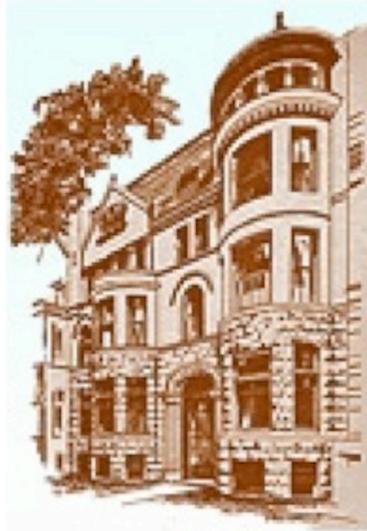


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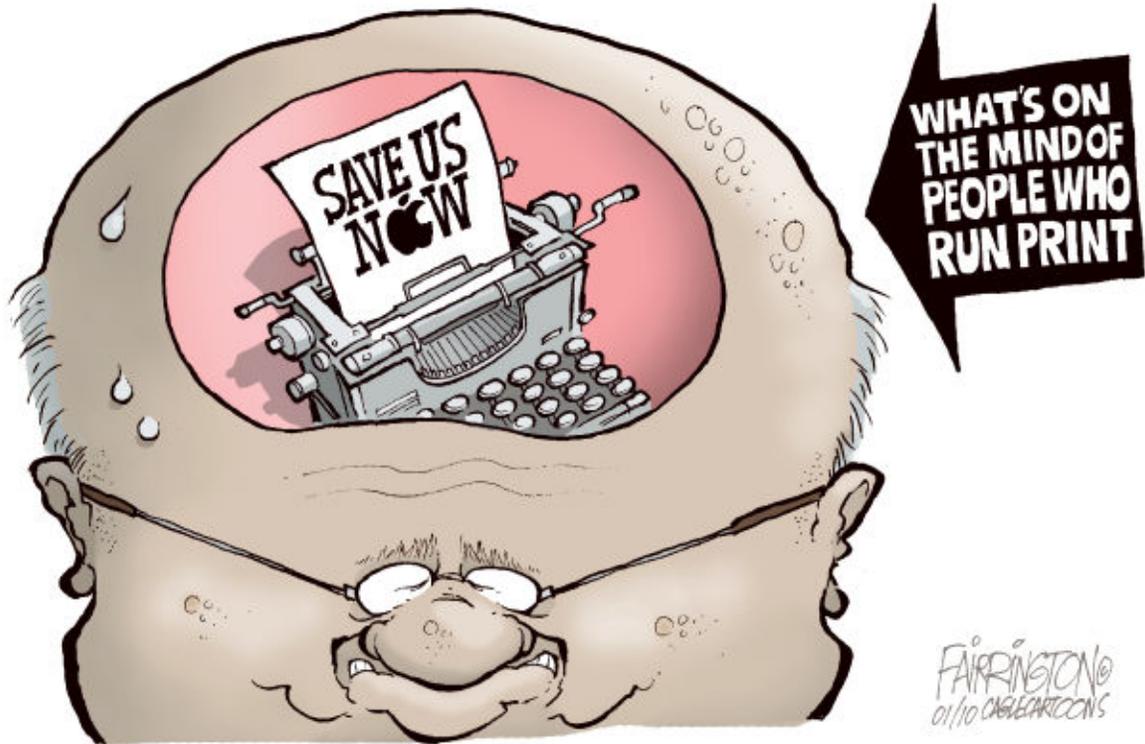
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From the PSO President

Syllabi Before the Internet.

Looking over old PSO journals, I noticed that members were urged to print 50 copies of syllabi and bring them to swap at conventions. Probably some remember the cousin of this practice, the paper room where large stacks of talks seemed to stretch over the horizon. We would walk around the table, picking up a pile to take home and wondering how to fit them in our bag. I remember after the meetings were over there was a huge waste of papers that nobody had taken, jettisoned and being pushed towards the dumpster in hoppers. The process was a real pain.

The arrival of the Internet has not only saved cutting down a lot of trees, but also saved us from being overweight at the airport. More importantly, as web sites begin to appear more frequently in course outlines, having the syllabi online makes following the suggestions a much easier proposition. It is hard to think of a downside to electronic syllabi. The same observation could be made about electronic journals. All twelve of the PSO publications appear online, and just six of them are also appearing in paper. As scholars increase their references and citations to the Internet and the web, reading an article from a paper journal becomes more of a challenge. As reading devices become more sophisticated and easier to use, one can envisage the day when paper journals will be only on demand. A number of cottage industries have sprung up to provide paper versions of electronic sources, so that those who still want paper can have it.

Paul J. Rich

pauljrich@gmail.com

Syllabi

The following syllabi were sent to us per our invitation to share them in our journals. We received more and they will be published in future Proceedings. As we hope these documents will be of use to the teaching of policy studies and curriculum development, we would like to encourage professors to send us their material for consideration. Contributions can be sent to Daniel Gutierrez at dgutierrez@ipsonet.org

Contents

- I. Policy Analysis**
Prof. Dan Feldman
John Jay College Criminal Justice
- II. Introduction to Policy Studies in Education**
Prof. Roxanne Hughes
Florida State University
- III. The Comparative Politics of Public Policy**
Prof. Alan Jacobs
University of British Columbia
- IV. Parties, Elections and Policy-making**
Prof. David R. Mayhew
Yale University

I. Policy Analysis

Prof. Dan Feldman

John Jay College Criminal Justice

I. Course description, goals and objectives

In your professional life, you will probably be asked to propose improvements on government's existing response to a problem. To do a good job, you will have to be able to research and understand the technical aspects of the problem and also to anticipate and strategize around the political obstacles your approach will have to overcome. This course should strengthen your ability to do so.

