**Political Science 514B/420C**

**Core Seminar in U.S. Politics**

**Department of Political Science**

**University of British Columbia**

**Fall 2020**

**NOTE: THIS IS THE SYLLABUS FROM FALL 2020. THE SYLLABUS WILL BE REVISED FOR FALL 2021.**

**Instructor:**  Paul J. Quirk

**Time:** Wednesdays 9-12 (or asynchronous)

**Email**: paul.quirk@ubc.ca

**Introduction**

This course introduces students to the issues and literature of US politics. It is intended for Ph.D. students majoring or minoring in US politics (for whom it is required); all other graduate students in political science; graduate students in other disciplines who would benefit from a sophisticated understanding of American politics; and (in Poli 420B) a few well-qualified upper-level undergraduate political science majors. No prior academic work on the US is assumed.

The readings combine still influential older works and significant recent ones. They cover most of the main topics in the political-science literature on the US, and represent a wide range of theoretical approaches and methods (including historical interpretation, qualitative case studies, statistical analysis, and formal modeling). Whatever the approach, we focus on substantive theories and findings, not technical matters. The course does not presume prior training in statistical or mathematical methods.

The course is designed to serve several purposes, and different groups of students. First, we will explore many of the central concerns in current research on US politics. The course will therefore provide a starting point for graduate students who may choose to write a Ph.D. dissertation or Master’s thesis on US politics. Second, we will study and evaluate theoretical and methodological approaches employed in the US literature that may be pertinent for students in other areas. Because the literature of US politics is large and well developed, the leading works are often useful models for research in other areas. Third, mostly through discussion, we will consider how various aspects of US politics compare with those of other developed democracies, especially Canada’s. These discussions may lead students toward projects that include the US in small-n, comparative studies. Finally, we will consider issues raised by the Trump presidency and what is widely regarded as a crisis of the US political system in this period. Largely through discussion of new literature identified and presented by students, we will try to address the crucial questions: how did the Trump presidency occur? What does it indicate about American politics? What effect is it having on the political system? And what will be the resulting issues and prospects for the future of American politics?

For Ph.D. students who are majors or minors in U.S politics, the readings and other assignments will provide a solid foundation for preparing for the comprehensive exam. Students in other areas, if they wish, will have opportunity to tailor some of their work in the course to suit their particular needs and interests.

The reading load will be fairly heavy. However, because there is no research paper, and the assigned essays will require only a modest amount of outside reading, the overall workload should be roughly typical of graduate seminars in the department. Undergraduates will do the same assignments and will have a somewhat heavier workload than in a typical 400-level class, but will be graded on the basis of UBC undergraduate expectations.

Before each week’s meeting, you are expected to read the assigned material, to consider the issues that I identify in emails or handouts for the week’s discussion, and to prepare written outlines as described below. Each week several students will give brief presentations on the basis of short writing assignments connected with the reading; each student will give (tentatively) four such presentations. When readings are especially heavy, I will often indicate items to give less detailed attention, or assign a division of labor.

**Course Requirements**

Course requirements are in three categories. ***(Variations on these requirements will be developed for students who are taking the course asynchronously.)***

1) Participation and presentations.

a) Students are expected to come well prepared and to participate regularly and thoughtfully in class discussion. Full credit is awarded for reasonably frequent participation, with allowances for experience and prior background and the size of the class.

b) In addition to in-class participation, each student will be assigned responsibility for presenting summaries of various readings, with some analytic commentary—both orally and in writing—several times during the semester, depending on enrollment. These will be used to begin discussion. *All presentations should be coherent and well organized—with a clearly evident structured outline.* They will provide valuable experience for teaching and other kinds of professional presentations. Copies of summary-commentary papers will be provided to all seminar members, to facilitate their mastery of the course materials, and for reference in writing exams. Grading of presentations will begin with each student’s second presentation and will be on a satisfactory/unsatisfactory basis. (More explanation in class; detailed instructions will be provided in writing.)

2) A literature-review paper, approximately 12 pages in length. The paper will assess a number significant works (e.g., 8-10 articles) on a specialized topic, chosen by the student in consultation with the instructor. There will be alternative approaches to this review. Students who are interested in the US from a comparative, IR, or political-theory perspective are encouraged to use the paper to pursue those interests. In some cases, the paper may lead to a dissertation or thesis project. Students will make a presentation on their paper, which will be graded as part of the paper grade. Presentations will be made over a three-week period.

Undergraduates who are taking the course to fulfill the research requirement will do a research paper, after consultation with the instructor, and will be excused from some of the other work of the course. Undergraduate grading will be based on typical standards for upper-level undergraduate courses.

