

FIELD SEMINAR IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

POLS 60001
Spring 2009
Mondays, 3–5:30 p.m.
DeBartolo 334

Prof. Christina Wolbrecht
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Office Hours: Tu 1:30 – 3, W 3 – 4:30
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COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course serves as an abbreviated survey of the field of American politics. The empirical and theoretical literature on American politics is literally voluminous, covering a wide range of institutions and behaviors with a degree of detail, level of methodological rigor, and theoretical richness in many ways unparalleled elsewhere in political science (for good and for ill). While no one course could encompass the breadth and depth of this field, this course was designed with three goals in mind:

- (1) To acquaint students with (some of) the major subfields in American politics. On what institutions and behaviors have we focused our attention? What are the major questions being asked? How are they being answered? What approaches—theoretical and methodological—are employed? Specialization is a requirement of this profession, but you should be familiar with the major strains of research in the field as a whole.
- (2) To expose students to models of political science scholarship—how political scientists think about, formulate, and execute empirical research. From time to time, we will examine very specific debates to see how political scientists talk to each other—where points of contention arise (theory, evidence, measurement, emphasis) and how they are, and are not, resolved. In short, how reasonable people agree and disagree.
- (3) To put these questions and answers in the context of our understanding and evaluation of American democracy. Does the American system, *as it actually functions*, fulfill the standards of republican democracy, particularly with regard to political equality and representation? Another way to pose this question is: Why do we care? Often our debates over measurement/evidence/theory and the micro-behavior of institutions and individuals can seem pedantic and purposeless. At the end (and beginning) of the day, our research should seek to illuminate how our system works with the goal of evaluating the degree to which our democratic ideals are attained, or at least pursued.

REQUIREMENTS

Reading

You are expected to carefully read and consider the assigned readings before each class period in preparation for active and thoughtful participation in the seminar discussion. The reading load is not light and the readings themselves are often dense, requiring time and concentration to digest; none are beyond the conceptual reach of first- or second-year graduate students, although you may not be familiar with all of the statistical or methodological techniques employed. Give yourself plenty of time to do the reading carefully and come prepared to participate actively in discussion.

I recommend you purchase the following books. I also have placed each of them on two-hour reserve in the Hesburgh Library. You are also welcome and encouraged to purchase any of the other books on the syllabus that we read in part (many of which are also on two-hour reserve); many are important contributions to the American field and belong in your personal library.

- Aldrich, John H. 1995. *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-3, 9. Skim the rest.
- Baumgartner, Frank R. and Bryan D. Jones. 1993. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cox, Gary and Mathew McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Introduction and Chapters 1, 4, and 5.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Green, Donald P., Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Shickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identity of Voters*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1-4. Skim 5.
- Mayhew, David R. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Segal, Jeffrey A. and Harold J. Spaeth. 2002. *The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2, 3, 7, and 8.
- Epstein, Lee and Jack Knight. 1998. *The Choices Justices Make*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. Chapters 1 and 3.
- Williams, Linda Faye. 2004. *The Constraint of Race: Legacies of White Skin Privilege in America*. University Park: Penn State University Press. Chapters 1-3 and 7-8. Choose one of 4-6 to review.
- Wolbrecht, Christina and Rodney E. Hero with Peri Arnold and Alvin B. Tillery, Jr., eds. 2005. *The Politics of Democratic Inclusion*. Temple University Press. Chapters 1, 6, 7, 12, 13, and 14. (If we ever see royalties, I promise to donate the portion from this course to PoGo. I wouldn't hold my breath).

Other readings are available via e-reserves (<http://ereserves.nd.edu>). Articles taken from the major journals and more than three years old can be accessed via JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org>). For more recent journal articles (and in general), I recommend the Web of Science (which includes a FindText button) accessed via the Hesburgh Library.

Reaction papers

Each student is required to write 7 two to three-page (double-spaced) reaction papers, discussing the assigned reading, over the course of the semester. Your job is to critically (which does not necessarily mean criticize) discuss and evaluate the work; e.g. how it relates to other readings, its implicit (or explicit) assumptions, problems with the methodological approach, broader implications of the findings, and so on. Avoid too much summary! These reaction papers are *due by 8 p.m.* on the Sunday before we covering that reading, and should be e-mailed to the entire class. Common sense advice: Do not save all your reaction papers for the final 7 class sessions (there are a total of 11 substantive class sessions).

