

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
Department of Politics

Politics 541
The American Political System

Spring 2006
R. Douglas Arnold

This seminar is designed to introduce students to the scholarly study of American politics. The aim is to serve students with a variety of needs, including those who intend to specialize in American politics and those who want to acquire a basic understanding of American politics without further specialization. Although the seminar is intended to survey the field of American politics, it is not comprehensive. No one-semester course could possibly include all approaches or all subfields in American politics. The first half of the course focuses more on mass political behavior; the second half is oriented more toward institutions.

********* **Please Note: Seminar participants are** *********
********* **asked to read one short book before** *********
********* **the first seminar on February 7.** *********

A. Weekly Schedule

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| 1. Political Culture and Participation | February 7 |
| 2. Public Opinion – Micro | February 14 |
| 3. Public Opinion – Macro | February 21 |
| 4. Mass Media | February 28 |
| 5. Parties in the Electorate | March 7 |
| 6. Elections | March 14 |
| SPRING BREAK | |
| 7. Parties in Government | March 28 |
| 8. Political Institutions | April 4 |
| 9. Congress | April 11 |
| 10. Presidency | April 18 |
| 11. Bureaucracy | April 25 |
| 12. American Democracy | May 2 |
-

B. Course Requirements

1. **Reading.** The course operates as a seminar. The amount of required reading is reasonable (averaging 235 pages per week). Each student is expected to do the assigned reading before each seminar and come to class prepared for discussion.
2. **Discussion.** The main event each week is a structured discussion of the week's reading, focusing on the value of a scholar's theory, the appropriateness of the methods used, the adequacy of the evidence offered, and the contributions of each work to an understanding of American politics.
3. **Alternative Writing Requirements.** Students can choose to take the seminar as either a reading course or a research seminar.

- a. **Reading Course.** Students who choose the first option write *four* short papers that focus on the week's readings and one medium-length paper (maximum ten pages) that focuses on some theme that cuts across two or more weeks of reading.

Students select the weeks they would like to write their four short papers, subject to the constraint that they write two papers before spring break and two papers after spring break. The medium-length paper is due on Friday, May 19.

- b. **Research Course.** Students who choose the second option write *two* short papers that focus on the week's readings and one research paper (maximum 25 pages).

Students select the weeks they would like to write their two short papers, subject to the constraint that they write one paper before spring break and one paper after spring break. The research paper is due on Friday, May 19.

4. **Short Papers (all students).** The short papers are opportunities for you to discuss the week's required reading, unprompted by the instructor or your fellow students. Your papers should be typed, double-spaced, and a maximum of five pages. They are due at the start of the seminar in which their subjects are scheduled for discussion. I will return each of the short papers with my comments a week after they are due.

The key to a good paper is to pose an interesting question and then answer it. You might focus on the value of a scholar's theory, examining its logical rigor, the plausibility of the arguments, or its relation to other theories. You might focus on the adequacy of the empirical evidence, asking whether the scholar used appropriate methods, whether the evidence really supports the hypotheses, or whether other evidence contradicts it. Alternatively, you might address the question of how well a piece of scholarship helps to illuminate other happenings in the real world. Does a book help to explain why government makes the decisions it does? Under what conditions does it appear useful? These papers are not an opportunity to summarize the week's readings. You should assume that anyone who reads your paper has also done the week's reading.

These papers should be well organized and well written. A paper that fails to develop an argument until the last paragraph is called a first draft. A paper that fails to anticipate potential counter arguments, is written in the passive voice, or is filled with grammatical, spelling, or typing errors, is called a second draft. A paper that you would be proud to read to the class is called a final draft.