3) A take-home final exam (8 pages). The questions on these exams will resemble those on the preliminary examination in US politics in the Ph.D. program, and but will also be workable for MA students and undergraduates.

The relative weighting of the four requirements is as follows:

Class Participation (or asynchronous substitute) 20%

(written summary-commentaries (pass/fail),

10%; in-class contributions, 10%)

Literature Review Paper 40%

Final Exam 40%

**Course Materials**

You will need to buy one book, Levitsky and Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (Crown, 2018).

**Schedule for Requirements**

Week 3: Paper assignment given

Week 4: Paper topic due (a general statement)

Week 9, 10, 11: Presentations on paper

Week 13: Papers due; final given

Finals period (date TBD): Final exam due

**PRELIMINARY TOPICS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY**

1. Course Introduction: Goals, Procedures, Requirements

2. General Perspectives on the American Political System

Nelson Polsby, “The Political System,” in Peter Schuck and James Q. Wilson, eds., *Understanding America: Anatomy of an Exceptional Nation* (Public Affairs, 2008), Ch. 1.

King, D. and R. Smith, “Racial Orders in American Political Development,” *APSR* (2005).

Joseph Bessette, *The Mild Voice of Reason: Deliberative Democracy and American National Government* (Chicago, 1994), Ch. 2.

Alfred Stepan and Juan Linz, “Comparative Perspectives on Inequality and the Quality of Democracy in the United States,” *Perspectives on Politics* (2011).

Morris Fiorina, *Disconnect: The Breakdown of Representation in American Politics* (Oklahoma), Ch. 7.

3. The Media and Public Opinion

John Zaller. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Attitudes*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chs. 3, 5

Martin Gilens. 1999. *Why Americans Hate Welfare*. Yale UP. Introduction, Chs. 4-5.

Bennet and Iyengar, “A New Era of Minimal Effects?” *Political Communication* 2008

Abramowitz, The Disappearing Center. Yale UP 2011. Ch 3.

#### 4. Parties and interest groups

John H. Aldrich. 1995. *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chs 1, 6, 7.

David Karol, *Party Position Change in American Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), Chs. 1, 3, 4.

James Q. Wilson, *Political Organizations* (Basic Books, 1973), Chs. 2, 3.

Schlozman, Brady, et. al., “Louder Chorus -- Same Accent: The Representation of Interests in Pressure Politics, 1981-2011,” APSA paper (2013)

5. Elections and voting

Niemi and Weisberg, "What Determines the Vote?" In Niemi and Weisberg, eds, *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 4th ed (CQ Press, 2001).

Lodge, et. al, "The Responsive Voter," In Niemi and Weisberg, eds, *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 4th ed (CQ Press, 2001).

Cohen, Karol, Noel, Zaller, *The Party Decides:*  (2008), Ch. 8.

Vavreck, Lynn, *The Message Matters: The Economy and Presidential Campaigns* (2009), Chs. 2-3.

Johnston, Richard, Michael Hagen, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics* (Cambridge UP, 2004), Chs. 1, 6.

6. Focus I: Citizens and Deliberation

Niemi and Weisberg, "Does Lack of Political Information Matter?" In Niemi and Weisberg, eds, *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 4th ed (CQ Press, 2001).

Ben Page and Marshall Bouton, *The Foreign Policy Disconnect* (University of Chicago Press, 2006), Chs. 1-2.

Paul M. Sniderman, “Taking Sides: A Fixed-Choice Theory of Political Reasoning,” in Arthur Lupia, Matthew McCubbins, and Samuel Popkin, *Elements of Political Reason*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 4.

James H. Kuklinski and Paul J. Quirk. 2000. “Reconsidering the Rational Public: Cognition, Heuristics, and Mass Opinion,” in Arthur Lupia, Matthew McCubbins, and Samuel Popkin, *Elements of Political Reason*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 8.

Thomas J. Rudolph, “Populism, Anger, and the Election of Trump,” 2018 APSA paper.

Guess, Nyhan, and Reifler, “Selective Exposure to Misinformation: Evidence from the consumption of fake news during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign,” ms. 2018.

7. Congress

Lowi, Ginsberg, Shepsle, Ansolabehere, *American Government* (Brief edition, 2014), Ch. 5 (Congress). [Primer material; not for discussion.]

Mayhew, David. 1974. *Congress the Electoral Connection*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press). excerpt in McCubbins and Sullivan, Congress: Structure and Policy, 18-29.

Krehbiel, Keith, *Pivotal Politics*, (1997) Chs. 1-2.