Take-home Final

Students will write a take-home final, answering *one* of a choice of questions provided by the instructor. You will receive the questions during the April 20th class session. Your essay of not more than 10 double-spaced pages is due in the following class session on April 27th.

GRADING

Your grade will be based on the extent and quality of your class participation and the quality of your written work. To repeat, class participation and written work *both* enter into your final grade.

ACADEMIC CODE OF HONOR

As a graduate student, I assume you are familiar with, and abide by, Notre Dame's Academic Code of Honor (see <http://www.nd.edu/~hnr/code>). Plagiarism (using others' ideas or words without appropriate attribution) is strictly prohibited, a grounds for failing this course, and a threat to your academic career. If you have any questions about academic integrity, please come see me.

SCHEDULE

1/19 **Introduction**

Part One. Basic Concepts.

1/26 **American Democracy** [*Professor Michael Zuckert*]

Publius. 1787-88. *The Federalist Papers*. Nos. 9, 10, 37, 39, 51. (e-reserves)

Dahl, Robert A. 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Esp. chapters 1, 3, and 5.

Also recommended:

Beard, Charles A. 1944. *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. New York: Macmillan.

Brown, Robert. 1956. *Charles Beard and the Constitution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Riker, William 1984. "The Heresthetics of Constitution-Making: The Presidency in 1787, with Comments on Determinism and Rational Choice." *American Political Science Review* 78(March):1-16.

Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1947. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Bros.

Held, David. 1996. *Models of Democracy*. Second Edition. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Dahl, Robert A. 2003. *How Democratic is the American Constitution?* Second Edition. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Part Two. Mass Behavior.

2/2 Public Opinion [Professor Darren Davis]

- Converse, Phillip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David Apter. New York: The Free Press. (e-reserves)
- Achen, Christopher. 1975. "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response," *American Political Science Review* 69: 1218-31.
- Erikson, Robert S. 1979. "The SRC Panel Data and Mass Attitudes," *British Journal of Political Science* 9: 89-114.
- Tourangeau, Roger and Kenneth A. Rasinski. 1988. "Cognitive processes underlying context effects in attitude measurement." *Psychological Bulletin* 103:299-314.
- Zaller, John R. and Stanley Feldman. 1992. "A Simple Theory of the Survey Response: Answering Questions versus Revealing Preferences." *American Journal of Political Science* 36(August):579-616.
- Alvarez, R. Michael and John Brehm. 2002. *Hard Choices, Easy Answers*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 4. (e-reserves)

Also recommended:

- Zaller, John R. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stimson, James A. 1999. *Public Opinion in America: Moods, Cycles, and Swings*. Second Edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Public Policy Preferences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *American Political Science Review* 77(March):175-90.
- Stimson, James A., Michael B. MacKuen, and Robert S. Erikson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *American Political Science Review* 89(September):543-565.
- Entire issue of *Critical Review*, Volume 18, issues 13: "Special Issue on Democratic Competence" (dedicated to Converse's "Nature of Belief Systems")

2/9 Political Participation [Professor David Campbell]

- Campbell, David E. 2006. *Why We Vote: How Schools and Communities Shape Our Civic Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-3.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman. 2002. "Citizen Participation in America: What Do We Know? Why Do We Care?" In *Political Science: State of the Discipline*, eds. Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. (e-reserves)
- McDonald, Michael P., Samuel Popkin. 2001. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *American Political Science Review* 95(4): 963-974.
- Gerber, Alan S., and Donald P. Green, and Christopher W. Larimer. 2008. Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment. *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 33-48.

Also recommended:

- Wolfinger, Raymond and Steven Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Rosentstone, Steven J. and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan.
- Verba, Sidney, Kay Schlozman, and Henry Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Putnam, Robert D. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

2/16 **Elections and Vote Choice**

- Niemi, Richard G. and Herbert F. Weisberg. 2001. *Controversies in Voting Behavior*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. Chapters 1 and 10. (e-reserves)
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 5. (e-reserves)
- Green, Donald P., Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Shickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identity of Voters*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1-4. Skim 5.
- Erikson, Robert S., Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 2002. *The Macro Polity*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4. (e-reserves)

Also recommended:

- Berelson, Bernard, Paul Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. 1956. *Voting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Campbell, Angus, Phillip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley.
- Key, V.O. Jr. 1949, 1984. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Key, V.O. Jr. 1966. *The Responsible Electorate*. New York: Vintage.
- Nie, Norman, Sidney Verba, and John Petrocik. 1976. *The Changing American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Niemi, Richard and Herbert Weisberg, eds. 1993. *Classics in American Voting Behavior*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Part Three. Mediating Organizations / Institutions.

