



**The University Of Chicago
Harris School of Public Policy**

**Analytical Politics II: Politics and Policymaking
Fall 2022**

Professor

Christopher Berry: crberry@uchicago.edu

Teaching Assistant

Mathias Gesser: mgesser@chicagobooth.edu

Description

This course aims to provide a rigorous and practical introduction to the politics of the policymaking process. Course objectives are to (1) introduce students to a core set of analytical models and concepts, (2) use these tools to analyze contemporary political institutions and behavior in the United States, and (3) give students an understanding of the real work of policymaking.

Texts

The following books are required:

- Kenneth Shepsle, *Analyzing Politics* (Norton, 2010).
- Charles Stewart, *Analyzing Congress* (Norton, 2011).

Requirements

- Participation in class discussion and activities: 10%
- Election tracking project (details provided separately): 25%
 - Part 1 due by November 7
 - Part 2 due by December 2
- Take home midterm exam, weekend of October 29-30: 25%
- Take home final exam, weekend of December 4-5: 40%

Assignments will be accepted through Gradescope. No submissions will be accepted via email. Late assignments will be penalized one-half letter grade (e.g., from B+ to B) per day late. No assignment will be accepted more than one week late. Exams will not be accepted late without prior arrangements with Professor Berry.

Appealing a Grade

If you believe that your grade on any assignment or exam question is incorrect or unfair, you should request a regrade via Gradescope only. [You may watch this tutorial to find out how to request a regrade.](#) You must wait at least 24 hours but not more than one week after you receive your graded assignment or exam before submitting an appeal. Your TA will consider your appeal and respond in writing via Gradescope. If you are not satisfied with the response, you may resubmit the assignment or exam for re-grading in its entirety by Professor Berry. You must do so within one week of receiving your TA's response. Please do this using the same process via Gradescope. This grade will be final.

TA Sessions and Office Hours

There will be two scheduled TA sessions during the quarter, one leading up to the midterm exam and one leading up to the final exam. In addition, your TA is available for individual meetings by appointment.

Professor Berry is available for individual meetings by appointment.

Related Policies and Procedures

Disability Accommodations

The University's policies regarding students with disabilities are available [here](#). The University of Chicago is committed to ensuring equitable access to our academic programs and services. Students with disabilities who have been approved for the use of academic accommodations by Student Disability Services (SDS) and need a reasonable accommodation(s) to participate fully in this course must follow the [procedures established by the Harris School of Public Policy](#).

Timely notifications are required to ensure that your accommodations can be implemented. Currently registered students are asked to notify the Harris Student Disability Liaison, Eman Alsamara (ealsamara@uchicago.edu) of their access requests by the end of the first week of the quarter. The Harris Student Disability Liaison will work with the student and instructor to coordinate the implementation of student accommodations. *Harris students are not required to submit their accommodations letter to the instructor.* Students from other divisions in the University must submit their accommodations letter to Eman Alsamara (ealsamara@uchicago.edu) in the Harris Dean of Students Office.

Students who are facing extenuating circumstances at any point during the quarter should reach out to their Academic Advisor in the Dean of Students Office for support. If you feel you need accommodations on an ongoing basis, contact Student Disability Services. To contact SDS: website: disabilities.uchicago.edu phone: (773) 702-6000 email: disabilities@uchicago.edu.

Academic Integrity

All University of Chicago students are expected to uphold the highest standards of academic Integrity and honesty. Among other things, this means that students shall not represent another's work as their own, use un-allowed materials during exams, or otherwise gain unfair academic advantage. The University's policies regarding academic integrity and dishonesty are described [here](#). In summary, "It is contrary to justice, academic integrity, and to the spirit of intellectual inquiry to submit another's statements or ideas as one's own work. To do so is plagiarism or cheating, offenses punishable under the University's disciplinary system. Because these offenses undercut the distinctive moral and intellectual character of the University, we take them very seriously." The Harris School's student policies are available on the [policies page of our website](#).

Teaching modality

This course is planned as an in-person experience, and students are expected to attend class at Convene. The one exception is for week 1 of the quarter. The university's [academic calendar](#) for fall 2022 starts on a Tuesday (Sept 27) rather than a Monday. As a consequence, the quarter has only 8 days of instruction on Mondays rather than the standard 9. To make up for this deficit, I am providing a pre-recorded lecture for week 1. Students are expected to view the recording and do the readings for week 1 even though there will not be an in-person meeting that week.

Video and Audio Recordings

The University has developed specific policies and procedures regarding the use of video/audio recordings: these policies are explicitly described in the University's [student manual](#) as well as in the guidelines for instructors available [here](#). Key components of this policy include the following:

By attending course sessions, students acknowledge that:

- i. They will not: (i) record, share, or disseminate University of Chicago course sessions, videos, transcripts, audio, or chats; (ii) retain such materials after the end of the course; or (iii) use such materials for any purpose other than in connection with participation in the course.*
- ii. They will not share links to University of Chicago course sessions with any persons not authorized to be in the course session. Sharing*

course materials with persons authorized to be in the relevant course is permitted. Syllabi, handouts, slides, and other documents may be shared at the discretion of the instructor.

iii. Course recordings, content, and materials may be covered by copyrights held by the University, the instructor, or third parties. Any unauthorized use of such recordings or course materials may violate such copyrights.

iv. Any violation of this policy will be referred to the Area Dean of Students.

Reading Schedule

1. Week 1, **No Class Meeting**. Recorded Lecture: Introduction to Spatial Models of Politics
 - Key topics: theoretical framework; median voter theorem; models of agenda-setting; single vs. multiple dimensions
 - Required reading:
 - *Analyzing Politics*, Chapters 3-6.
 - Supplemental readings:
 - Andrew Hall. 2015. "What Happens When Extremists Win Primaries?" *American Political Science Review*.
 - Nicholas Miller. 1983. "Pluralism and Social Choice." *American Political Science Review*.
 - Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal. 1991. "Patterns of Congressional Voting." *American Political Science Review*.
2. October 3: Public Opinion
 - Key topics: the formation of public opinion; political communication; public opinion polling
 - Required readings:
 - James Druckman, "Pathologies of Studying Public Opinion, Political Communication, and Democratic Responsiveness." *Political Communication*.
 - CQ Researcher. 2015. "Political Polling."
 - John Zaller. 2003. "Coming to Grips with V.O. Key's Concept of Latent Opinion," in *Electoral Democracy*, (eds.) Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz, University of Michigan.
 - Brandice Canes-Wrone. 2015. "From Mass Preferences to Policy." *Annual Review of Political Science*.
 - Supplemental readings
 - Weisberg, H. F. 2008. "The methodological strengths and weaknesses of survey research." In the SAGE handbook of public opinion research, 223-231.
 - *NY Times*, The Upshot. 2016. "We Gave Four Good Pollsters the Same Raw Data. They Had Four Different Results." <http://nyti.ms/2cmfEsF>
 - *NY Times*, The Upshot. 2016. "How One 19-Year-Old Illinois Man Is Distorting National Polling Averages." <https://nyti.ms/2dXBlva>
3. October 10: Elections, Interest Groups, and Political Participation
 - Key topics: political campaigns and elections; sources of variation in voter turnout; persuasion vs. turning out the base; interest groups, campaign finance

- Required reading
 - Loren Lomsasky and Geoffrey Brennan. 2000. “Is There a Duty to Vote?” *Social Philosophy and Policy*.
 - Eitan Hersh. 2017. Political Hobbyism: A Theory of Mass Behavior. Manuscript.
 - Pew Research Center. 2017. “How ‘Drop-Off’ Voters Differ from Consistent Voters and Nonvoters.”
 - *Analyzing Politics*, chapter 9.
- Supplemental readings:
 - CQ Researcher. 2016. *Campaign Finance*.
 - Madestam et al. 2013. “Do Political Protests Matter? Evidence from the Tea Party Movement.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.
 - Ryan Enos, Aaron Kaufman, and Melissa Sands. 2019. “Can Violent Protest Change Local Policy Support? Evidence from the Aftermath of the 1992 Los Angeles Riot.” *American Political Science Review*.
 - Omar Wasow. Forthcoming. “Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting.” *American Political Science Review*.
 - Stephen Ansolabehere, John M. de Figueiredo, and James M. Snyder Jr. 2003. Why is There so Little Money in U.S. Politics? *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(1):105-130.

4. October 17: Minority Representation and Majority Tyranny

- Key topics: substantive vs. descriptive representation; voter bias; race and gender in elections, institutional reforms
- Required readings:
 - Lani Guinier. 1995. “The Representation of Minority Interests.” In *Classifying by Race*, Paul Peterson, ed. (Princeton University Press).
 - Charles Cameron, David Epstein, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1996. “Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?” *American Political Science Review*.
 - Sarah Anzia and Christopher Berry. 2011. “The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson Effect: Why Do Congresswomen Outperform Congressmen?” *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Supplemental readings:
 - Jennifer Lawless. 2015. “Female Candidates and Legislators.” *Annual Review of Political Science*.
 - Scott Ashworth, Christopher Berry, and Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2020. “Sources of Women's Underrepresentation in US Politics: A Model of Election Aversion and Voter Discrimination.” Working paper.

- David Lublin, et al. 2020. “Minority Success in Non-Majority-Minority Districts: Finding the “Sweet Spot.” *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*.
- Richard Pildes and Kristen Donoghue. 1995. “Cumulative Voting in the United States.” *University of Chicago Legal Forum*.

5. October 24: Political Parties and Partisanship

- Key topics: historical evolution of party system; current partisan alignments; partisanship in the public
- Required reading:
 - Ilyana Kuziemko and Ebonya Washington. Forthcoming. “Why Did the Democrats Lose the South?” *American Economic Review*.
 - Iyengar, Shanto, et al. 2019. “The Origins and Consequences of Affective Polarization in the United States.” *Annual Review of Political Science*.
 - Anthony Fowler. 2020. “Partisan Intoxication or Policy Voting?” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*.
 - Michael Barber and Nolan McCarty. 2015. “The Causes and Consequences of Polarization”
- Supplemental reading
 - Elizabeth Cascio and Na’ama Shenhav. 2020. “A Century of the American Woman Voter: Sex Gaps in Political Participation, Preferences, and Partisanship Since Women’s Enfranchisement.” NBER Working Paper 26709.
 - Danial Gillon, Jonathan Ladd, and Marc Meredith. 2018. “Party Polarization, Ideological Sorting, and the Emergence of the Partisan Gender Gap.” *British Journal of Political Science*.
 - Liliana Mason. 2015. “I Disrespectfully Agree: The Differential Effects of Partisan Sorting on Social and Issue Polarization.” *American Journal of Political Science*.

6. October 31: Legislatures

- Key topics: legislative process; role of parties and committees; super-majoritarianism
- Required reading
 - Charles Stewart. 2011. *Analyzing Congress*. Chapters 7-9.
- Supplemental reading
 - Charles Stewart. 2011. *Analyzing Congress*. Chapter 3.
 - Barry Weingast and William Marshall. 1988. “The Industrial Organization of Congress; or, Why Legislatures, Like Firms, Are Not Organized as Markets.” *The Journal of Political Economy*.

7. November 7: The Executive

- Key topics: Executive authority; unilateral powers; executive-legislative interaction;
Required reading
 - CQ Researcher. 2015. "Presidential Power."
 - Keith Krehbiel. 1998. *Pivotal Politics* (University of Chicago Press). Chapter 2.
 - Charles Cameron and Nolan McCarty. 2004. "Models of Vetoes and Veto Bargaining." *Annual Review of Political Science*.
- Supplemental reading
 - Molly Reynolds. 2018. "What If You Could Pick the Pivot? Budget Reconciliation and Pivotal Politics in the Contemporary Congress." *Journal of Politics*.

8. November 14: The Courts, the Bureaucracy, and Policy Implementation

- Key topics: Courts as policy-making institutions, role of the bureaucracy in implementing and influencing policy; political oversight of the bureaucracy; capture
- Required reading
 - Kenneth Shepsle. *Analyzing Politics*. Chapter 15.
 - Cass Susntein, David Schkade, and Lisa Michelle Ellman. 2004. "Ideological Voting on Federal Courts of Appeals." *Virginia Law Review*.
 - James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It* (1989). Read in the following order: "Constraints" pp 113-136. Political Environment of Agencies, pp. 75-83. Four kinds of agencies defined by nature of tasks, 154-171. The Key Strategy: 202-205
- Supplemental reading
 - Recommended: Marin Levy and Adam Chilton. 2015. "Challenging the Randomness of Panel Assignment in the Federal Courts of Appeals." *Cornell Law Review*.
 - Recommended: Eric Posner. 2008. "Does Political Bias in the Judiciary Matter?" *University of Chicago Law Review*.
 - Jonathan Bendor et al. 2001. Theories of Delegation. *Annual Review of Political Science*.

9. November 28: Local/Urban Politics

Key topics: What is different about local politics? Mobility and interjurisdictional competition; federalism; politics of education and policing; nationalization of local politics

- Required readings
 - Christopher Berry. 2008. Piling On: Multi-level Governments and the Fiscal Common Pool. *American Journal of Political Science*.

- Cheryl Boudreau, Christopher Elmendorf, and Scott MacKenzie. 2019. “Racial or Spatial Voting? The Effects of Candidate Ethnicity and Ethnic Group Endorsements in Local Elections.” *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Zoltan Hajnal and Jessica Trounstein. 2016. “Race and Class Inequality in Local Politics.”
- Supplemental readings
 - Charles Tiebout. 1956. “A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures.” *Journal of Political Economy*.
 - Vladimir Kogan and Zachary Peskowitz. 2018. Election Timing, Electorate Composition, and Policy Outcomes: Evidence from School Districts. *American Journal of Political Science*. 62(3):637-651.
 - Vladimir Kogan. “From Machines to Service Centers: The Evolution of State and Local Political Parties.” 2014. In *CQ Guide to Political Parties*, edited by Marjorie Randon Hershey, Barry C. Burden, and Christina Wolbrecht. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
 - Jessica Trounstein. 2017. Political Schizophrenics? Factors Affecting Aggregate Partisan Choice at the Local Versus National Level. *American Politics Research*.