Professor Jamie Druckman PoliSci 410

druckman@northwestern.edu Fall Quarter, 2020

211 Scott HallOffice Hours: By appointment

**American Political Institutions and Behavior**

This course provides an introduction to the evolution and current state of the academic literature on American Politics. The course emphasizes breadth over depth (although time constraints prevent us from examining all areas of American politics). The first part of the course focuses on political behavior, while the second part emphasizes political institutions. The class meets on Fridays from 1:00-3:50 Central Time. The Zoom link for class meetings is: <https://northwestern.zoom.us/j/2704387770>.

**Assignments and Grades**

Students are expected attend all classes and come prepared to discuss, in detail, *all of the assigned readings*. Students may be asked to present assigned readings *without* prior notice. In so doing, students should be prepared to discuss main themes, contributions, problems, and unanswered questions. Additionally, each week, one (or more) student(s) will be assigned the task of writing a brief discussion paper about a specific reading (or a few specific readings). The paper should summarize the reading(s) *and* identify weaknesses and unresolved questions (no more than 2 pages double spaced of text; also include references, page numbers, and name/date). Papers should be e-mailed to all class members by Thursday, 3:00PM. Late papers will *not* be accepted for credit by the Professor. There will be a final examination with questions similar to those asked on the comprehensive exam. The course grade will be determined as follows: class participation (30%), the short papers (20%), and the final exam (50%). (We will discuss the date of the final exam which will be tentatively planned for Friday, December 4th.)

Importantly, assignments should be proofread; spelling, grammar, and writing style will make up part of a student’s grade.

**Readings**

The assigned books are available from Amazon. Books for which only portions are assigned will be available from the Professor. Most articles are available at JSTOR or other sources accessible via the Northwestern library (to access these, be sure to log into the Northwestern Global Protect).

Readings may be changed throughout the quarter, with some readings being dropped and others added. In particular, readings may be added to contextualize the assigned readings to contemporary political events regarding gender, race, the election, and COVID-19. Students will be notified of changes a week in advance.

**COVID-19 Considerations**

COVID-19 presents a host of educational, social, and psychological challenges that may affect the class. The goal of this class is to learn about classic works in the American politics literature but also to provide some community for students. For each student, this means it is important to communicate with the Professor about any issues that arise, generally or with regard to the course expectations.

**On-line Course Policy**

1. Students are encouraged to keep their videos on during class meetings as this leads to more engagement for everyone. However, this is not required and there is no penalty for having videos off. If a student regularly has their video off, they should put a picture of themselves in its place.

2. Students should do their best to say focused on the class, and avoid doing other activities during class time (e.g., social media).

3. If a student needs to take a brief break during class time, it is fine to do so without asking (but the student is responsible for any missed material).

4. It is acceptable if students want to use the chat during class but please try not to over-use it. Students also are encouraged to make any chat comments public for the entire class to see. (If the chat is becoming a distraction, we may revisit its use.)

5. We will not record classes unless a student requests it, in which case everyone will be made aware of the recording.

6. Overall, please behave respectively, follow social norms, and respect different opinions.

7. We will work together to ensure that there are sufficient breaks and small group break-outs to prevent Zoom fatigue.

8. *Students should check their e-mail daily for communications from the Professor.*

**Class 1, September 18. The Evolution of Studying American Politics and Research Methods Primer**

*Assignment*: Each student should choose one article from the *American Political Science Review*’s November 2006 issue on the Evolution of Political Science. The student will write a 1 page, double spaced, overview of it. Submit papers to all class participants by 3:00PM on September 17, and come ready to very briefly discuss.

Frank J. Goodnow, “The Work of the American Political Science Association.” *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association* 1 (1904): 35-46

Examine the organized sections of the APSA at: <https://www.apsanet.org/sections>. We will discuss political economy, political psychology, political sociology, political history, political philosophy, and other multi-disciplinary relationships.