“Analysis is imagination. Making believe the future has happened in the past, analysts try to examine events as if those actions already had occurred.” – Aaron Wildavsky, *The Art of Policy Analysis*, 1979 (in Jay Shafritz, *Classics of Public Policy*, 2005, at page 416). To assist your imagination – to help you imagine and predict what obstacles your proposed solution to a policy problem must overcome – we will review four policy problems: the costs and inadequacies of mandatory minimum sentences as the core of New York's effort to attack the illegal drug trade; the weaknesses New York prosecutors suffered in prosecuting organized crime cases prior to 1987; the incentive structure that continues to reward unscrupulous participants in the handgun industry for making guns available to criminals and thus exacerbating the cost of gun violence; and the Soviet Union's belligerent installation of nuclear missiles in Cuba in 1962.

As your major assignment in the course, you will select a different (and current) problem, and design and present your proposal to improve on the policy now in place to address it. See “course requirements” below for more detail.

II. Required texts

Eugene Bardach's short book, *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis*, 3rd edition, 2009, will help you to analyze public policy problems in your professional life, as well as in this course.

Tales from the Sausage Factory: Making Laws in New York State, which I wrote with my co-author Gerald Benjamin, published in 2010, presents four case studies in the making of public policy at the state level, including the first two of the three we will address in this course, as noted above.

Graham Allison's *Essence of Decision*, originally published in 1971, on the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, is another great classic. I suggest you get the original edition in paperback. The pages assigned for reading are those in the 1971 paperback edition. You will probably need to find a used copy, but I like it better than the 1999 2d edition, co-authored by Philip Zelikow (and it is much shorter).

III. Course Requirements and Grading

Process for the required policy paper: 1) define the problem (including “action-forcing event,” if any); 2) literature review and bibliography (eight sources minimum); 3) provide historical background, include an issue timeline (10 bullet points), data proving problem exists, and relevant “governance failures”; 4) identify key players organizationally and individually; 5) utilize matrix to scan the environment; 6) interpret findings of scan; 7) define criteria for alternatives; 8) present three or four alternatives; 9) create matrix of alternatives and criteria; 10) examine matrix and make recommendation, identifying strengths and weaknesses, including legal and ethical concerns, if any; 11) draft two-page decision-making memorandum; 12) create PowerPoint display (ten slides maximum). For valuable guidance on steps 4 through 6, I suggest that you review http://www.jjconline.net/abxqrtl368/PAD771/media/771_environment_scan.mp4, regarding the “environmental scan,” developed by John Jay Professor Peter Mameli.

Requirements: The paper should be about twelve pages long, in memo format, double spaced, in 12 point font, and with APA-style citations, but can be a little longer if you need the space. Grammar, spelling and usage count. Use course readings for further guidance. You will be allotted fifteen minutes for your PowerPoint presentation.

Grades are based on the midterm examination (20%), both the written and the oral presentations of the policy analysis project (35%), the final examination (35%), and class participation (10%).

Regarding the project, please meet the deadlines set forth in the syllabus below, to enable me to give you feedback in time for you to refine and improve your presentation.

IV. Course Outline

- a) Introduction and Overview; illegal drug law reform (classes 1, 2, and 3)
- b) Techniques of policy analysis (classes 4-5)
- c) Case studies; midterm exam (classes 6-9)
- c) Sophisticated policy analysis: averting nuclear disaster (classes 10-12)
- d) Student presentations (classes 13-14)

V. Weekly topics, readings and assignments

1. Introduction to policy analysis and to one locus of policy-making: the New York State Legislature. Read Bardach, pages xv-xx, 127-135; Feldman and Benjamin, Chapters 2 and 3.

2. Tips on good research (read Bardach, pages 95-110); a policy memorandum from the RAND Corporation – mandatory minimum sentences for drug dealers (read Bardach, pages 111-125 and 145-151); an introduction to the nature of the legislative process in Albany (read Feldman and Benjamin, Chapter 4); and an analysis of drug abuse policy in New York under the Rockefeller drug laws (read Feldman and Benjamin, Chapter 6).

3. Class discussion will place the RAND paper in the context of the political obstacles to implementation from the 1980s through repeal of New York's Rockefeller drug laws in 2009. Review sample policy memorandum with strategy for repeal of New York's Rockefeller drug laws, using template to be used for class assignment. Read Feldman and Benjamin, Chapter 7 ("Reforming the Rockefeller Drug Laws").

4. Read Bardach pages 1-38 (Define the substantive problem; Assemble some evidence; Construct the alternatives; Select the criteria.)

5. Read Bardach pages 38-64 (Project the outcomes; Confront the trade-offs; Decide!; Tell your story.)

6. **Project proposal due.** How key players block or allow policy change to go forward. Read Feldman and Benjamin, Chapter 5 ("The Organized Crime Control Act").

7. Mid-term examination

8. **Draft analysis due.** Review mid-term examination.

9. Multiple decision points with different sets of key players at each. Read Feldman and Benjamin, Chapter 9 (Guns – The Struggle in the Legislature and Courts)

10. The rational actor model. Read Allison, 1-66.

11. The organizational process model. Read Allison, 67-143.

12. **Policy analysis paper due.** The bureaucratic politics model. Read Allison, 144-244.

13/14. Student presentations and discussion.

15. Final examination.

II. Introduction to Policy Studies in Education

Prof. Roxanne Hughes

The Florida State University

Course Description & Goals

This course introduces students to the field of public policy with applications geared toward public education - broadly construed. In this course we will explore the theoretical foundations (economic, political and institutional) that help us to understand what influences, shapes and, maybe, explains the success or failures of public policies. We will, then, take those lenses and look at the world around us to observe what theory tells us and to observe the practical realities that confound the theories.

There are two overarching goals of this course. First, the course will provide educators, researchers and analysts with an understanding of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks within which public policies arise, are implemented and are evaluated. Second, this course will give students a deeper understanding of the roles of federal, state and local governments and the courts in education policy. This course is a foundational or core course for many students and, in that respect, provides grounding for analyzing public policies.

Course Objectives

By the end of the semester, students will have built a...