Cox and McCubbins, *Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the US House of Representatives*, (2005) chs. 1-2.

Barbara Sinclair, *Party Wars: Polarization and the Politics of National Policymaking*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), Chs. 1,5.

Curry and Lee, “What is Regular Order Worth? Partisan Lawmaking and Congressional Processes,” *JOP* (2020)

Recommended

Stephen Ansolabehere; James M. Snyder, Jr.; Charles Stewart III. 2001. “The Effects of Party and Preferences on Congressional Roll-Call Voting,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4. (Nov., 2001), pp. 533-572.

Curry and Lee, “Non-Party Government: Bipartisan Lawmaking and Party Power in Congress,” *APSR* 2019.

8. The Presidency

Matt Beckmann, “A President’s Decisions and the Presidential Difference” (2018).

David E. Lewis, *The Politics of Presidential Appointments: Political Control and Bureaucratic Performance* (Princeton UP, 2008), Chs. 6.

Brandice Canes-Wrone. *Who Leads Whom? Presidents, Policy, and the Public* (University of Chicago Press, 2006), Chs 1-3

Quirk, “Presidential Competence,” in Nelson, Presidency and the Political System 12th ed. (2020), ch. 5.

Edwards, “The Bully in the Pulpit: Donald Trump’s Leadership of Public Opinion” (*PSQ*, 2018)

Edwards, “’Closer’ or Context: Explaining Donald Trump’s Relations With Congress (PSQ, 2018)

9. Bureaucracy

Wilson, James Q. *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It*. (New York, Basic Books), Chs. 2, 6, 9, 10.

Moe, Terry M. “The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure,” in *Can the Government Govern?,* ed. John Chubb and Paul Peterson (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1989), Ch. 9.

Daniel P. Carpenter, “Corrosive Capture? The Dueling Forces of Autonomy and Industry Influence in FDA Pharmaceutical Regulation,” in Carpenter and Moss, eds., *Preventing Regulatory Capture* (Cambridge UP, 2014), Ch. 7.

Lewis, “Deconstructing the Administrative State (*JOP*, 2019).

Recommended

Mathew D. McCubbins; Roger G. Noll; Barry R. Weingast, “Administrative Procedures as Instruments of Political Control,” Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization, Vol. 3, No. 2. (Autumn, 1987), pp. 243-277.

10. The Judiciary

Jeffrey A. Segal and Albert D. Cover, “Ideological Values and the Votes of U.S. Supreme Court Justices,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 83, No. 2. (Jun., 1989), pp. 557-565.

Joshua M. Dunn, *Complex Justice: The Case of Missouri v. Jenkins* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press), Introduction, Ch. 1.

Forrest Maltzman, “Advice and Consent: Cooperation and Conflict in the Appointment of Federal Judges,” in Quirk and Binder, eds. *The Legislative Branch* (Oxford UP, 2005).

Devins and Baum, “Split Definitive: How Party Polarization Turned the Supreme Court into a Partisan Court,” Supreme Court Review (2017).

#### 11. Focus II: Elites and Policy Deliberation

Quirk, Bendix, and Bachtiger, “Institutional Deliberation.“ Handbook of Deliberative Democracy (Oxford UP, 2018).

Greenstein, Fred I. and John P. Burke. 1989. *How Presidents Test Reality: Decisions on Vietnam 1954 & 1965.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Chpts 1, 11, 13.

Steiner, Bachtiger, et. al. Deliberative Politics in Action: Analyzing Parliamentary Discourse (Cambridge UP, 2004), Chs. 3

Gary Mucciaroni and Paul Quirk, *Deliberative Choices: Debating Public Policy in Congress* (University of Chicago Press, 2006), Introduction, and Chs. 1, 3.

12. Public Policy: Agendas and Influence

Page and Gilens. “Testing Theories of American Politics,” *POP* (2018)

Patashnik, *Reforms at Risk* (Princeton University Press, 2008) Chs. 2-3.

Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, “Winner-Take-All Politics: Public Policy, Political Organization, and the Precipitous Rise of Top Incomes in the United States,” *Politics & Society* 2010 38 (2) 152– 204

13. The Future of American Democracy

Levitsky and Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (Crown, 2018).

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**UNIVERSITY AND DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE STANDARD ANNOUNCEMENTS**

**Acknowledgement**

UBC’s Point Grey Campus is located on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territory of the Musqueam people. The land it is situated on has always been a place of learning for the Musqueam people, who for millennia have passed on in their culture, history, and traditions from one generation to the next on this site.

**General Academic Policies**

Regular attendance in lectures and tutorials and participation (in tutorials) is expected. All assignments must be completed and handed in. Students who do not attend regularly or fail to hand in an assignment may be disallowed from writing the final exam.