Lee Sigelman, “The Coevolution of American Political Science and the *American Political Science Review*,” *APSR* 100 (2006): 463-478

Blatt, Jessica. 2018. *Race and the Making of American Political Science*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Introduction. See <https://www.upenn.edu/pennpress/book/toc/15786_toc.html>

William, R. Shadish, Thomas D. Cook, and Donald T. Campbell. *Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Generalized Causal Inferences* (2002), Chapters 1-3

Paul W. Holland, “Statistics and Causal Inference.” *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 81 (1986): 945-960

# Class 2, September 25. American Political Institutions and Culture

The Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution

*The Federalist Papers,* Numbers 10, 51, 70, and 78

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Part I, Sections 2, 3, and 5; Part II,

Sections 3-9 (all from Volume 1)

Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (1955), Chapter 1

Rogers M. Smith, “Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions of America,” *APSR* 87 (1993): 549-566

Jacqueline Stevens and Rogers M. Smith (reply). “Beyond Tocqueville, Please!” *APSR* 89 (1995): 987-995

Damion Waymer and Robert L. Heath. “Black Voter Dilution, American Exceptionalism, and Racial Gerrymandering: The Paradox of the Positive in Political Public Relations,” *Journal of Black Studies* 47 (2016): 635-658

**Class 3, October 2. Political Participation**

Anthony Downs*, An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957), Chapter 14

William Riker and Peter Ordeshook, “A Theory of the Calculus of Voting,” *APSR* (1968): 25-41

Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and American Democracy* (1993), Chapters 1-2, 8

Henry Brady, Sidney Verba, and Kay L. Schlozman, “Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation,” *APSR* 89 (1995): 271-294

Robert Putnum, “Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital,” *Journal of Democracy* 6 (1995): 65-78

Alan S. Gerber and Donald P. Green, “The Effects of Personal Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment,” *APSR* 94 (2000): 653-664

Michael P. McDonald and Samuel L. Popkin, “The Myth of the Vanishing Voter,” *APSR* 95 (2001): 963-974

Yanna Krupnikov. “When Does Negativity Demobilize? Tracing the Conditional Effect of Negative Campaigning on Voter Turnout,” *AJPS* 44 (2011): 797-813

Melanie J. Springer. “State Electoral Institutions and Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections, 1920-2000,” *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 12 (2012): 252-283

# Jan E. Leighley and Jonathan Nagler. *Who Votes Now?: Demographics, Issues, Inequality, and Turnout in the United States”* (2013). Chapters 6, 7 *Skim*

Joshua David Clinton, John S Lapinski, Sarah Lentz, and Stephen Pettigrew. “Trumped by Trump? Public Support for Vote By Mail Voting in Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic,” SSRN, (June 16, 2020. Available at SSRN: [https://ssrn.com/abstract=3630334](https://ssrn.com/abstract%3D3630334) or [http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3630334](https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3630334)

**Class 4, October 9. Public Opinion**

Philip E. Converse, “The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics,” In David Apter (ed.), *Ideology and Discontent* (1964), Chapter 6 (*excerpts*)

Samuel Kernell, “Explaining Presidential Popularity,” *APSR* 72 (1978): 506-522

Shanto Iyengar and Donald Kinder, *News That Matters* (1987), Chapters 1-3, 7, 12

John Zaller and Stanley Feldman, “A Simple Theory of Survey Response,” *AJPS* 36 (1992): 579-616

John L. Sullivan and John E. Transue. “The Psychological Underpinnings of Democracy: A Selective Review on Political Tolerance, Interpersonal Trust, and Social Capital,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 50 (1999): 625-650

Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson, *The Macro Polity* (2002), Chapter 1

Charles S. Taber and Milton Lodge. “Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs.” *AJPS* 50 (2006): 755-769

Matthew Levendusky, “Clearer Cues, More Consistent Voters” *Political Behavior* 32 (2010): 111-131

William G. Jacoby, “Is There a Culture War? Conflicting Value Structures in American Public Opinion.” *APSR* 108 (2014): 754-771

James N. Druckman and Arthur Lupia, “Preference Change in Competitive Political Environments,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 19 (2016): 13-31.

