

Spring, 2012

*“CLOSING THE DEAL:
NEGOTIATING MAJOR LEGISLATION”*

Instructors:

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This course examines the outcomes of the legislative process in the United States. The first third of the course will examine key concepts and major determinants of the negotiation process: majority rule instability, agenda control, political parties, the amendment process, and the uncovered set. The rest of the course will examine the negotiations that led to some of the most significant legislation in the past 100 years, from the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 through the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to immigration reform. Along with other assignments, each student will write several drafts of a major research project on a major piece of legislation. Each research project will examine the amendments offered, the strategic intentions of the amendments' sponsors, the agenda process, coalition formation, and the role of party.

Prerequisites: American politics 101B

Texts:

Riker. *The Art of Political Manipulation*.

Mayhew. *Divided We Govern*.

Birnbaum and Murray. *Showdown at Gucci Gulch*.

Sened and Schofield. *Multiparty Democracy*.

Recommended texts:

Strunk and White. *Elements of Style*.

Evaluation:

As a writing intensive course, your grade will depend mostly on several writing requirements. The first will be a short paper of 3-5 pages explaining your understanding of the problems of majority rule decision-making (25% of grade). Write an essay about one of the chapters in Riker; Chs. 2, 10, and 11 are recommended. In the essay, demonstrate your understanding of majority rule instability and the opportunities for strategizing through voting, introducing amendments, or controlling the agenda.

A second paper (5-8 pages) will examine the political background of a major piece of legislation of your choice (30%). You will be asked to discuss partisan, regional, and interest group preferences and strategies, the role of the President, and any differences

between the two chambers. Substantive legislation on immigration, social security, education bills, energy bills, and the environment will all be appropriate topics. You may do research with a team of people interested in the same topic, but each of you should write up your own 2nd paper, or your own essay on some segment of the bigger topic.

The final writing assignment will incorporate the results of your research on the legislative process, the amendments that passed and failed, and the political negotiations that shaped the outcome of the bill of your choice. You should discuss which legislators offered which amendments, how the timing of roll call votes was determined, and what coalitions backed which amendments and why. The underlying question will be, "How did legislators close the deal?" If you wish, you can submit a team project, as long as each student takes responsibility for one or more clearly marked sections of the team project.

In past years, student presentations of their projects were a highlight of the course. We will reserve most of the month of May for student presentations of their final projects.

The final paper will be worth 35% of your grade, and the remaining 10% of the grade will depend on students' regular participation in class.

Course Schedule ***SECTION I. THEORY***

W 1/18: Introduction to the course

M 1/23 Majority Rule Instability
IS-1 Read: Sened handout

W 1/25 Killer Amendments
GM-1 Read: William H. Riker. 1986. *Art of Political Manipulation*.
Chs. 1-3, 11

M 1/30 Logrolling and Heresthetics
IS-2 Read: William H. Riker. 1986. *Art of Political Manipulation*.
Chs. 4-7

W 2/01 Logrolling and Heresthetics
GM-2 Read: Riker, Ch. 8-10, 12

M 2/06 Majority Rule Chaos
IS-3 Read: Riker. 1980. "Implications from the Disequilibrium of Majority Rule for the Study of Institutions." APSR 74:432-46.

W 2/08 Multiparty Democracy
IS-4 Read: Sened and Schofield ch. 1-2
Friday 2/10 Rough draft of 1st paper due

M 2/13 Uncovered Set
IS-5 Read: Bianco, Jelizkov and Sened. 2004 “The Uncovered Set and the Limits of Legislative Action. *Political Analysis* 12: 256-76.

W 2/15 Multiparty Democracy
IS-6 Read: Sened and Schofield Ch. 5-7

Friday 2/17 Rough draft of 1st paper handed back with editorial comments

M 2/20 Party Realignment
GM-3 Read: Schofield and Sened, Chs.6-7

W 2/22 Conditional Party Government
IS-7 Read: Bianco and Sened. 2005. “Uncovering Conditional Party Government.”
APSR 99-361-72.
Aldrich and Rohde. 1998. “Theories of Party in the Legislature and the
Transition to Republican Rule in the House.” *PSQ* 112: 112-35.

Friday 2/24 Revision of 1st paper due

SECTION II. Congressional procedure

M 2/27 Logrolling and Agenda Control in the House.
GM-4 READ: Ferejohn. 1986. “Institutional Logrolling” in
Congress and Policy Change ed. G. Wright et al. 1986.
Birnbaum & Murray, *Showdown at Gucci Gulch*; skim 1-4; Read Ch. 5.

W 2/29 Agenda Control in the House
GM-5 Read: Birnbaum and Murray 1987:
Showdown at Gucci Gulch read Ch.6-7.

Friday 2/28 Select a bill for paper 2: Among others:
Improving America’s Schools Act 1994.
No Child Left Behind Jan. 2002
Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act 1978
Personal Responsibility Act 1995 (welfare reform)
Campaign Finance Reform (failed: 1993, 1999, 2001, passed: 2002)
Stem cell research 2006
Health care 2010*
Dodd-Frank 2010

Social Security*

M 3/05 Committees and Agenda Control in the Senate Committee
GM-6 Read: Birnbaum and Murray, *Showdown at Gucci Gulch*, Ch. 8-9

W 3/07 Senate Floor and Conference Committees
GM -7 Read: Birnbaum and Murry Ch. 10-11, Epilogue

3/12 -3/18 Spring Break

SECTION III. CASE STUDIES OF MAJOR LEGISLATION

M 3/19 Major Legislation
IS-8 Read: Mayhew, Ch.1, 3-5.

W 3/21 Divided Government
IS-9 Read: Mayhew, Chs. 6-7.

Friday 3/16 1st draft of 2nd paper

M 3/26: Scaling Preferences; & Major Legislation: Federal Reserve Act
GM-8 Read Jeong, *Political Analysis*. Gyung-Ho Jeong, Gary Miller and Andrew Sobel. 2008. "Political Compromise and Bureaucratic Structure: The Political Origins of the Federal Reserve System." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*.

W 3/28 Uncovered Set: Experimental Results
IS-10 Read: Bianco et al. 2006. "A Theory Waiting to be Discovered"
Journal of Politics 68 837-50.
Bianco et al. "The Constrained Instability of Majority Rule". *Political Analysis* 16; 115-37.

Friday 3/30 1st draft of 2nd paper returned with editorial comments

M 4/02 Civil Rights Legislation 1964, Senate; VRA 65
GM-9 Read: Mann, *Walls of Jericho*. selected chapters
Jeong, Miller, and Sened. 2009. "Closing the Deal"

W 4/04 Energy and Environment / Filibuster and the Nuclear Option
GM-0 Read: CQ Almanac 1977. p. 735-738. Natural Gas Deregulation
Congressional Record Senate: October 3, 1977. Natural Gas Policy.
Jeong, Lowry, Miller, and Sened. “How Majority Preferences Change
Institutions: The 1978 Energy Act.

Fri. 4/06 Revision of 2nd paper due

M 4/09 Immigration Legislation and Party Realignment in the U.S.
IS-11 Read: Sened and Schofield. Ch. 8
Gyung-Ho Jeong, Gary Miller, Camilla Schofield, and Itai Sened. 2009.
“Cracks in the Opposition: Multidimensionality and Realignment in U.S. Senate
Negotiations”.

W 4/11 Development of Filibuster and the Nuclear Option
G-10 Read: Hulse; NYTimes
<http://www.nytimes.com/2005/05/24/politics/24judges.html?pagewanted=all>
www.brookings.edu/opinions/2011/1007_senate_binder.aspx

M 4/16 presentations

W 4/18 presentations

M 4/23 PRESENTATIONS

W 4/25 PRESENTATIONS

Thursday 4/26 1st draft of final paper due.

Friday 4/27 last day of classes

Monday 4/30 1st draft of final paper returned

M-W 4/30-5/02 Reading week

Friday 05/04 *Revised draft of final paper due*

W 05/09 Final exams end. Revised papers returned.