General Knowledge of the Policy Landscape

- Identify and summarize the role of federal, state, and local governments and the courts as it relates to public education
- Understand that there is a global perspective

Theoretical Orientation to Your Thinking

- Theoretical perspectives on why and how the public sector, broadly construed, becomes involved in providing, regulating and/or funding any good or service, but clearly most intently - education
- Identify the strengths and limits of the nature of trying to achieve something beneficial and sustain it and expand it in the public realm
- Understand how the individual realm is difficult to resolve at the collective level
- Reflect on the challenges of making decisions collectively through voting and other means
- Understand rational, organizational and political modes of decision-making

Applied Perspectives

- Apply your understanding of the theoretical perspectives on the extant policy world
- Critically examine your assumptions - if they hold up, then they are strengthened
- Observe the world around you and be thoughtful and mindful.

Developmental Base as a Graduate Student

- Question underlying assumptions embedded in theories, policies and one's own values
- Develop critical thinking skills by exploring policies from multiple perspectives and critically examining the evidence that supports the respective viewpoints
- Effectively communicate ideas and knowledge in a comprehensive – yet, succinct manner
- Invest your time and energies in seeing the nuggets of understanding in what can be somewhat difficult reading material

Required Text & Readings

Wolf, Jr., Charles. (1993). *Markets or Governments: Choosing Between Imperfect Alternatives. Second Edition.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Ravitch, Diane. (2010). *The Death and Life of the Great American School System: How Testing and Choice are Undermining Education.* New York, NY: Basic Books

Expectations/Attendance

Communication and electronic access.

I am always available through email (and check it regularly). If you would like to arrange a telephone conversation or a face-to-face meeting, a mutually agreeable time can be arranged by email. Please do not hesitate to contact me by email if you have any questions about the course, the assignments, or the syllabus. I expect students to check their email daily as I will use this for individual and course correspondence.

Late Assignments.

If extenuating circumstances cause you to be late in submitting an assignment, it is your responsibility to contact me in advance to make arrangements for an extension of the due date. Should you turn in an assignment late without making such arrangements, I will deduct a grade for each day that it is late (so from an A to an A-).

Attendance

Your punctual attendance is expected at every class session. Excused absences include documented illness, deaths in the immediate family and other documented crises, call to active military duty, religious holy days, and official University activities. Accommodations for these excused absences will be made and will do so in a way that does not penalize students who have a valid excuse. Consideration will also be given to students whose dependent children experience serious illness. *Each unexcused absence will result in a lowering of your class participation grade by 3 points.*

Syllabus Change Policy

This syllabus is a guide for the course and is subject to change with advance notice.

Course Grading

Course Grades will be based on the following:

Class Participation:	10 Points
Online Participation Activities:	20 Points
Policy Memo #1:	15 Points
Policy Memo #2:	15 Points
Ravitch Group Project/Presentation	10 Points
<u>Final Policy Paper (30 points) and presentation (5 points):</u>	<u>30 Points</u>
TOTAL	100

Each assignment has a point value and the points add up to 100. Final grades will be determined according to the following scale:

A	94-100 points
A-	90-93
B+	87-89
B	84-86
B-	80-83
C+	77-79
C	74-76
C-	70-73
F	<70

Class Participation (10 Pts) Participation points will be earned!

The expectation is set at a graduate level, meaning that you come to class prepared. Prepared meaning – you have read the materials, thought about the concepts, spent time observing the world with different lenses. I expect you to be an active and thoughtful participant in class and group discussions and activities – all while being mindful of others in your group – find a way to bridge

communication gaps and provide a space for your colleagues to participate. Some may emerge as natural leaders, rather than discourage this I would suggest we let it emerge and ask them to be responsible facilitators of group efforts.

Class attendance – it is expected that you will attend every class session (one unexcused absence is allowed, but remember you won't be earning participation points). You must inform me of any absences – foreseen or unforeseen, ideally before class via email.

Online Activities: (20 Pts total)

Not included in the class participation above that covers general participation, formal and ad hoc group work. These activities will be done online and are intended to have you engage each other on timely topics in education policy and your own work.

Online Activity 1: (10 points): Respond to 2 other students' Policy Memo #1. (How well did they identify the above questions? Do you agree with their analysis or do you see it differently?) Rubric to follow.

Online Activity 2: (10 points): Respond to 2 other students' Policy Memo #2. (How well did they identify the above questions? Do you agree with their analysis or do you see it differently?) Rubric to follow.

Policy Memo #1 (15 points)

This paper will be 5-6 pages double spaced not including references. Choose an education related policy. Use Alison's (1969) guiding questions to evaluate your policy. Pick one or a combination of his three conceptual lenses to analyze your chosen policy. Does this conceptual lens work for your policy analysis? What does not fit under this framework?

Rubric: Briefly describe context of policy (i.e. stakeholder, description of policy or decision), then use Alison's framework to analyze (10 points). How does the framework aid your analysis and what is missing? (5 points)

Policy Memo #2 (15 points)

This paper will be 5-6 double spaced pages not including references. Choose an education policy of interest that is the result of a nonmarket or market failure. Describe the policy and how you came to the decision to categorize it. Evaluate the policy according to the market and nonmarket conditions discussed in the readings so far. (Was the policy a market response or a nonmarket response? A combination? Does the policy address equity, efficiency, accountability, and/or authority? How does it do this? Is there evidence of macro or micro decoupling?) Does your chosen policy fit within this conceptual framework? Why or why not? (15 points)

Ravitch Group Project/Presentation (10 points)

Students will work in groups to present points and counterpoints to Ravitch's stance on selected issues. Each group will be assigned an issue. Then they must provide her points, arguments and rationale for her statements with a corresponding counterpoint, argument, rationale from other educators/researchers. In your poster you should be thinking of the following questions to guide your presentation:

- What is the policy cycle for the particular issue you have?
 - o In your policy cycle description feel free to use concepts from class, such as market/nonmarket failures, equity/efficiency/accountability/authority issues, etc.
- Has Ravitch's policy been used before? If so has been successful? If not, what are your predictions for its success based on the counterpoints and policy cycle?