Read the university calendar so that you are aware of no-penalty drop dates, requirements for medical authorization (to defer an exam, for example) and other procedures that may affect you.

Students who wish to appeal grades assigned to their academic work may do so. The initial appeal should be made to the TA or course instructor. If the student remains unsatisfied with this process, he/she may proceed to the head of the department or further to a formal committee established in accordance with University policies.

Religious holidays – UBC permits students who are scheduled to attend classes or write examinations on holy days of their religions to notify their instructor in advance of these days and their wish to observe them by absenting themselves from class or examination. Instructors provide opportunity for students to make up work or examinations missed without penalty. (Policy # 65.)

UBC is committed to the academic success of students with disabilities. UBC's policy on Academic Accommodations for students with disabilities aims to remove barriers and provide equal access to University services, ensure fair and consistent treatment of all students, and to create a welcoming environment. Students with a disability should first meet with an Access and Diversity advisor to determine what accommodations/services you are eligible for.

**University Values and Priorities:**

UBC provides resources to support student learning and to maintain healthy lifestyles but recognizes that sometimes crises arise and so there are additional resources to access including those for survivors of sexual violence. UBC values respect for the person and ideas of all members of the academic community. Harassment and discrimination are not tolerated nor is suppression of academic freedom. UBC provides appropriate accommodation for students with disabilities and for religious and cultural observances. UBC values academic honesty and students are expected to acknowledge the ideas generated by others and to uphold the highest academic standards in all of their actions. Details of the policies and how to access support are available **here** (https://senate.ubc.ca/policies- resources-support-student-success

**Academic Integrity and Responsibility**

As a member of this class, you are responsible for contributing to the course objectives through your participation in class activities and your work on essays, exams, and other projects. In the process of coming into your own as an independent, responsible participant in the academic community, you are encouraged to seek advice, clarification, and guidance in your learning from your instructor and/or Teaching Assistant. If you decide to seek help beyond the resources of this course, you are responsible for ensuring that this help does not lead you to submit others’ work as your own. If an outside tutor or other person helps you, show this policy to your tutor or helper: make sure you both understand the limits of this person’s permissible contribution. If you are uncertain, consult your instructor or TA.

Academic communities depend on their members’ honesty and integrity in representing the sources of reasoning, claims, and wordings that appear in their work. Like any other member of the academic community, you will be held responsible for the accurate representation of your sources: the means by which you produced the work you are submitting. If you are found to have misrepresented your sources and to have submitted others’ work as your own, penalties may follow. Your case may be forwarded to the Head of the department, who may decide that you should receive zero for the assignment. The Head will report your case to the Dean’s Office, where the report will remain on file. The Head may decide, in consultation with your instructor, that a greater penalty is called for, and will forward your case to the Dean’s Office. After an interview in the Dean’s Office, your case may be forwarded to the President’s Advisory Committee on Academic Misconduct. Following a hearing in which you will be asked to account for your actions, the President may apply penalties including zero for the assignment; zero for the course; suspension from the university for a period ranging from 4 to 24 months; a notation on your permanent record. The penalty may be a combination of these.

Academic communities also depend on their members’ living up to the commitments they make. By enrolling in this course, you make commitments to an academic community: you are responsible for meeting deadlines, and attending class and engaging in class activities. If you find that you cannot meet a deadline or cannot participate in a course activity, discuss your situation with your instructor or TA before the deadline or before your absence.

Like any academic author submitting work for review and evaluation, you are guaranteeing that the work you submit for this course has not already been submitted for credit in another course. Your submitting work from another course, without your instructor’s prior agreement, may result in penalties such as those applied to the misrepresentation of sources.

**Illness and Absence**

If you experience medical, emotional, or personal problems that affect your attendance or academic performance, please notify Arts Academic Advising.  If you are registered with Access and Diversity, you should notify your instructor at least two weeks before examination dates. If you are planning to be absent for varsity athletics, family obligations, or other commitments, you should discuss your commitments with the instructor before the drop date.

**Reach out and ask for help if you need it**

University students often encounter setbacks from time to time that can impact academic performance. If you run into difficulties and need assistance, I encourage you to contact me by email or by dropping by my office. I will do my best to support your success during the term. This includes identifying concerns I may have about your academic progress or wellbeing through Early Alert. With Early Alert, faculty members can connect you with advisors who offer student’s support and assistance getting back on track to success. Only specialized UBC advisors are able to access any concerns I may identify, and Early Alert does not affect your academic record.

