Course Objective: How do we study & assess American democracy?

This course offers an introduction to the systematic and meticulous study of American politics. Building on the scientific foundation of political science, this course is designed to provide an understanding into the behavior of citizens and institutions operating within the national framework of American government. The main question motivating the course is a simple, yet complex one: how well does the American political system live up to the ideals of a representative democracy? Recognizing that representative democracy requires engaged citizens and responsive institutions, the motivating question of the course hinges on understanding:

- How does James Madison’s “Republic” provide the fundamental theory that justifies the representative framework which underlies the American political system and what are the role of citizens and elites within this “ideal” framework?

- How do individual citizens make political decisions, such as which candidate to vote for and what policies & political positions (preferences) to hold? What are the implications of how citizens make decisions for Madison’s framework and the function of democracy? How do alternative models of representation differ from Madison’s framework?

- What incentives motivate how elected elites (politicians) behave within the institution (i.e., the Congress and the presidency) in which they serve and what are the implications of differing incentives across institutions for responsiveness (policymaking)? How does collective institutional behavior, such as gridlock, fit into Madison’s view of democracy?
How do parties fit (or not fit) in Madison’s conception of institutional conflict between the Congress and Presidency?

These thematic questions may seem daunting, but this course will give you the necessary framework to perform careful political and social science analysis to gain leverage on these questions. This course will provide not only an understanding of how to think of the quality of American democracy but also how to engage in careful social science analysis. This course emphasizes the tools you need to assess political behaviors, practices, and institutions based on theory and evidence. Welcome to the class!

COVID-19 Pandemic Fall Disclaimer

As we are all aware, due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic all course content will be delivered online and without standard face-to-face interaction. I understand that this semester is a challenging time for all of us. For many of you this will be your first experience with an online education format. While this class is my first priority, health and safety amid COVID-19 must be our top priority. If you or your family are sick or struggling, please let me know—I can, and will strive to, help make sure you succeed in this class anyways.

I also know that the transition to online courses means that the course structures you are probably used to at UTEP are not appropriate this semester. As such, I have taken several steps to make this course as engaging and accessible as possible.

- First, I am highly accessible over multiple modes of communication all semester. Please do not hesitate to contact me, especially over Microsoft Teams Chat.

- Second, this class will be a mix of synchronous and non-synchronous components. The class will feature both live lectures on Microsoft Teams (at the regularly scheduled class time of M/W 9:00-10:20AM) and lecture recordings will be available on the Microsoft Teams Lecture Channel Feed. I encourage you to attend live lecture whenever possible—there will be opportunities for Q&A and engagement every class. If you cannot attend some classes, you can watch the lecture recording at a time that works for you.

- Lastly, this course is meant to be fun! While the material in this class will often get into the weeds of American politics, I will endeavor to make sure our discussions are relevant to current political events. If there is something happening in the news that is relevant to our class, I will be sure to allocate time to discuss it. I encourage you to apply current events to course material in class discussion as well. It is an election semester after all!

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1 Please note that, since this a fully online course with close to 300 students, “participation” will not be a part of your final grade calculation.
Course Logistics & Requirements

This section of the syllabus serves as a guide for course expectations (both for me and for you) and logistical information such as grade breakdown and course texts.

Online Class Format: Given the global COVID-19 pandemic and our collective effort to stop the transmission of this virus, all lecture class meetings will be conducted online. Lectures will be streamed live during our schedule class period on Monday & Wednesday from 9-10:20AM through Microsoft Teams. I strongly encourage you to attend these live online lectures and come prepared for a collaborative discussion, just like any normal face-to-face discussion. I also understand that the pandemic has also uprooted everybody’s schedules and life obligations. Given this, all lectures will be recorded and posted on the Microsoft Teams General Channel that can be accessed on any device on-demand.

Online Office Hours: Congruent with the previous section, all office hours will be conducted over Microsoft Teams on Monday 10:45AM-12:45PM. If you cannot make these office hours, please let me know and we can schedule a more convenient time to meet virtually!

Microsoft Teams Chat & Emails: For shorter inquiries that do not require office hours, or if you prefer this method, please contact me using Microsoft Teams Chat. Student chats will get first priority during this semester and are much faster interface for communication. This mode of communication is also far more dynamic, in that you may receive a follow-up response quickly. If you prefer email, please feel free to email me at caalgara@utep.edu using your Miner email account. Since I can’t verify a third-party email account, I unfortunately will not reply unless you send an email through your official UTEP account. However, also please note that chat is a faster and easier way to communicate throughout our online semester.

Course Texts & Announcements: There is one assigned textbook for this course and the citation can be found below:


The Microsoft Teams Page contains all lecture materials, recordings, and course readings in an interactive format. Course announcements will also be made through Microsoft Teams.