5. **Final Paper (for reading course).** Each student who chooses the first option writes one medium-length paper (maximum ten pages) that is due on Friday, May 19. Much like the shorter papers, this paper is an opportunity to analyze a subject discussed in the assigned readings. For the final paper, however, the emphasis is on examining a theme that cuts across two or more weeks of readings.
6. **Research Paper (for research course).** Each student who chooses the second option writes an original research paper (maximum 25 pages). The exact subject is chosen in consultation with the instructor. You should select a topic by Tuesday, March 7 and submit a one-page description. The research paper is due on Friday, May 19.
7. **Grades.** Grades reflect effort and performance in seminar discussion and in written work.

C. Availability of Readings

1. **Reserve Readings.** There is at least one copy of each required book on reserve in the Politics Graduate Study Room at Firestone Library.
2. **Additional Free Copies.** Many of the books for this course are also used in other Princeton courses and may be found in the appropriate libraries. You may find copies either in the Reserve Collection, located on A Floor of Firestone Library, or in the Donald E. Stokes Library in Wallace Hall. Check the University's online catalogue for details.
3. **Books Available for Purchase.** I have asked the Princeton University Store to order copies of nine books that are used most intensively (Fiorina; Zaller; Stimson; Mayhew; Krehbiel; Arnold; Canes-Wrone; Howell; Erikson, MacKuen, and Stimson). Please note that the Fiorina and Mayhew books are second editions.
4. **Electronic Course Reserves.** Articles are available as part of the library's electronic course reserves (marked ECR on the syllabus).
5. **Suggested Readings.** The suggested readings are places you might turn if you want to learn more about a given subject. Although these works are available somewhere in the Princeton University library system, I have not placed them on reserve for this course. For additional suggested readings, please refer to the Department's "Reading List for the Ph.D. General Examination in The Politics of the United States" (Spring 2005).

<http://www.princeton.edu/politics/graduate/documents/AmericanReadList2005May5.pdf>

D. Times and Places

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Seminar Meetings. | Tuesday, 1:30-4:20 | Corwin Hall, Room 126 |
| 2. Office Hours. | By appointment | Robertson Hall, Room 310 |
| | Phone: 258-4855 | arnold@princeton.edu |

I am readily available by appointment. Please send me an e-mail that includes all the times that are *impossible* for you over the coming week. I will respond with an appointment that works for both of us.

Weekly Readings**1. Political Culture and Participation (February 7)**

Please read the following book and article before the first seminar and come to class prepared for discussion. Both are easy reads.

a. *Required* (248 pages)

Morris P. Fiorina, *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*, 2nd ed. (2006), pp. 1-228.

Robert D. Putnam, "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America," *PS: Political Science & Politics* (December 1995), pp. 664-683 (ECR).

b. *Suggested*

Raymond E. Wolfinger and Steven J. Rosenstone, *Who Votes?* (1980).

Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (1993).

Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics* (1995).

Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2001).

Michael P. McDonald and Samuel L. Popkin, "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter," *American Political Science Review* (2001), pp. 963-974.

Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life* (2003).

Thomas E. Patterson, *The Vanishing Voter: Public Involvement in an Age of Uncertainty* (2003).

c. *Review Essay*

Robert W. Jackman and Ross A. Miller, "Social Capital and Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 1 (1998), 47-73.

2. Public Opinion – Micro (February 14)

a. *Required* (332 pages)

John R. Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (1992), pp. 1-332.

b. *Suggested*

Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (1922).

V. O. Key, Jr., *Public Opinion and American Democracy* (1961).

Jennifer Hochschild, *What's Fair? American Beliefs about Distributive Justice* (1981).

M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *Generations and Politics* (1982).

Daniel Kahneman, Paul Slovic, and Amos Tversky, *Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases* (1982).

Herbert McClosky and John Zaller, *The American Ethos: Public Attitudes Toward Capitalism and Democracy* (1984).

Samuel L. Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns* (1991).

Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro, *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in American's Policy Preferences* (1992).

William A. Gamson, *Talking Politics* (1992).

Robert S. Erikson, Gerald C. Wright, and John P. McIver, *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States* (1993).

Michael H. Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, *What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters* (1996).

Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Programs* (1999).

c. *Review Essays*

Philip E. Converse, "Assessing the Capacity of Mass Electorates," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000), 331-353.

James N. Druckman and Arthur Lupia, "Preference Formation," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000), 1-24.

3. Public Opinion – Macro (February 21)

a. *Required* (272 pages)

James A. Stimson, *Tides of Consent: How Public Opinion Shapes American Politics* (2004), xi-xx, 1-171.

Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson, *The Macro Polity* (2002). Chapter 2, "Presidential Approval," pp. 29-75; Chapter 6, "Public Opinion," pp. 193-236.

b. *Suggested*

John E. Mueller, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion* (1973).

Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson, *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics* (1989).

Richard A. Brody, *Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support* (1991).

William G. Mayer, *The Changing American Mind: How And Why American Public Opinion Changed Between 1960 And 1988* (1992).

James A. Stimson, *Public Opinion in America: Moods, Cycles, and Swings*, 2nd ed. (1999).

Jeff Manza, Fay Lomax Cook, and Benjamin I. Page (eds), *Navigating Public Opinion: Polls, Policy, and the Future of American Democracy* (2002).

Scott L. Althaus, *Collective Preferences in Democratic Politics: Opinion Surveys and the Will of the People* (2003).

4. Mass Media (February 28)

a. Required

John Zaller, *A Theory of Media Politics: How the Interests of Politicians, Journalists, and Citizens Shape the News* (1999), draft book manuscript. Selections to be provided (ECR).

Markus Prior, *Post-Broadcast Democracy* (2006), draft book manuscript. Selections to be provided (ECR).

b. Suggested

Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time* (1979).

Shanto Iyengar and Donald R. Kinder, *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion* (1987).

Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues* (1991).

W. Russell Neuman, Marion R. Just, and Ann N. Crigler, *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning* (1992).

Larry M. Bartels, "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure," *American Political Science Review* 87 (1993).

Thomas E. Patterson, *Out of Order* (1993).

Marion R. Just, Ann N. Crigler, Dean E. Alger, Timothy E. Cook, Montague Kern, and Darrell M. West, *Crosstalk: Citizens, Candidates, and the Media in a Presidential Campaign* (1996).

Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Programs* (1999).

John Zaller, "A New Standard of News Quality: Burglar Alarms for the Monitorial Citizen," *Political Communication* 20 (2003), 109-130.

R. Douglas Arnold, *Congress, the Press, and Political Accountability* (2004).

James T. Hamilton, *All the News That's Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News* (2004).

Timothy E. Cook, *Governing with the News: The News Media as a Political Institution*, 2nd ed. (2005).

c. *Review Essays*

Donald R. Kinder, "Communication and Opinion" *Annual Review of Political Science* 1 (1998), 167-197.

Michael Schudson, "The News Media as Political Institutions," *Annual Review of Political Science* 5 (2002), 249-269.

5. Parties in the Electorate (March 7)

a. *Required* (153 pages)

Morris P. Fiorina, "Parties and Partisanship: A 40-Year Retrospective," *Political Behavior* 24 (2002), 93-115 (ECR).

Larry M. Bartels, "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996," *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (2000), 35-50 (ECR).

Marc J. Hetherington, "Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization," *American Political Science Review* 95 (2001), 619-631 (ECR).

Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson, *The Macro Polity* (2002). Chapter 4, "Macropartisanship," pp. 109-149.

Larry M. Bartels, "Beyond the Running Tally: Partisan Bias in Political Perceptions," *Political Behavior* 24 (2002), 117-150 (ECR).

David R. Mayhew, "Electoral Realignments," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000), pp. 449-474 (ECR).

b. *Suggested*

V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (1949).

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

Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, *The American Voter* (1960).

Walter Dean Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (1970).

M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence* (1974).

Morris P. Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (1981).

M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *Generations and Politics* (1982).

James Sundquist, *Dynamics of the Party System* (1983).