(Rubric to follow)

Policy Paper (30 Points)

The final project for the course will be a 10-12 page policy paper (not including references). Choose an educational policy of interest (it can be the same as one that you have used in your previous memos). Provide the context for the policy (i.e. historical, cultural, social, political, economic). Describe the stakeholders. Then choose one of the conceptual frameworks that we have discussed to analyze the policy. In your analysis you should include:

How the context affected the policy environment?

What was the demand that brought the policy about?

Who was involved in the policy decision?

What problem did the policy address?

How did the resulting policy address the original problem? Or did it?

What were the unintended consequences?

What lessons can be learned (implications) for future policies related to your choice?

What conclusions can you make based on the conceptual framework chosen and the results of the policy that you chose?

Internet Resources

Journals, Other Online Publications & Resources

The following list of websites is by no means exhaustive. You should explore the internet for other education and policy related sites that may be of interest to you.

EdWeek: <http://www.edweek.com/>

Educator's Reference Desk & ERIC: <http://www.eduref.org/Eric/>

Brookings Papers on Education Policy: <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/pep/>
 Economics of Education Review: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/02727757>
 Education Policy Analysis Archives: <http://olam.ed.asu.edu/epaa/>
 Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis: http://www.lib.fsu.edu/__ejournals.html
 Journal of Education Finance: http://www.lib.fsu.edu/__ejournals.html
 Journal of Policy Analysis & Management: http://www.lib.fsu.edu/__ejournals.html
 National Center for Education Statistics: <http://nces.ed.gov/>
 Education Commission of the States: <http://www.ecs.org>
 e-connection newsletter subscription: <http://www.ecs.org/ecs/e-connection>
 RAND: <http://www.rand.org/>
 Council for Education Policy Research and Improvement (CEPRI): <http://www.cepri.state.fl.us/>
 Office of Program Policy Analysis and Government Accountability (OPPAGA): <http://www.oppaga.state.fl.us/> --- Florida Monitor weekly email

Professional Associations

American Education Finance Association: <http://www.ed.sc.edu/aefa/>
 American Educational Research Association: <http://www.aera.net/>
 Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management: <http://www.appam.org/index.shtml>

Course Calendar

*Instructor retains the right to make changes, additions, or deletions to the syllabus during the course of the semester. **ADDITIONAL READINGS WILL BE ASSIGNED***

	Topic	Assignment/Note
Week 1	Introduction to course/Conceptual Lens	
Week 2	Conceptual Frameworks DeLeon (2006) Allison (2006) Allison (1969)	Think about: What is policy? Who are these authors? What are their conceptual lens?
Week 3	What is Policy Analysis? Weimer 2005 Weimer Ch 14 McDonnell	

Week 4	Economic Choice and Market Failures WOLF Preface, Acknowledgments, Ch 1 & 2 Rosen - Ch 6 Externalities Carnoy	
Week 5	No Class	Policy Memo #1
Week 6	Library presentation Nonmarket Supply/Demand WOLF Ch 3 Wilson Ch 17	Respond to two other students memos.
Week 7	Critical Reflections on the Choice between Market and Non-Market WOLF Ch 7 & 8 Wilson Ch 19	
Week 8	Voting Rosen – Ch 7 Public Choice Lauen & Tyson	
Week 9	No Class	Policy Memo #2
Week 10	Spring Break-No Class	Respond to two other students memos.
Week 11	Individual/Collective Behavior Ariely, Intro & Ch 1 Thaler & Sunstein, Intro & Ch 1 Dixon et al.	
Week 12	Reform Friedman – The Role of Government in Education Ravitch – Acknw, Chap 1-5	
Week 13	Reform Budde – Education by Charter	

	Ravitch – Ch 6-11 Groups Assigned for Ravitch Presentations	
Week 14	No class, you should be working with your group on your rough draft of your presentation	
Week 15	Rough drafts of Presentation posters for mini-poster session with class	Rough drafts of posters due in class.
Week 16	Final posters and Final thoughts	Final paper due.

III. The Comparative Politics of Public Policy

Prof. Alan Jacobs

University of British Columbia

Introduction

This course investigates the politics of public policy making in comparative perspective. It is motivated by a basic cross-national puzzle: Why have Canada, the United States, and other advanced industrialized democracies responded to similar social problems with very different kinds of government policies?

For instance, Canada and the United States are both developed democracies facing the similar challenge of financing expensive medical care for their citizens. So why have these two societies chosen such radically different policy solutions – with Canada setting up a single-payer health care system covering all residents and the U.S. maintaining a patchwork of private and government insurance schemes that (at least until implementation of the Obama reforms) leaves almost one-sixth of the population uninsured? Or, in the field of environmental policy, why was the United States a world leader in aggressively regulating pollution in the early 1970s, while Western European countries took the lead on Green issues in the 1990s and the U.S. fell behind? Why do some liberal democracies, like Canada, have relatively liberal immigration policies while others try to shut the gates?

In the first half of the course, we will develop a set of general explanatory tools that will be useful in unraveling such cross-national policy puzzles. Specifically, we will examine several broad factors that shape the course of the policy making process in advanced democracies: public opinion and elections, the structure of political institutions, the organization of social interests, the set of ideas held by policy makers, and the historical legacy of a country's past policy choices.

By the end of Part I, we will have assembled an analytical toolkit that we can use to help explain cross-national similarity and difference in governments' choices across a wide range of policy fields. In Part II, the course will apply this toolkit to a series of policy fields that have a major impact on the lives of citizens: health care, welfare state reform, immigration control, environmental policy, and tax policy. In each policy field, we will ask how voters, institutions, interest groups, ideas, and history shape the cross-national patterns of policy response that we observe. We will primarily focus on the experiences of North American and West European democracies, with modest reference to Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

Course Requirements

- **Midterm examination:** There will be a midterm examination in class. The midterm exam will cover Part I of the course.