2/23 **Political Parties**

- Fiorina, Morris. 2002. "Parties and Partisanship: A 40-year Retrospective." *Political Behavior* 24(June):93-115.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: HarperCollins. Chapters 2, 7-8. (e-reserves)
- Aldrich, John. 1995. *Why Parties?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-3, 9. Skim the rest.

Also recommended:

- Key, V.O. 1955. "A Theory of Critical Elections." *Journal of Politics* 17(February):3-18.
- Key, V.O. 1959. "Secular Realignment and the Party System." *Journal of Politics* 21(May):198-210.

- Burnham, Walter Dean. 1970. *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*. New York: Norton.
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1984. "On the Theory of Party Organization." *Journal of Politics* 46(May):369-400.
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1985. "The New American Political Party." *American Political Science Review* 79(December):1152-69.
- Sundquist, James. 1986. *Dynamics of the Party System*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gerring, John. 1998. *Party Ideologies in America, 1828-1996*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

3/2 **Interest Groups**

- Schattschneider, E.E. 1960. *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. Hinsdale, IL: Dryden. Chapters 1 and 2. (e-reserves)
- Salisbury, Robert H. 1969. "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* (now *AJPS*) 13(February):1-32.
- Walker, Jack L. 1983. "The Origins and Maintenance of Interests Groups in America." *American Political Science Review* 77(June):390-406.
- Hall, Richard and Frank Wayman. 1990. "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees." *American Political Science Review* 84(September):797-820.
- Hall, Richard L., and Alan V. Deardorff. 2006. "Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy." *American Political Science Review* 100:69-84.
- Hojnacki, Marie and David Kimball. 1999. "The Who and How of Organizations: Lobbying Strategies in Committee." *Journal of Politics* 61:999-1024.
- Baumgartner, Frank and Beth Leech. 2001. "Issue Niches and Policy Bandwagons: Patterns of Interest Group Involvement in National Politics." *Journal of Politics* 63:1191-1213.

Also recommended:

- Bentley, Arthur F. 1908. *The Process of Government*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Truman, David. 1951. *The Governmental Process*. New York: Knopf.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1961. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Olsen, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lowi, Theodore. 1979. *The End of Liberalism*. Second Edition. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Hansen, John Mark. 1985. "The Political Economy of Group Membership." *American Political Science Review* 79(March):79-96.
- Salisbury, Robert H. 1984. "Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 78(March):64-76.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman and John Tierney. 1986. *Organized Interests and American Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Walker, Jack L. 1991. *Mobilizing Interests Groups in America*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Heinz, John P., Edward O. Laumann, Robert L. Nelson, and Robert H. Salisbury. 1993. *The Hollow Core: Private Interests in National Policy Making*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Ainsworth, Scott H. 2002. *Analyzing Interest Groups: Group Influence on People and Policies*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Baumgartner, Frank R. and Beth L. Leech. 1998. *Basic Interests: The Importance of Groups in Politics and Political Science*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Spring Break

Part Four. Governing Institutions.

3/16 Congress [Professor John Griffin]

- Mayhew, David R. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Cox, Gary and Mathew McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Introduction and Chapters 1, 4, and 5.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. and Barry R. Weingast. 1994. "Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 19(May):149-79.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1991. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Build Up." *American Political Science Review* 85(June):457-74.

Also recommended:

- Polsby, Nelson W. 1968. "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives." *American Political Science Review* 62(March):144-68.
- Kingdon, John. 1973. *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Fiorina, Morris. 1977, 1989. *Congress: Keystone to the Washington Establishment*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Smith, Steven. 1989. *Call to Order: Floor Politics in the House and Senate*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Arnold, R. Douglas. 1990. *The Logic of Congressional Action*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Rohde, David W. 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1991. *Information and Legislative Organization*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. and Barry R. Weingast, eds. 1995. *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Poole, Keith and Howard Rosenthal. 1997. *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1998. *Pivotal Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

3/23 Presidency [Professor Peri Arnold]

- Neustadt, Richard. 1960/1990. *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents*. New York: Free Press. Chapters 1-3. (e-reserves)
- Skowronek, Stephen. 1993. *The Politics Presidents Make*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press. Chapters 1-3. (book is available in the Hesburgh Reserve Book Room)
- Moe, Terry. 1985. "The Politicized Presidency." In *The New Direction in American Politics*, eds. John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution. (e-reserves)

Arnold, Peri E. 2003. "Effecting a Progressive Presidency: Roosevelt, Taft and the Pursuit of Strategic Resources." *Studies in American Political Development* 17(April):61-81.