Christopher H. Achen and Larry M. Bartels, *Democracy for Realists* (2016), Chapter 1 (and find a book review of your choosing)

**Class 5, October 16. Voting Behavior**

Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, *Voting* (1954), Chapters 1, 6-7, 11-12, 14

Anthony Downs*, An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957), Chapters 1, 3, 11-13

Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes, *The American Voter* (1960), Chapters 1-4, 6-7, 19-20

Morris Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (1981), Chapters 1, 5, 9, 10

Gary Jacobson, “Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of House Elections, 1946-1986,” *APSR* 83 (1989): 773-793

John Ferejohn, “The Spatial Model and Elections,” In Bernard Grofman, ed., *Information, Participation, & Choice* (1995)

Richard R. Lau and David P. Redlawsk, “Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making,” *AJPS* 45 (2001): 951-971

Stephen Ansolabehere, Jonathan Rodden, and James M. Snyder Jr., “The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting,” *APSR* 102 (2008): 215-232

Andrew Healy, and Neil Malhotra. “Retrospective Voting Reconsidered,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 16 (2013): 285-306

**Class 6, October 23. Political Parties**

“Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System: A Report of the Committee on Political Parties,” *APSR* 44 (3, supplement) (1950): Forward, 1-14

V.O. Key, Jr., “A Theory of Critical Elections,” *JOP* 17 (1955): 3-18

Anthony Downs, *Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957), Chapter 8

Morris Fiorina, “The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics,” *Daedalus* 109 (1980)

Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal, “Spatial Realignment and the Mapping of Issues in American History: The Evidence from Roll Call Voting,” In William H. Riker, ed., *Agenda Formation* (1993)

John Aldrich, *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Party Politics in America* (1995), Chapters 1-2, 9

Marc J. Hetherington, “Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization,” *APSR* 95 (2001): 619-632

Matthew Levendusky, *The Partisan Sort* (2009), Chapters 2, 3, 7

Leonie Huddy, Lilliana Mason, and Lene Aaroe. “Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity.” *APSR* 109 (2015): 1-17

Shanto Iyengar, Yphtach Lelkes, Matthew Levendusky, Neil Malhotra, and Sean Westwood. “The Origins and Consequences of Affective Polarization in the United States.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (2019): 129-146

**Class 7, October 30. Interest Groups**

David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process*, 2nd ed. (1971), Introduction and Chapters 2 and 16 (*read Introduction after other readings)*

E.E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People* (1960), Chapters 1, 2, 5

Peter Bachrach, and Morton Baratz, “The Two Faces of Power,” *APSR* (1961): 947-952.

Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action* (1965), Chapters 1, 2

Theodore Lowi, *The End of Liberalism*, 2nd ed (1979), Chapters 3, 10

Ken Kollman, “Inviting Friends to Lobby: Interest Groups, Ideological Bias, and Congressional Committees,” *AJPS* 41 (1997): 519-544

# Stephen Ansolabehere, John M. de Figueiredo, John M. Snyder, “Why is There so Little Money in U.S. Politics?”, [*Journal of Economic Perspec*tives](http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/aea/jep) 17 (2003): 105-130

## [Dara Z. Strolovitch](http://www.press.uchicago.edu/presssite/author.epl?fullauthor=Dara%20Z.%20Strolovitch), Affirmative Advocacy (2007), Chapters 1, 2, 4

Daniel Diermeier, “Private Politics - A Research Agenda,” *The Political Economist* (2007) 19: 1-2. (<http://www.apsanet.org/~polecon/The_Political_Economist.summer07.pdf>)

Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page. “Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens.” *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (2014): 564-581

**Class 8, November 6. Congress (and Public Policy)**

Nelson Polsby, “The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives,” *APSR* 62 (1968): 144-168

David R. Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection* (1974), Pages 1-77

Richard F. Fenno, Jr. *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts* (1978), Introduction, Pages 1-33, 214-248

Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry W. Weingast, “Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions,” *LSQ* 19 (1994): 149-179

Suzanne Mettler and Joe Soss. “The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship: Bridging Policy Studies and Mass Politics,” *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (2004): 55-73

Butler, Daniel M. and David E. Broockman. “Do Politicians Racially Discriminate

Against Constituents? A Field Experiment on State Legislators.” *AJPS* 55 (2011): 463–477.

Alan Wiseman and Craig Volden. “Legislative Effectiveness and Representation,” In, Lawrence C. Dodd, and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Congress Reconsidered, 10th Ed. Washington DC: CQ Press. 2012

John D. Griffin. “When and Why Minority Legislators Matter.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 17 (2014): 327-336

**Class 9, November 13. The Presidency and the Bureaucracy (part 1)**

Richard Neustadt, “The Power to Persuade,” In Pietro Nivola and David Rosenbloom, eds., *Classic Readings in American Politics,* 3rd ed, 370-378

Samuel Kernell, *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership,* 4th ed (2006),

Chapters 1, 2, 4

Lyn Ragsdale and John J. Theiss, “The Institutionalization of the American Presidency, 1924-92,” *AJPS* 41 (1997): 1280-1318

# Matthew A. Baum and Samuel Kernell, “Has Cable Ended the Golden Age of Presidential Television?” *APSR* 93 (1999): 99-114

Daniel Galvin, *Presidential Party Building* (2010), Chapters 1-2

Daniel Galvin, “Party Domination and Base Mobilization: Donald Trump and Republican Party Building in a Polarized Era,” Working Paper, Northwestern University (2020)

James N. Druckman and Lawrence R. Jacobs, “Presidential Responsiveness to Public Opinion,” in George C. Edwards III and William G. Howell, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency* (2009): 160-181

James Q. Wilson, “The Bureaucracy Problem,” In Pietro Nivola and David Rosenbloom,

eds., *Classic Readings in American Politics,* 3rd ed, 405-410

Hugh Heclo, *A Government of Strangers: Executive Politics in Washington* (1977), Chapter 1

Theodore Lowi, *The End of Liberalism*, 2nd ed (1979), Chapter 5

**Class 10, November 20. Bureaucracy (Party 2) and the Courts**

Mathew McCubbins and Thomas Schwartz, “Congressional Oversight Overlooked:

Police Patrols vs. Fire Alarms,” *AJPS* 28 (1984): 165-179

Mathew McCubbins, Roger Noll, and Barry Weingast “Administrative Procedures as Instruments of Political Control,” *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 3 (1987): 243-277

Sean Gailmard and John Patty, “[Formal Models of Bureaucratic Politics](https://www.ocf.berkeley.edu/~gailmard/arps.gail-pat.pdf), *Annual Review of Political Science (*2012): 353-377

Walter F. Murphy, “Marshalling the Court,” In Pietro Nivola and David Rosenbloom,

eds., *Classic Readings in American Politics,* 3rd ed, 445-484

Martin Shapiro, “The Presidency and the Federal Courts,” In Pietro Nivola and David

Rosenbloom, eds., *Classic Readings in American Politics,* 3rd ed, 485-494

Robert G. McCloskey, *The American Supreme Court*, 2nd ed, (1994), Chapters 1-3,

Epilogue

Donald R. Songer, Jeffrey A. Segal, and Charles M. Cameron, “The Hierarchy of Justice: Testing a Principal-Agent Model of Supreme Court-Circuit Court Interactions,” *AJPS* 38 (1994): 673-696

Brandice Canes-Wrone, “Bureaucratic Decisions and the Composition of the Lower Courts,” *AJPS* 47 (2003): 205-214

Brandon L. Bartels and Christopher D. Johnston. “On the Ideological Foundations of Supreme Court Legitimacy in the American Public.” *AJPS* 57 (2013): 184-199.

Peter K. Enns and Patrick C. Wohlfarth. “The Swing Justice.” *JOP* 75 (2013): 1089–1107.

Adam Bonica, Adam S. Chilton, and Maya Sen. “The Political Ideologies of American Lawyers.” *Journal of Legal Analysis* 8 (2016): 277-335.

**Class 11, TBA. Will meet if needed**