To encourage you to plan ahead, part of the midterm exam will also ask you about your Research Paper topic. You will be told the precise question ahead of time and will be able to fully plan your answer to this question before the exam (i.e., these are easy points if you plan ahead).

- **Research paper:** In this project, you will be asked to explain why two advanced industrialized countries have adopted different policy responses to a similar domestic policy problem. The assignment will thus ask you to apply the analytical tools developed in Part I to unraveling your own cross-national policy puzzle. While the assignment has a defined structure, it allows for wide freedom of choice: it is up to you to pick both the policy field and the two countries upon which your paper will focus. A more detailed assignment will be distributed later in the term.
- **Length: 8-10 double-spaced pages**

Note above that you must choose your paper topic by the time of the midterm examination. By this point, you must have chosen the two countries and the policy field you will be examining, and you must have found out what policy choices the two countries have made in this field. Further guidance will be provided in class.

I am happy to read and comment on a thesis paragraph and outline of papers in progress. I am also happy to meet to discuss paper plans, during office hours or, if that is not possible, by appointment.

- **Final examination:** There will be a final examination to be scheduled later in the term.

Students are expected to regularly read a newspaper with good international coverage, especially of the areas (Europe and North America) that we will be emphasizing in this course. For English-language coverage, I particularly recommend the *Financial Times* and the *New York Times*, both available free online, or *The Economist*. A sense of ongoing political and policy developments will help ground the themes of the course in real-world issues, and help you to choose a paper topic with current relevance. In fact, it will probably enhance your interest and performance in all of your courses in the social sciences.

Grading.

The weighting of the written assignments in the final grade for the course is as follows:

Midterm exam 30%

Research paper	35%
Final exam	35%

Penalties for lateness

Papers handed in after the deadline will lose **2 points** on the 100-point scale for **each day** that they are late, including weekend days. The first day's penalty will be incurred by papers that come in on the right day but after the time indicated.

Required Readings and Schedule of Topics

Week 1: Introduction: The puzzle of cross-national difference

Goodin, Robert E. 1999. *The real worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 3 and 4.

Part 1: Theoretical Tools

Week 2: Public opinion and elections

Ferejohn, John A. 1990. "Information and the Electoral Process." Pp. 3-19 in *Information and Democratic Processes*, edited by John A. Ferejohn and James H. Kuklinski. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Weaver, R. Kent. 1986. "The Politics of Blame Avoidance." *Journal of Public Policy* 6: 371-398.

Week 3: Political institutions

Immergut, Ellen M. 1992. "The rules of the game: The logic of health policy-making in France, Switzerland, and Sweden." Pp. 57-89 in *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*, edited by Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pierson, Paul. 1995. "Fragmented Welfare States: Federal Institutions and the Development of Social Policy." *Governance* 8: 449-78.

Week 4: Organization of interests

Olson, Mancur. 1982. *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Chapter 2.

Wilson, Graham K. 2003. *Business and Politics: A Comparative Introduction (Third Edition)*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, Chapter 5.

Lindblom, Charles E. 1982. "The Market as Prison." *Journal of Politics* 44: 324-36.

Week 5: Policymakers' ideas

Hall, Peter A. 1993. "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State." *Comparative Politics* 25: 275-296.

Bleich, Erik. 2002. "Integrating Ideas into Policy-Making Analysis: Frames and Race Policies in Britain and France." *Comparative Political Studies* 35: 1054-1076.

Week 6: Policy feedback

Pierson, Paul. 1993. "When Effect Becomes Cause: Policy Feedback and Political Change." *World Politics* 45: 595-628.

MIDTERM EXAMINATION: IN CLASS
EXAM WILL INCLUDE QUESTION ABOUT YOUR
RESEARCH PAPER TOPIC.

Part 2: Policy Applications

Week 7: Research paper assignment and the logic of comparative inquiry

No readings

Week 8: Health care policy

Hacker, Jacob S. 1998. "The Historical Logic of National Health Insurance: Structure and Sequence in the Development of British, Canadian, and U.S. Medical Policy." *Studies in American Political Development* 12: 57-130.

Week 9: Welfare state reform

Pierson, Paul. 2001. "Post-Industrial Pressures on Mature Welfare States." Pp. 80-104 in *The New Politics of the Welfare State*, edited by Paul Pierson. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pierson, Paul. 1996. "The New Politics of the Welfare State." *World Politics* 48:143-79.

Weaver, R. Kent. 2003. "Cutting Old-Age Pensions." Pp. 41-70 in *The Government Taketh Away: The Politics of Pain in the United States and Canada*, edited by Leslie A. Pal and R. Kent Weaver. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

RESEARCH PAPER DUE

Week 10: Immigration policy

Joppke, Christian. 1998. "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration." *World Politics* 50: 266-93.

Week 11: Environmental policy

Vogel, David. 1993. "Representing Diffuse Interests in Environmental Policymaking." Pp. 237-71 in *Do Institutions Matter? Government Capabilities in the United States and Abroad*, edited by R. Kent Weaver and Bert A. Rockman. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Week 12: Tax policy

Steinmo, Sven. 1989. "Political Institutions and Tax Policy in the United States, Sweden, and Britain." *World Politics* 41: 500-35.

Week 13: Conclusion

No required readings.

IV. Parties, Elections and Policy-making

Prof. David R. Mayhew

Yale University

Course nature. This is lecture course. It offers 50-minute lectures twice a week, reading assignments, a TA section once a week where readings will be discussed, a bluebook midterm exam, and a bluebook final exam.

Optional term paper. Any student who wishes to do so may write an optional ten-page (approximately) term paper on any topic addressed in the course and approved by the professor. Please pay a visit for advice on topic and sources.

One writing-intensive section. In it, each student will be asked to write multiple drafts of two 8-to-12-page papers instead of taking exams. Limited to 15 students.