Also recommended:

Wildavsky, Aaron. 1966. "The Two Presidencies." *Transaction* 4(2).

Allison, Graham. 1969. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63(September):689-718.

Bendor, Jonathan and Thomas Hammond. 1992. "Rethinking Allison's Models." *American Political Science Review* 86(June):301-22

Greenstein, Fred. 1982. *The Hidden-Hand Presidency: Eisenhower as Leader*. New York: Basic Books.

Kernel, Samuel. 1997. *Going Public*. Third Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Bond, Jon and Richard Fleisher. 1990. *The President in the Legislative Arena*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ostrom, Charles W. and Dennis M. Simon. 1985. "Promise and Performance: A Dynamic Model of Presidential Popularity." *American Political Science Review* 79(June):334-58.

3/30 **Courts**

Segal, Jeffrey A. and Harold J. Spaeth. 2002. *The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2, 3, 7, and 8. (book is available in the Hesburgh Reserve Book Room)

Epstein, Lee and Jack Knight. 1998. *The Choices Justices Make*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. Chapters 1 and 3. (book is available in the Hesburgh Reserve Book Room)

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

Also recommended:

Murphy, Walter F. 1964. *Elements of Judicial Strategy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dahl, Robert H. 1957. "Decision-Making in a Democracy: The Supreme Court as National Policy-Maker." *Journal of Public Law* 6:279-95.

Casper, Jonathan D. 1976. "The Supreme Court and National Policy Making." *American Political Science Review* 70(March):50-63.

George, Tracey E. and Lee Epstein. 1992. "On the Nature of Supreme Court Decision Making." *American Political Science Review* 86(June):323.

Roseburg, Gerald N. 1993. *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mishler, William and Reginald S. Sheehan. 1993. "The Supreme Court as a Countermajoritarian Institution? The Impact of Public Opinion on Supreme Court Decisions." *American Political Science Review* 87(March):87-101.

Franklin, Charles H. and Liane C. Kosaki. 1989. "Republican Schoolmaster: The U.S. Supreme Court, Public Opinion, and Abortion." *American Political Science Review* 83(September):751-71.

4/6 **Democratic Inclusion** [Prof. Dianne Pinderhughes]

Wolbrecht, Christina and Rodney E. Hero with Peri Arnold and Alvin B. Tillery, Jr., eds. 2005. *The Politics of Democratic Inclusion*. Temple University Press. Chapters 1, 6, 7, 12, 13, and 14.

Williams, Linda Faye. 2004. *The Constraint of Race: Legacies of White Skin Privilege in America*. University Park: Penn State University Press. Chapters 1-3 and 7-8. Choose one of 4-6 to review.

Also recommended:

Smith, Rogers. 1993. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America." *American Political Science Review* 87(September):549-566.

Stevens, Jacqueline and Rogers Smith 1995. "Beyond Tocqueville, Please!" and "Response" (in Controversy). *American Political Science Review* 89(December):987-995.

Hero, Rodney E. 1998. *Faces of Inequality: Social Diversity in American Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kinder, Donald R. and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Walton, Hanes. 1997. *African American Power and Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. 1999. *Whiteness of a Different Color : European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Dawson, Michael C. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mansbridge, Jane J. 1986. *Why We Lost the ERA*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lawless, Jennifer L. and Richard L. Fox. 2005. *It Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kathlene, Lyn. 1994. "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policymaking: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates." *American Political Science Review* 88(September):560-576.

Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 2001. *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

4/13 **Easter Break – NO CLASS**

4/20 **Agenda Setting and Policy Making**

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

Also recommended:

Bachrach, Peter and Morton S. Baratz. 1962. "Two Faces of Power." *American Political Science Review* 56(December):947-52.

Kingdon, John. 1984. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Cobb, Roger W. and Charles D. Elder. 1983. *Participation in American Politics: The Dynamics of Agenda-Building*. Second Edition. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Riker, William H. 1986. *The Art of Political Manipulation*. New Haven : Yale University Press

Stone, Deborah A. 1988. *Policy Paradox and Political Reason*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

4/27 **Wrap-Up**