For more information: <https://facultystaff.students.ubc.ca/systems-tools/early-alert>

For information about addressing mental or physical health concerns, including seeing a UBC counselor or doctor, visit: <https://students.ubc.ca/health-wellness>

**Respectful University Environment**

UBC recognizes that “the best possible environment for working, learning and living is one in which respect, civility, diversity, opportunity and inclusion are valued.” The full *UBC Statement on Respectful Environment for Students, Faculty and Staff* can be found at<http://www.hr.ubc.ca/respectful-environment/files/UBC-Statement-on-Respectful-Environment-2014.pdf>. Students should read this statement carefully and take note of both the protections and the responsibilities that it outlines for all members of the UBC community. Students should also review the Student Code of Conduct, at: <http://www.calendar.ubc.ca/vancouver/index.cfm?tree=3,54,750,0>

This course values frank discussion, healthy debate, and the free and respectful exchange of ideas. Students are welcome to voice and defend their views, which may differ from those of other students or of the instructor. However, disrespectful behavior, including bullying and harassment, will not be tolerated. The instructor and teaching assistant will be professional and respectful in all their exchanges with students, and students will exercise similar professionalism and respect in their interactions with each other, with the teaching assistant, and with the instructor.

If you have any concerns about the class environment, please raise them with the instructor. You also have the options of contacting the Head of the Political Science Department, UBC’s Equity and Inclusion Office (http://equity.ubc.ca), or the UBC Ombudsperson for Students: <https://ombudsoffice.ubc.ca>

**Equity and Harassment**

UBC is committed to equity (including but not limited to gender equity) and fostering a safe learning environment for everyone. All peoples should be able to study, work, and learn in a supportive environment that is free from sexual violence, harassment, and discrimination.  UBC’s Policy #3 on Discrimination and Harassment defines harassment as: “unwanted and unwelcome attention from a person who knows, or ought to know, that the behaviour is unwelcome. Harassment can range from written or spoken comments to unwanted jokes, gifts, and physical assault, and may be accompanied by threats or promises regarding work or study opportunities and conditions. Harassment can be either a single incident or a series of related incidents.” Such behavior is not acceptable and will not be tolerated at UBC. If you or someone you know has encountered sexual violence or harassment, you can find confidential support and resources at the AMS Sexual Assault Support Centre, (SASC), and the Equity and Inclusion Office. The SASC is an all-genders service that serves the UBC-Vancouver campus community and is committed to creating a safer campus community, free from sexualized violence. Their work is informed by feminism, anti-oppression and recognition of intersectionality. The Equity and Inclusion Office is committed to fostering a community in which human rights are respected and equity and diversity are integral to university life.

Resources are available at:

Sexual Assault Support Centre, (SASC)

249M, Student Union Building, UBC

604-827-5180

[sasc@ams.ubc.ca](mailto:sasc@ams.ubc.ca)

<http://amssasc.ca>

Equity and Inclusion Office

2306 – 1874 East Mall (Brock Hall)

604.822.6353

[equity@equity.ubc.ca](mailto:equity@equity.ubc.ca)

<http://equity.ubc.ca>

**TurnItin**

In accordance with departmental policy, in this course you will be required to submit your research paper in electronic form to a service called TurnItIn. UBC subscribes to this service that checks written material for originality by searching for matching text. This service is in increasing use in universities as protection for students against the impact of academic fraud on scholarship competitions, graduate and law school admissions, and degree reputation. Students will submit their research papers to the TurnItIn website, where software scans the paper against a database which includes public websites, paper writing services, essays submitted to TurnItIn, and journal articles. The service then produces a report on the paper’s originality. The instructor will review the reports, and where necessary, the papers themselves.

Please note that TurnItIn stores information on servers that reside in the United States. If you do not wish to use your name when creating your TurnItIn account, please use an alias and inform the instructor of your alias. You may also wish to use a non-identifying email account.

**Students are required to e-mail one copy of their paper to the TA and submit the same paper electronically to TurnItIn.**

Still a little uncertain or paranoid about what constitutes plagiarism? For a quick refresher visit: <http://www.indiana.edu/%7Ewts/pamphlets/plagiarism.shtml> and/or: <http://sja.ucdavis.edu/files/plagiarism.pdf>

The following directions are taken directly from the UBC VP Academic website:

To submit your paper to TurnItIn, log on to the TurnItIn site, at:

www.turnitin.com

You will be asked to create a unique “user profile,” consisting of an ID (e-mail address) and password (see upper right hand corner of the TurnItIn homepage). Once this ID is created, you will be able to add courses to your profile. To add a course, you will need the “course ID” which is: