

POLITICAL SCIENCE 251
AMERICAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Winter Quarter, 2011
534-4988
skernell@ucsd.edu

Samuel Kernell
Office Hours: F 11-12
and by appt

This course is designed to help prepare you for the comprehensive exam in the field of American Politics. We shall concentrate on two institutional terrains – Congress and the presidency with passing consideration of courts, the bureaucracy and political parties. Class requirements consist of one or two reports to class accompanied by single-page précis distributed to class; two 5-6 page essays (you have the option of revising one and submitting with final); and a take home final exam. Finally, active participation well-informed by readings is essential. (If you are dispositionally shy or quiet, no problem; I'll call on you, but please contribute when I do.) Please let me know promptly if any of the materials below can't be located. I assume that JSTOR and other library online resources will provide the required articles. If, by chance, you missed or have forgotten your undergraduate course work on any of these topics, read appropriate chapters of *Logic of American Politics* (4e); this is important since much of the literature is substantive.

BOOKS AVAILABLE AT BOOKSTORE

John Aldrich *Why Parties?*
Charles Cameron, *Veto Bargaining*
Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan*
Samuel Kernell, *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*
David Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection*
Richard Neustadt, *Presidential Power*
Steve Skowronek, *Building the New American State*

TOPIC AND ASSIGNMENT SCHEDULE

January 15. Institutions and the Pluralist Tradition.

READING:

Madison, *The Federalist*, Nos. 10, 51 (n.b. outline both and commit argument to memory)
Terry Moe, (2005) "Power and Institutions" *Perspectives on Politics*
Richard Fenno 1962), "The House Appropriations Committee as a Political System: The Problem of Integration," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (Jun., 1962), pp. 310-324

New material

(I) Rakove, Jack. *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution*
(R) Robert Dahl, (1956) *Preface to Democratic Theory*
(R) Woodrow Wilson, (1885) *Congressional Government*.
(I) Henry Jones Ford, (1898) *The Rise and Growth of American Politics*, Part III.
(I) Bryce, James. *The American Commonwealth*

- (R) E.E. Schattschneider, (1960) *The Semisovereign People*.
- (R) Truman, David. *The Governmental Process*
- (R) Charles Lindblom, (1965) *The Intelligence of Democracy*.
- (I) Theodore Lowi, *The End of Liberalism*.

January 22. Congress: The Electoral Foundation and Its Implications for Congressional Organization

The Electoral Connection

- (C) David Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection*
- (C) Gary C. Jacobson and Samuel Kernell (1983), *Strategy and Choice in Congressional Elections* ch 1-5 (<http://weber.ucsd.edu/~skernell/strategy.html>)
- (R) Richard Fenno, (1978) *Homestyle: House Members in their Districts*
- (I) Gary W. Cox and Jonathan N. Katz, "Why Did the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections Grow?" *American Journal of Political Science* 40 (May 1996):478-497

Implications for Legislative Organization

- (R) Douglas Arnold, *The Logic of Congressional Action*
- (R) Francis Lee and Bruce Oppenheimer (1999) *Sizing Up the Senate*

January 29. Congress and Party Government.

- (C) Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan*
- (C) Krehbiel, 1998. *Pivotal Politics* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago press.
- (R) Schattschneider, *Party Government*
- (R) Rohde, 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Post-Reform House*.
- (R) Sarah H. Binder, (1996) "The Partisan Basis of Procedural Choice: Allocating Parliamentary Rights in the House, 1789-1990, *APSR*.
- (C) Eric Schickler and Andrew Rich, (1997) "Controlling the Floor: Parties as Procedural Coalitions in the House," *AJPS*.
- (C) Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, "Toward a Theory of Legislative Rules Changes: Assessing Schickler and Rich's Evidence," *American Journal of Political Science* 41(October 1997):1376-1386.
- (C) Eric Schickler and Andrew Rich, (1997) "Party Government in the House Reconsidered: A Response to Cox and McCubbins," *AJPS*
- (I) Kathleen Bawn, (1998) "Congressional Party Leadership: Utilitarian versus Majoritarian Incentives" *LSQ*
- (R) Poole, Keith T., and Howard Rosenthal. *Ideology and Congress*. 2nd revised ed. Edison, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2007.

February 5. The Bureaucracy and Logic of Delegation.

Placing Bureaucracy in Separation of Powers System.

- (C) Epstein and O'Halloran, (2000). *Delegating Powers*, ch. 5 and 6.
- (C) Charles Shipan, 2004. "Regulatory Regimes, Agency Actions, and the Conditional Nature of Political Influence." *APSR*

(C) Terry Moe, 1989. "The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure." In Chubb and Peterson, *Can the Government Govern?*

(I) Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models of the Cuban Missile Crisis," *APSR*

(C) Johnathan Bendor (1995), "A Model of Muddling Through." *APSR*.

(I) Moe, "Interest, Institutions, and Positive Theory: the Politics of NLRB," *APD* (1987): 236-302.

(R) Robert Niskanen, *Bureaucracy and Representative Government* (1971).

(I) Dan Wood, "Principals, Bureaucrats, and Responsiveness in Clean Air Enforcements," *APSR* (1988): 213-234.

Competition for Control

(C) Mathew McCubbins and Thomas Schwartz, "Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols vs. Fire Alarms," *American Journal of Political Science* 28 (February 1984):165-179.

(C) Terry Moe, "Congressional Control of the Bureaucracy: An Assessment of the Positive Theory of 'Congressional Dominance,'" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 12 (1987):475-520.

(R) John T. Stolz and B. Dan Wood, "Controlling the IRS: Principals, Principles, and Public Administration," *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (January 1998):141-162.

(C) Barry Weingast and Mark Moran, "Bureaucratic Discretion or Congressional Control," *Journal of Political Economy* 91 (1983): 765-800.

February 12. Presentation of Research Reports on Congressional Delegation (and catch up)

February 19. Congressional-presidential relations.

(C) D. Roderick Kiewiet and Mathew McCubbins (1988), "Presidential Influence in the Appropriations Process," *AJPS* 32: 713-736.

(C) Charles Cameron, *Veto Bargaining* (2001) New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

(C) Steven Matthews, (1989) "Veto Threats: Rhetoric in a Bargaining Game." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 104: 347-369.

(C) Nolan McCarty and Timothy Groseclose, "The Politics of Blame: Bargaining before an Audience," (with) 2000. *American Journal of Political Science*. 45(1):100-119.

(R) Sarah Binder (2004) *Stalemate* Washington: Brookings Institution.

(R) Matthew Beckmann (2010) *Pushing the Agenda: Presidential Leadership in U.S. Lawmaking*

February 26 The Presidency

(C) Richard Neustadt, *Presidential Power*, chs. 1-7. These chapters include all that was in the original 1960 edition; read as much of the later stuff as you find interesting.

(C) Terry Moe, "The Politicized Presidency" in Chubb and Peterson, *The New Direction in American Politics*, (1985): 235-272.

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

(I) Baum, Matthew and Kernell (1999), "Has Cable Ended the Golden Age of Presidential Television?" *APSR*

(C) Brandice Canes-Wrone (2001), "The President's Legislative Influence from Public Appeals," *AJPS*.

(R) David Lewis, *The Politics of Presidential Appointments* (2008)

(R) Jeffrey Cohen *The Presidency in an Era of 24-Hour News* (2008)

March 5. Courts

- (R) Lee Epstein and Walker, *Choices Judges Make* (2001)
- (C) Donald Songer, Segal and Cameron, "The Hierarchy of Justice: Testing a Principal-Agent Model of Supreme Court -- Circuit Court Interactions," *AJPS*
- (I) Martin Shapiro, *Who Guards the Guardians?*
- (R) Segal, Jeffrey A., Charles M. Cameron, and Albert D. Cover. 1992. "A Spatial Model of Roll Call Voting: Senators, Constituents, Presidents, and Interest Groups in Supreme Court Confirmations." *AJPS*.
- (C) Segal, Jeffrey A., and Harold J. Spaeth. 1996. "The Influence of Stare Decisis on the Votes of United States Supreme Court Justices." *AJPS*.
- (C) Brisbin, Richard A., Jr. 1996. "Slaying the Dragon: Segal, Spaeth and the Function of Law in Supreme Court Decision Making." *AJP*.
- (R) Knight, Jack, and Lee Epstein. 1996. "The Norm of Stare Decisis." *AJPS*.
- (R) Brenner, Saul, and Marc Stier. 1996. "Retesting Segal and Spaeth's Stare Decisis Model." *APSR*.
- (R) Spiller, Pablo T., and Matthew L. Spitzer. 1992. "Judicial Choice of Legal Doctrines." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 8:8-45.
- (C) Segal, Jeffrey A. 1997. "Separation-of-Powers Games in the Positive Theory of Congress and Courts." *American Political Science Review* 91:28-44.
- (R) Rosenberg, Gerald. 1991. *The Hollow Hope*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-5.
- (C) Songer, Donald R., Jeffrey A. Segal, and Charles M. Cameron. 1994. "The Hierarchy of Justice: Testing a Principal-Agent Model of Supreme Court-Circuit Court Interactions." *AJP S*.

March 12. Second paper presentations. This paper will offer an argument, hypotheses and research design extending state of knowledge on some topic covered in class.

March 19. American Political History and Development

- (C) Aldrich, *Why Parties?* (1995) Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press. chs 2-5.
- (C) Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State* (1982), chs. 1, 2 and either 3 & 6, or 4 & 7, or 5 & 8
- (C) Samuel Kernell and Michael McDonald (1999), "Congress and American Political Development ..." *AJPS*, July 1999.
- (R) Sarah H. Binder, "The Partisan Basis of Procedural Choice: Allocating Parliamentary Rights in the House, 1789-1990," (1996) *APSR* 90:8-20
- (I) David Brady and Phillip Althoff (1974) "Party Voting in the U.S. House, 1890-1910," *Journal of Politics*.
- (I) George B. Galloway, (1961) *History of the House of Representatives*.
- (I) Samuel Kernell, (1977) "Towards Understanding 19th Century Congressional Career Patterns: Ambition, Competition, and Rotation," *AJPS*.
- (C) Erik Engstrom and Samuel Kernell (2005). "Manufactured Responsiveness." *AJPS*
- (I) Nelson Polsby, Miriam Gallagher, and Barry Rundquist, (1969) "The Growth of the Seniority System in the U.S. House of Representatives," *APSR*.
- (I) Leonard White, *The Republican Era* (1958), chs. 1-5, 15.

I'll give out brief version of rehearsal exam at class.