Who can take the course? Any freshman, sophomore, junior, or senior is eligible. There are no formal prerequisites. However, a basic grasp of US political history and the contemporary US political scene would help.

The readings. The course doesn't have any "text" in the conventional sense. The readings are interpretive, historical, and theoretical, not text-like.

Course materials. Required books:

John Gerring, Party Ideologies in America, 1828-1996

Andrew Gelman, Red State Blue State, Rich State Poor State

Alan Abramowitz, The Disappearing Center (paperback edition 1/24/11)

Gary C. Jacobson, The Politics of Congressional Elections (2009 paperback edition)

David R. Mayhew, Divided We Govern (2005 paperback edition)

Keith Krehbiel, Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking

David R. Mayhew, Partisan Balance (officially published 2/2/11)

Grading. The grading system will be: 30% for the midterm, 20% for participation in section, 50% for the final exam. For optional-paper-writers: 20% for the midterm, 20% for participation in section, 20% for the term paper, 40% for the final exam. For the writing-intensive section: 20% for participation; 80% for the papers.

Course Schedule

Week 1 – Organization meeting Party dualism

No required reading

Week 2 – Party ideologies I

Required:

Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy (1957), chs. 7 & 8

Philip E. Converse, “The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics,” pp. 206-245 (plus endnotes at pp. 256-59) in David Apter (ed.), Ideology and Discontent (1964)

Suggested:

Steven Pinker, The Blank Slate (2002), ch. 16. Another possible “constraint” on belief systems, beyond Converse’s three.

Geoffrey C. Layman & Thomas M. Carsey, “Party Polarization and ‘Conflict Extension’ in the American Electorate,” American Journal of Political Science 46 (October 2002), 786-802. An update, of sorts, of Converse.

Bernard Grofman, “Downs and Two-Party Convergence,” pp. 225-46 in Annual Review of Political Science, vol. 7, 2004. This offers a catalog of various theoretical reasons why Downsian convergence might not occur.

Keith T. Poole & Howard Rosenthal, Ideology and Congress (2007). Dualization in congressional roll call voting, 1790s through today.

Week 3 – Party ideologies II

Required:

John Gerring, Party Ideologies in America, 1828-1996 (1998), pp. 3-7 and chs. 4, 6, 7

Christopher Ellis & James A. Stimson, “Symbolic Ideology in the American Electorate,” Electoral Studies 28 (2009), 388-402

Suggested:

Seymour Martin Lipset & Gary Marks, It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States (2000), chs. 1 & 5.

Ronald D. Rotunda, The Politics of Language: Liberalism as Word and Symbol (1986). Where did the current usage of “liberal” and “conservative” come from?

Rhodi Jeffreys-Jones, “Changes in the Nomenclature of the American Left,” Journal of American Studies 44 (2010), 83-100. How did the usage—“left,” “socialism,” etc.—evolve during the 20th century?

Jo Freeman, “The Political Culture of the Democratic and Republican Parties,” Political Science Quarterly 101 (1986), pp. 327-56. Discusses party organizational differences rooted in differing ideologies.

Robert Freedman, “The Religious Right and the Carter Administration,” The Historical Journal 48:1 (2005), 231-60. When and why did the Republicans come to accommodate the modern religious right?

David C. Barker & Christopher Jan Carman, “The Spirit of Capitalism? Religious Doctrine, Values, and Economic Attitude Constructs,” Political Behavior 22 (2000), 1-27. Just why is it that born-again Christians tend to vote Republican?

George Lakoff, “Metaphor, Morality, and Politics, or, Why Conservatives Have Left Liberals in the Dust,” Social Research 62 (summer 1995), no. 2, pp. 177-213. A deconstruction of contemporary ideologies on the cultural/moral front.

Bruce Miroff, The Liberals' Moment: The McGovern Insurgency and the Identity Crisis of the Democratic Party (2007). Sees the McGovernites of 1972 as seedbed of the modern Democratic Party ideology.

Week 4 – Presidential elections: longitudinal patterns

Required:

Larry M. Bartels & John Zaller, “Presidential Vote Models: A Recount,” PS: Political Science and Politics 34 (March 2001), 9-20

Daniel J. Gans, “Persistence of Party Success in American Presidential Elections,” Journal of Interdisciplinary History 16 (1986), 221-37.

Suggested:

Ray C. Fair, "Presidential and Congressional Vote-Shares Equations," American Journal of Political Science 53:1 (January 2009), 55-72

James E. Campbell et al., "Symposium: Forecasting the 2008 National Elections," PS: Political Science and Politics 41:4 (October 2008), 679-732. A series of short pieces by forecasters. They did pretty well this time.

Walter Dean Burnham, Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics (1970), chs. 1-2, 7. The leading statement of "realignments" theory.

Helmut Norpoth & Jerrold D. Rusk, "Electoral Myth and Reality: Realignment in American Politics," Electoral Studies 26 (2007), 292-303. There is more stickiness in congressional elections.

Samuel Merrill III, Bernard Grofman & Thomas L. Brunell, "Cycles in American National Politics, 1854-2006: Statistical Evidence and an Explanatory Model," American Political Science Review 102:1 (February 2008), 1-17. Through one technique, there is evidence of cycles in congressional elections.

David R. Mayhew, Electoral Realignment: A Critique of an American Genre (2002).

David R. Mayhew, "Incumbency Advantage in Presidential Elections: The Historical Record," Political Science Quarterly 123:2 (Summer 2008), 2101-28. Covers 1788 through 2004.

David R. Mayhew, "Wars and American Politics," Perspectives on Politics 3:3 (September 2005), 473-93. Covers War of 1812, War with Mexico, Civil War, World Wars I & II.

Michael P. McDonald & Samuel L. Popkin, "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter," American Political Science Review 95 (2001), 963-74. These authors find no (pre-2004) decline in turnout since the 1970s if measurement is done properly.

Week 5 – Presidential elections: demographic patterns

Required:

Andrew Gelman et al., Red State Blue State, Rich State Poor State: Why Americans Vote the Way They Do, chs. 1-7

Suggested:

Edward L. Glaeser & Bryce A. Ward, "Myths and Realities of American Political Geography," Journal of Economic Perspectives 20:2 (Spring 2006), 97-118

Stephen Ansolabehere, Jonathan Rodden & James M. Snyder, Jr., "Purple America," Journal of Economic Perspectives 20:2 (Spring 2006), 97-118. Argues that cultural views don't motor regional voting disparities very much.

Harold W. Stanley & Richard G. Niemi, "Partisanship, Party Coalitions, and Group Support, 1952-2004," Presidential Studies Quarterly 36:2 (June 2006), 172-88. Partisan identification is the dependent variable.

Mark D. Brewer & Jeffrey M. Stonecash, Split: Class and Cultural Divides in American Politics (2007). Trends during the last few decades.

Michael Hout et al., "The Democratic Class Struggle in the United States, 1948-1992," American Sociological Review 60 (1995), 8-5-28. Shows a growing partisan cleavage between professionals and business people.

James L. Guth et al., "Religious Influences in the 2004 Presidential Election," Presidential Studies Quarterly, 36:2 (June 2006), 223-42

Week 6 – Polarization**Required:**

Alan I. Abramowitz, The Disappearing Center, chs. 1-6

Suggested:

Morris P. Fiorina with Samuel J. Abrams, Disconnect: The Breakdown of Representation in American Politics (2009). Polarization at the elite level.

Pietro S. Nivola & David W. Brady (eds.), Red and Blue Nation, vol I, Characteristics and Causes of America's Polarized Politics (2006). Essays by leading authors on the subject.

Pietro S. Nivola & David W. Brady (eds.), Red and Blue Nation, vol II, Consequences and Correction of America's Polarized Politics (2008). Also.

Gary C. Jacobson, A Divider, Not a Uniter: George W. Bush and the American People (2007). A polarizing figure.

Tim Groeling, “Who’s the Fairest of Them All? An Empirical Test for Partisan Bias on ABC, CBS, NBC, and Fox News,” Presidential Studies Quarterly 38:4 (December 2008), 631-57. The media as helpers of polarization.

Riccard Puglisi, “Being the New York Times: The Political Behavior of a Newspaper,” MIT manuscript, March 3, 2006. Available online. Political bias?

Stefano Della Vigna & Ethan Kaplan, “The Fox New Effect: Media Bias and Voting,” March 30, 2006 manuscript. Available online. Introducing Fox helped the GOP?

Richard A. Posner, “Bad News,” New York Times Book Review, July 31, 2005. Argues that the rise of new media is ideologically polarizing the traditional media.

Week 7 – Congressional elections

Required:

Gary C. Jacobson, The Politics of Congressional Elections (2009 edition)

Suggested:

D. Roderick Kiewiet & Michael Udell, “Twenty-Five Years After Kramer: An Assessment of Economic Retrospective Voting Based upon Improved Estimates of Income and Unemployment,” Economics and Politics 10 (1998), 219-48. The most comprehensive econometric analysis of House elections. It covers 51 biennial elections from 1892 through 1992.

Robert S. Erikson, “The Puzzle of Midterm Loss,” Journal of Politics 50 (1988), 1011-29. Why does the party controlling the White House routinely lose House seats in a midterm?

Alan Abramowitz, “Explaining Senate Election Outcomes,” American Political Science Review 82 (1988), 385-403. The various predictive factors.

Matthew S. Shugart, “The Electoral Cycle and Institutional Sources of Divided Presidential Government,” American Political Science Review 89 (1995), 327-43. What happens in midterm elections in other countries with presidential systems?

Gary C. Jacobson, "The 1994 House Elections in Perspective," Political Science Quarterly 111:2 (Summer 1996), 203-23. House Democrats who voted for Clinton's budget, crime bill, and NAFTA (as opposed to those who didn't) were hammered in the 1994 election.

John Ferejohn, "A Tale of Two Congresses: Social Policy in the Clinton Years," ch. 2 in Margaret Weir (ed.), The Social Divide (1998). A companion piece to the Jacobson article just above. It addresses the electoral effects of House roll call voting in both the 1994 and 1996 elections.

Gary D. Jacobson, "Referendum: The 2006 Midterm Congressional Elections," Political Science Quarterly 122:1 (Spring 2007), 1-24

Week 8 – Midterm week

Required:

Gary C. Jacobson, "The 2008 Presidential and Congressional Elections: Anti-Bush Referendum and Prospects for the Democratic Majority," Political Science Quarterly 124:1 (Spring 2009), 1-30.

Suggested:

David A. Hopkins, "The 2008 Election and the Political Geography of the New Democratic Majority," Polity 41:3 (July 2009), 368-87

James W. Ceaser, Andrew E. Busch & John J. Pitney, Jr., Epic Journey: The 2008 Elections and American Politics (2009)

Michael Nelson (ed.), The Elections of 2008 (2009)

Week 9 – Unified vs. divided party control and lawmaking I

Required:

David R. Mayhew, Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-2002 (2005 edition), chs. 1, 3, 4

Suggested:

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., “The Cycles of American Politics,” ch. 2 in Schlesinger, The Cycles of American History (1986). The Progressive era, the New Deal, and the 1960s-70s as eras of max-out policymaking.

James L. Sundquist, “Needed: A Political Theory for the New Era of Coalition Government in the United States,” Political Science Quarterly 103 (Winter 1988-89), pp. 613-35. The importance of unified party control of the government.

Sarah A. Binder, Stalemate: Causes and Consequences of Legislative Gridlock (2003). Uses a measure of policy demand as denominator.

John Lapinski & Joshua Clinton, “Measuring Legislative Accomplishment, 1877-1946,” American Journal of Political Science 50 (January 2006), 232-49. A good measure of congressional production of laws during that long span.

Week 10 – Unified vs. divided party control and lawmaking II

Required:

Mayhew, Divided We Govern, chs. 5-7 and Epilogue

Keith Krehbiel, Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking (1998), chs. 2, 3

Suggested:

David W. Brady & Craig Volden, Revolving Gridlock: Politics and Policy from Carter to Clinton (1998). Carries out the gridlock logic as in Krehbiel.

Gregory J. Wawro & Eric Schickler, “Where’s the Pivot? Obstruction and Lawmaking in the Pre-cloture Senate,” American Journal of Political Science 48 (2004), 758-74. Looking into the past, what is the record of minority obstruction in the Senate?

Paul Frymer, “Ideological Consensus within Divided Party Government,” Political Science Quarterly 109:2 (1994), 287-311. The importance of congressional factions like the Blue Dogs.

Morris P. Fiorina, Divided Government (2002). A general treatment.

Week 11 – Partisan balance I

Required:

David R. Mayhew, Partisan Balance: Why Political Parties Don't Kill the U.S. Constitutional System, Introduction & chs. 1, 2

Suggested:

Robert A. Dahl, How Democratic Is the American Constitution? (2002). A critique of several aspects of the U.S. Constitution on democratic grounds.

Sanford Levinson, Our Undemocratic Constitution: Where the Constitution Goes Wrong (And How We the People Can Correct It) (2006)

Jacob S. Hacker & Paul Pierson, Off Center: The Republican Revolution and the Erosion of American Democracy (2006). A stacked deck during the G W. Bush years?

Charles Stewart & Barry R. Weingast, “Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation: Republican Rotten Boroughs, Statehood Politics, and American Political Development,” Studies in American Political Development 6:2 (1992), 223-71. The GOP skew of the U.S. Senate in the late 19th century.

Stephen Ansolabehere & James M. Snyder, Jr., The End of Inequality: One Person, One Vote and the Transformation of American Politics (2008). On the importance of the redistricting revolution of the 1960s.

David Samuels, “The Value of a Vote: Malapportionment in Comparative Perspective,” British Journal of Political Science 31 (2001), 651-71. Among the worlds’ legislative bodies, the U.S. Senate ranks very high in population inequality across its geographic units.

Ron Johnston, David Rossiter & Charles Pattie, “Disproportionality and Bias in US Presidential Elections: How Geography Helped Bush Defeat Gore but Couldn't Help Kerry Beat Bush,” Political Geography 24 (2005), 952-68. The Electoral College favored the Republicans in 2000, the Democrats (although without tipping the result) in 2004.

Stephen Ansolabehere, David Brady & Morris Fiorina, “The Vanishing Marginals and Electoral Responsiveness,” British Journal of Political Science 22:1 (1992),

21-38. Why did the Democrats hold the U.S. House for 40 consecutive years through 1994?

Week 12 – Partisan balance II

Required:

Mayhew, Partisan Balance, chs. 3-5

Suggested:

Paul C. Light, The President's Agenda: Domestic Policy Choice from Kennedy through Carter (1982). Authoritative study.

Haynes Johnson & David S. Broder, The System: The American Way of Politics at the Breaking Point (1996). Classic study of Clinton's health-care drive in 1993-94.

Barry R. Weingast & William J. Marshall, "The Industrial Organization of Congress, or, Why Legislatures, Like Firms, Are Not Organized as Markets," Journal of Political Economy 96:1 (February 1988), 132-63. Congressional committees as fiefdoms.

Gary W. Cox & Mathew D. McCubbins, Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House (1993); followed up by Cox & McCubbins, Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the House of Representatives (2005). A case that majority party "cartels" motor the U.S. House to the detriment, sometimes, of floor majority rule there.

Julian E. Zelizer, On Capitol Hill: The Struggle to Reform Congress and Its Consequences, 1948-2000 (2004)

Eric Schickler, Eric McGhee & John Sides, "Remaking the House and Senate: Personal Power, Ideology, and the 1970s Reforms," Legislative Studies Quarterly 28:3 (2003), 297-333

Frances E. Lee & Bruce I. Oppenheimer, Sizing Up the Senate: The Unequal Consequences of Equal Representation (1999).

Week 13 – The current vortex of polarization, legislative obstruction, homeostatic kickback in elections, and “leapfrog representation”

Required:

Abramowitz, The Disappearing Center, ch. 8

Joseph Bafumi & Michael C. Herron, “Leapfrog Representation and Extremism: A Study of American Voters and Their Members in Congress,” American Political Science Review 104:3 (August 2010), 519-42

Suggested:

Kathleen Bawn & Gregory Koger, “Effort, Intensity and Position Taking: Reconsidering Obstruction in the Pre-Cloture Senate,” Journal of Theoretical Politics 20:1 (2008), 67-92. A theory of intensity.

Catherine Fisk & Erwin Chemerinsky, “The Filibuster,” Stanford Law Review 49:2 (January 1997), 181-254. A good general treatment.

Gregory Koger, Filibustering: A Political History of Obstruction in the House and Senate (2010). A general treatment. What came earlier, and how did the Senate evolve into its tough 60-vote pivot of today?

Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen & James A. Stimson, The Macro Polity (2002), ch. 9. The leading source on homeostatic kickback in U.S. elections.

HeeMin Kim, G. Bingham Powell, Jr. & Richard C. Fording, “Electoral Systems, Party Systems, and Ideological Representation,” Comparative Politics 42:1 (January 2010), 167-85. In general, single-member-district systems, of which the U.S.A. is an instance (although it doesn’t figure in this 20-country study) exhibit a particularly large ideological gap between the median voter and the stance of a newly-elected government. That is, election victories tend bring, in an ideological sense, exaggeration.

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The Policy Studies Organization holds concurrent meetings with the Southern Political Science Association in New Orleans every January, with the Midwest Political Science Association every April in Chicago, and with the American Political Science Association at its annual meetings in August. To schedule papers and panels for these events, please contact Daniel Gutiérrez-Sandoval at dgutierrezs@ipsonet.org.

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