

Fall, 2010
Tentative schedule

*“CLOSING THE DEAL:
NEGOTIATING MAJOR LEGISLATION”*

Instructors:

Gary Miller
Itai Sened

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 the immigration bill of 2006. 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

Required texts:

Riker. *The Art of Political Manipulation*.

Mayhew. *Divided We Govern*.

Birnbaum and Murray. *Showdown at Gucci Gulch*.

Recommended texts:

Oleszek. *Congressional Procedure and the Policy Process*. 7th ed.

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). 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 environmental legislation will all be appropriate topics.

The final writing assignment (8-12 pages) will incorporate the results of your research on the legislative process and 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 remaining 10% of the grade will depend on students' regular participation in class.

Course Schedule

Week 1: Majority Rule Instability and Coalition Formation.

W: Introduction to Majority Rule Instability,
Agenda Control, and Coalition Formation

Week 2: Majority Rule and the Art of Political Manipulation

M: Labor Day

W: William H. Riker. 1986. *Art of Political Manipulation*. New Haven: Yale University Press, ch. 1-6.

Week 3: Agenda Control and the Amendment Process in the House

M: Riker, chs. 7-12.

W: Ferejohn. 1986. "Institutional Logrolling" in
Congress and Policy Change ed. G. Wright et al. 1986.

Week 4: Manipulation of House Procedures

M Jeffrey H. Birnbaum, Alan S. Murray 1987:
*Showdown at Gucci Gulch: Lawmakers Lobbyists and the
Unlikely Triumph of Tax Reform*. skim ch. 1-4, read Ch.5-6.

W Birnbaum and Murray; Ch.7

Week 5: Senate Procedure; The Uncovered Set and Party Effects

M 2/11: Birnbaum and Murray. *Showdown*. Read Chs. 8-9.
Lee. *Beyond Ideology*, Chs. 1-3.

W 2/13: Birnbaum and Murray. *Showdown*. Read Chs. 10-11.

Lee, *Beyond Ideology* Chs. 4-6.

1st paper is due

Week 7: The Uncovered Set; Party Influence

M : W.T. Bianco I. Jeliaskov I. Sened. 2004. "The Uncovered Set and the Limits of Legislative Action" *Political Analysis*, Vol 12: 256-76.
Lee: *Beyond Ideology* finish.

W : W.T. Bianco and I. Sened. 2005. "Uncovering Conditional Party Government: Reassessing the Evidence for Party Influence in Congress and State Legislatures" *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99: 361-372.

Miller and Schofield. 2005 "Activists and Party Realignment in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 2005.

Week 8: Federal Reserve Act; Civil Rights legislation

M 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 Mann. *Walls of Jericho*. Civil Rights Act of 1957.
"The Johnson System"

SELECT YOUR RESEARCH TOPIC BY THE END OF THE FALL BREAK

For example:

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

Week 9: Civil Rights

M Mann. *Walls of Jericho*. Civil Rights Acts of 1964, 1965

- W** Gyung-Ho Jeong, Gary Miller, and Itai Sened. 2009. "Closing the Deal: Negotiating Civil Rights Legislation.: *American Political Science Review* 103:588-606.

Week 10: Immigration and other Social legislation

- M** Health care 2010

- F** Gyung-Ho Jeong, Gary Miller, Camilla Schofield, and Itai Sened. 2009. "Cracks in the Opposition: Multidimensionality and Realignment in U.S. Senate Negotiations".

Second paper due

Weeks 11 Energy and Environment

- M** Guest talk by Bill Lowry

Weeks 12-15 Reports on personal research.

Final paper due on final exam date.