David R. Mayhew, *Placing Parties in American Politics: Organization, Electoral Settings, and Government Activity in the Twentieth Century* (1986).

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

Donald P. Green, Bradley Palmquist, and, Eric Schickler, *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters* (2002).

6. Elections (March 14)

a. Required (169 pages)

Gerald Kramer, "Short-Term Fluctuations in U.S. Voting Behavior, 1896-1964," *American Political Science Review* 65 (1971), 131-143 (ECR).

Andrew Gelman and Gary King, "Why Are American Presidential Election Campaign Polls So Variable When Votes Are So Predictable?," *British Journal of Political Science* 23 (1993), 409-451 (ECR).

Larry M. Bartels, "Electoral Continuity and Change, 1868-1996," *Electoral Studies*, 17 (1998), 301-326 (ECR).

Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson, *The Macro Polity* (2002). Chapter 7, "Elections," pp. 237-283.

Gary C. Jacobson, "Polarized Politics and the 2004 Congressional and Presidential Elections," *Political Science Quarterly* 120 (2005), pp. 199-218 (ECR).

Arthur Lupia and John G. Matsusaka, "Direct Democracy: New Approaches to Old Questions," *Annual Review of Political Science* 7 (2004), pp. 463-482 (ECR).

b. *Suggested*

Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, *The American Voter* (1960).

Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, *Elections and the Political Order* (1966).

Morris P. Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (1981).

Stanley Kelley, Jr., *Interpreting Elections* (1983).

D. Roderick Kiewiet, *Macroeconomics and Micropolitics: The Electoral Effects of Economic Issues* (1983).

Larry M. Bartels, *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice* (1988).

Linda L. Fowler and Robert D. McClure, *Political Ambition: Who Decides to Run for Congress?* (1989).

Warren E. Miller and J. Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter* (1996).

Paul Gronke, *The Electorate, the Campaign, and the Office: A Unified Approach to Senate and House Elections* (2000).

Tali Mendelberg, *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality* (2001).

Gary W. Cox and Jonathan N. Katz, *Elbridge Gerry's Salamander: The Electoral Consequences of the Reapportionment Revolution* (2002).

Gary C. Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 6th ed. (2004).

7. Parties in Government (March 28)a. *Required* (265 pages)

David R. Mayhew, *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-2002* (2005), pp. ix-xii, 1-7, 34-226.

Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal, *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting* (1997), pp. 3-57, 227-232.

b. *Suggested*

Austin Ranney, *The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government* (1954).

James L. Sundquist, *Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years* (1968).

David W. Brady, *Critical Elections and Congressional Policy Making* (1988).

Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson, *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics* (1989).

David W. Rohde, *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House* (1991).

Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House* (1993).

John Aldrich, *Why Parties? The Origins and Transformation of Party Politics in America* (1995).

David R. Mayhew, "Presidential Elections and Policy Change: How Much of a Connection Is There?" in Harvey L. Schantz (ed.), *American Presidential Elections: Process, Policy, and Political Change* (1996).

Morris Fiorina, *Divided Government*, 2nd ed. (1996).

William Howell, Scott Adler, Charles Cameron, and Charles Riemann, "Divided Government and the Legislative Productivity of Congress, 1945-94," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25 (2000), 285-312.

Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal, "The Hunt for Party Discipline in Congress," *American Political Science Review* 95 (2001), 673-687.

Sarah A. Binder, *Stalemate: Causes and Consequences of Legislative Gridlock* (2003).

Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, *Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives* (2005).

8. Political Institutions (April 4)

a. Required (240 pages)

Keith Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking* (1998), pp. xiii-xvi, 3-236.

b. Suggested

Mark A. Peterson, *Legislating Together* (1990).

David W. Brady and Craig Volden, *Revolving Gridlock: Politics and Policy from Carter to Clinton* (1998).

David Epstein and Sharyn O'Halloran, *Delegating Powers: A Transaction Cost Politics Approach to Policy Making under Separate Powers* (1999).

Nolan McCarty, "Proposal Rights, Veto Rights, and Political Bargaining," *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (2000), 506-522.

Charles M. Cameron, *Veto Bargaining: Presidents and the Politics of Negative Power* (2000).

William G. Howell, *Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action* (2003).

Andrew Rudalevige, *The New Imperial Presidency: Renewing Presidential Power after Watergate* (2005).

c. *Review Essays*

Gary J. Miller, "The Political Evolution of Principal-Agent Models," *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005), 203-225.

Jonathan Bendor, Amihai Glazer, and Thomas Hammond, "Theories of Delegation," *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001), 235-269.

9. Congress (April 11)

a. *Required* (244 pages)

R. Douglas Arnold, *The Logic of Congressional Action* (1990), pp. 3-192, 265-276.

Brandice Canes-Wrone, David W. Brady, and John F. Cogan, "Out of Step, Out of Office: Electoral Accountability and House Members' Voting," *American Political Science Review*, 96 (2002), 127-140 (ECR).

Joshua D. Clinton, "Representation in Congress: Constituents and Roll Calls in the 106th House," *Journal of Politics* (forthcoming), 28 pp (ECR).

b. *Suggested*

David R. Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection* (1974).

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts* (1978).

Bruce Cain, John Ferejohn, and Morris Fiorina, *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence* (1987).

John W. Kingdon, *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*, 3rd ed. (1989).

Keith Krehbiel, *Information and Legislative Organization* (1991).

Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House* (1993).

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Senators on the Campaign Trail: The Politics of Representation* (1996).

Richard L. Hall, *Participation in Congress* (1996).

David T. Canon, *Race, Redistricting, and Representation: The Unintended Consequences of Black Majority Districts* (1999).

David R. Mayhew, *America's Congress: Actions in the Public Sphere, James Madison Through Newt Gingrich* (2000).

Eric Schickler, *Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress* (2001).

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

Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, *Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives* (2005).

c. *Review Essay*

Nelson W. Polsby and Eric Schickler, "Landmarks in the Study of Congress since 1945," *Annual Review of Political Science* 5 (2002), 333-367.

10. Presidency (April 18)

a. *Required* (251 pages)

Brandice Canes-Wrone, *Who Leads Whom? Presidents, Policy, and the Public* (2006), pp. xi-xiv, 1-81, 103-156, 185-192.

William G. Howell, *Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action* (2003), pp. xiii-xx, 1-23, 76-135, 175-187.

b. *Suggested*

James David Barber, *Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House* (1972).

Fred I. Greenstein, *The Hidden-Hand Presidency: Eisenhower As Leader* (1982).

Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents: The Politics of Leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan* (1991).

Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton* (1993).

Samuel Kernell, *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*, 3rd ed. (1997).

Charles M. Cameron, *Veto Bargaining: Presidents and the Politics of Negative Power* (2000).

Andrew Rudalevige, *Managing the President's Program: Presidential Leadership and Legislative Policy Formulation* (2002)

David E. Lewis, *Presidents and the Politics of Agency Design: Political Insulation in the United States Government Bureaucracy, 1946-1997* (2003).

Fred I. Greenstein, *The Presidential Difference: Leadership Style from FDR to George W. Bush*, 2nd ed. (2004).

c. *Review Essay*

Nigel Bowles, "Studying the Presidency," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999), 1-23.

11. Bureaucracy (April 25)

a. *Required* (245 pages)

Daniel Carpenter, "The Evolution of National Bureaucracy in the United States," in Joel D. Aberbach and Mark A. Peterson, *The Executive Branch* (2005), pp. 41-71 (ECR).

Keith E. Whittington and Daniel P. Carpenter, "Executive Power in American Institutional Development," *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (2003), 495-513 (ECR).

James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It* (1989). Chapter 1, "Armies, Prisons, and Schools," pp. 3-13; Chapter 2, "Organization Matters," pp. 14-28; Chapter 5, "Interests," pp. 72-89; Chapter 9, "Compliance," pp. 154-175; Chapter 13, "Congress," pp. 235-256.

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

Terry M. Moe, "The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure," in John W. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson (eds.), *Can the Government Govern?* (1989), pp. 267-329 (ECR).

Terry M. Moe, "Political Control and the Power of the Agent," *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* (November 2005), 1-29 (ECR).

b. *Suggested*

Herbert Kaufman, *The Forest Ranger: A Study in Administrative Behavior* (1960).

Anthony Downs, *Inside Bureaucracy* (1967).

R. Douglas Arnold, *Congress and the Bureaucracy: A Theory of Influence* (1979).

Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities* (1982).

Mathew D. McCubbins, Roger G. Noll, and Barry R. Weingast, "Administrative Procedures as Instruments of Political Control," *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 3 (1987): 243-77.

Martin M. Shapiro, *Who Guards the Guardians? Judicial Control of Administration* (1988).

David Epstein and Sharyn O'Halloran, *Delegating Powers: A Transaction Cost Politics Approach to Policy Making Under Separate Powers* (1999).

Daniel P. Carpenter, *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy* (2000), pp. 1-367.

John D. Huber and Charles Shipan, *Deliberate Discretion: The Institutional Foundations of Bureaucratic Autonomy* (2002).

David E. Lewis, *Presidents and the Politics of Agency Design: Political Insulation in the United States Government Bureaucracy, 1946-1997* (2003).

12. American Democracy (May 2)

- a. *Required* (187 pages)

Representation and Political Accountability

Larry Bartels, "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Build Up," *American Political Science Review* (1991), pp. 457-474 [ECR].

Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson, *The Macro Polity* (2002). Chapter 1, "A Model of the Macro Polity," pp. 1-26. Chapter 8, "Public Opinion and Policy Making," pp. 284-321. Chapter 11, "The Macro Polity and Democratic Performance," pp. 427-448.

Campaign Contributions and Their Effects

Stephen Ansolabehere, John M. de Figueiredo, and James M. Snyder, Jr., "Why Is There So Little Money in U.S. Politics?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* (2003), pp. 105-130 [ECR].

Richard L. Hall and Frank W. Wayman, "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees," *American Political Science Review* 84 (1990), 797-820 [ECR].

Inequality and American Democracy

American Political Science Association Task Force, "American Democracy in an Age of Rising Inequality," *Perspectives on Politics* (December 2004), pp. 651-666 [ECR].

Lawrence M. Mead, "The Great Passivity," *Perspectives on Politics* (December 2004), pp. 671-675 [ECR].

Margaret Weir, "Challenging Inequality," *Perspectives on Politics* (December 2004), pp. 677-681 [ECR].

Linda Faye Williams, "The Issue of Our Time: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America," *Perspectives on Politics* (December 2004), pp. 683-689 [ECR].

b. *Suggested*

E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America* (1960).

Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (1961).

Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress," *American Political Science Review* 57 (1963), pp. 45-56.

V. O. Key, *The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting, 1936-1960* (1966).

Paul E. Peterson, *City Limits* (1981).

Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro, "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy," *American Political Science Review* 77 (1983), 175-190.

James M. Snyder, Jr., "Constituency Preferences: California Ballot Propositions, 1974-90," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 21 (1996), 463-88.

Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, Bernard Manin (eds.), *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation* (1999).

Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro, *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness* (2000).

G. Bingham Powell, Jr., *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions* (2000).

Michael Bailey, "Quiet Influence: The Representation of Diffuse Interests on Trade Policy, 1983-94," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26 (2001), 45-80

Christopher H. Achen and Larry M. Bartels, "Blind Retrospection: Electoral Responses to Drought, Flu, and Shark Attacks," Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, 2002.

Vincent L. Hutchings, *Public Opinion and Democratic Accountability: How Citizens Learn about Politics* (2003).