests and Agenda Setting in the U.S. Supreme Court," **APSR** December 1998: pp. 1109-1127.

Tracey E George and Lee Epstein, On the Nature of Supreme Court Decision Making,"**APSR**, June 1992: 323-337.

Jeffrey Segal, Lee Epstein, Charles Cameron, and Harold Spaeth, Ideological Values and the Votes of U,S, Supreme Court Justices Revisited," **JOP**, August 1995.

Jeffrey Segal, Separation of Powers Games in the Positive Theory of Congress and Courts," **APSR** March 1997: pp. 28-44.

Recommended

Canon, Bradley C. & Johnson, Charles A., **Judicial Policies: Implementation and Impact:** Washington, D.C., CQ Press, 1999.

Murphy, Walter F., C. Herman Pritchett and Lee Epstein, **Courts, Judges and Politics**, 5th edition, Boston: McGraw Hill, 2002.

Lyles, Kevin. ***The Gatekeepers : Federal District Courts in the Political Process***, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1997.

McCloskey, Robert G. ***The American Supreme Court***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Epstein, Lee and Jack Knight, ***The Choices Justices Make***. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1988.

Rosenberg, Gerald. ***The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?*** Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

November 6. Read about Public Opinion, the Media, etc.

Report on: Zaller, John R., ***The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion***, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Have read the following:

R Michael Alvarez and John Brehm, "Are Americans Ambivalent Towards Racial Policies," **AJPS**, April 1997, pp. 345-374..

John Brehm and Wendy Rahn, "Individual-Level Evidence for the Causes and Consequences of Social Capital," **AJPS**, July 1997, 999-1023.

Larry Bartels, "Uninformed Voters: Information Effects in Presidential Elections," **AJPS**, February 1996: pp 194-230.

Paul Kellstedt, "Media Framing and the Dynamics of Racial Policy Preferences," **AJPS** April 2000: pp 245-260.

Nicholas Valentino, Vincent Hutchings, and Ismail White, "Cues that Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes During Campaigns," **APSR** March 2002: pp. 75-90

J Eric Oliver and Tali Mendelberg, "Reconsidering the Environmental Determinants of White Racial Attitudes," **AJPS** July 2000: 574-589.

Arthur Lupia and Mathew McCubbings, ***The Democratic Dilema: Can Citizens Learn what they need to Know?*** Cambridge University Press, 1998, Chapter 1.

Recommended:

Stimson, James A., ***Public Opinion in America: Moods, Cycles and Swings***, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999.

Campbell, Angus, et al. ***The American Voter***. New York: Wiley, 1960.

Nie, Norman H. et al. ***The Changing American Voter***. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Niemi, Richard G. and Herbert F. Weisberg, ***Classics in Voting Behavior***, Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 1993.

Key, Valdimer Orlando. ***Public Opinion and American Democracy***. New York: Knopf, 1965.

Page, Benjamin and Robert Shapiro. ***The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Cook, Timothy. ***Governing with the News: the News Media as a Political Institution***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

November 13: Congressional and Legislative Politics

Reports on: Krehbiel, Keith, *Information and Legislative Organization*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1991.

Cain, Bruce, John Ferejohn and Morris Fiorina, *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Cox, Gary W. and Mathew D. McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Have read:

Arnold, R. Douglas. *The Logic of Congressional Action*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990, Chapters 1-6.

Hannah Pitkin, "The Concept of Representation," in H Pitkin, *Representation*, New York: Atherton Press 1969, pp. 1-23.

Robert Weissberg, "Collective vs Dyadic Representation," *APSR*, June 1978: pp. 535-547.

Patricia Hurley, "Collective Representation Reappraised," *LSQ* February 1982: 119-136.

Kim Quaille Hill and Patricia Hurley, "Dyadic Representation Reappraised," *AJPS* January 1999: 109-137.

Nelson Polsby, "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives: A Test of Partisan and Ideological Balance Models," *APSR* 1968: pp 144-168.

Eric Schickler, "Institutional Change in the House of Representatives, 1987-1998," *APSR* June 2000: 269-288.

Steven Balla, et al, "Partisanship, Blame Avoidance and the Distribution of Legislative Pork," *AJPS* July 2002: 515-525.

Recommended:

Fenno, Richard F., *Home Style: House Members in their Districts*, Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1978.

Rohde, David W., *Parties and Leaders in the Post-Reform House*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Fenno, Richard F., *Congressmen in Committees*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1973.

November 20. Presidents and Administration

Report on: Wilson, James Q., *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It*, 2nd edition, New York, NY: Basic Books, 1989.

Have read:

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Recommended:

Neustadt, Richard E., *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents: The Politics of Leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*, 2nd edition, New York, NY: Free Press, 1990.

Janis, Irving L., *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes*, 2nd edition, Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1982.

Light, Paul C., *The President's Agenda: Domestic Policy from Kennedy to Clinton*, 2nd edition, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

Allison, Graham, and Philip Zelikow, *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd edition, New York, NY: Longman, 1999.

Peters, B. Guy, *The Politics of Bureaucracy*, 5th edition, New York, NY: Routledge, 2001.

Simon, Herbert A., *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organizations*, 4th edition, New York, NY: Free Press, 1997.

November 27 Thanksgiving.

December 4. Take home exam

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