Grade Breakdown & Schedule:

* 30% Midterm Exam (October 19, 2020)
* 35% Final Exam (Wednesday December 9, 2020)
* 35% 7 Weekly Response Papers (Due Sunday at 11:59AM of a given week)

* Extra Credit: 10% (Final Exam Grade) Political Science Research Participation

²This text will be provided on Microsoft Teams. Note: This text is a working draft and should not be distributed outside of this course.
Exams: (65%) The midterm & final exam will feature three main components: short answer, analytical question, and essay. The short answer component will be both the definition and significance of a concept discussed in lecture and in the readings. The analytical question will require you to interpret data presented in a graph or table and then analyze how the presented findings relate to a question about course concepts. Lastly, the essays will require you to use the course concepts to develop an argument in response to stated essay question. This includes a thesis statement and supporting evidence for the thesis statement.

Given the online nature of this course and the flexibility required, exams will be in an online open-book format. Students will be given 24 hour access to the exam, starting at 12:01AM on the scheduled day, to complete the exam. Please note that students will have the standard class period of 80 minutes to complete the exams and students can choose which time during the day to take this time to complete their exams.

Weekly Response Papers (35%): These short “papers” are designed to stimulate critical thinking of a given week’s topic, with an emphasis of how the week’s materials contributes to our complex understanding of American politics. In short, these response “papers” are an opportunity to critically engage and respond to course concepts based on a given week’s readings and lecture. Please note that each response paper is designed to be short (i.e., 1-2 double-spaced pages) and should take about an hour or two, at the very maximum, to complete.

The assignment will be posted at 12:00pm every Wednesday after lecture and can be turned in on the Blackboard portal under the essay assignment tab. You will have until Sunday, at 11:59pm, to complete the weekly assignments.

There will be a total of 10 opportunities to turn in response papers. I will count the top 7 response papers towards your final grade, meaning you can drop a total of 3 response papers throughout the course of the semester no questions asked. There will be no opportunities for response papers the week of the midterm and the week heading into the final exam.

Make-Up Exams: I understand that throughout a semester many exogenous, unanticipated events, may occur that would require the makeup of an exam. This course offers flexibility for administration of the midterm exam for whatever reason, independent of proper documentation such as a doctor’s note. Makeup examinations will consist of a robust single essay written during a ninety minute window. However, per university policy, the final exam cannot be given early.

Note: Given the online format of this exam, there will be no printed study guide distributed prior to the exam. However, please refer to to the key points section of each slideset as a helpful guide in preparation for the course evaluations.
and will be administered during the schedule time found on the registration & records website. Make-up final exams outside of this final exam period will require formal documentation and coordination at least a week in advance.

**Academic Dishonesty & Ethics:** This course is about developing critical thought and developing personalized skill-sets necessary to examine politics in a systematic and rigorous way. Thus, it is important to develop your own arguments and work to hone in analytical skills. Academic dishonesty is not only a serious breach of ethics in the university community, but it is also detrimental to your scholarly growth. Ethics breaches, such as cheating and plagiarism, will be referred to the [Office of Student Conduct & Conflict Resolution](#). Students may refer to the [University’s Academic Integrity principles](#) for further clarification or may contact the instructor for any specific questions.

**Course Resources:** If accommodations are needed for you to succeed in this course, please speak with me and we will work together to make sure you are accommodated. If you are unsure if you need accommodations, please visit the [UTEP CASS site](#). On another note, I highly recommend taking advantage of the great campus resources offered by the [UTEP Academic Advising Center](#) for strategies on how to succeed not only in this course but throughout your tenure here.

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**Successful Strategies for the Systematic Study of Politics**

This section of the syllabus provides successful strategies on how to succeed in this course.

**Note on Reading Scholarly Articles:** After the foundational section, many of the readings in subsequent sections will be academic in nature. I understand that, as an introductory seminar, these works may contain empirical analysis that may seem daunting and confusing to read (i.e., lots of equations & statistics). I will convey the article’s findings at length in lecture. The only expectation from you is to read the article carefully before seminar, attempt to understand the article’s main argument (this includes what political phenomena does the article’s argument seek to explain), how the article’s findings fit with the theory presented, and what the implications of the author’s empirical findings are for the function of democracy/course concepts. I will provide a checklist that outlines how to read these works for content and using the content in seminar discussion.

**Expectations:** Students can expect me to come prepared to seminar. This entails that students can expect me to give a strong effort to convey the given seminar’s course concepts and the implications these concepts have for the main questions highlighted in the course description. This seminar will be taught in a dynamic fashion which will require full participation from everyone in the seminar. As such, most lectures will incorporate activities designed to stimulate student involvement and gauge comprehension of the material. It is critical that everyone (including me) is prepared to discuss the seminar’s assigned reading for that day and come ready to discuss the concepts and what implications these concepts have for assessing the quality of American democracy.
**Coming Prepared:** Each seminar will introduce new theories that, in one way or another, will provide different conceptions of what the ideals of democracy should be. It is critical that you (and I) do the assigned readings before the class. Useful class discussion is conditional on both of us doing the readings, being familiar with the reading’s argument/main points, and engaging the theories presented during that week. After understanding these different theories of democracy, we will evaluate whether the American political system as constructed works well or is in need of valuable reform. The better we prepare, the better we can assess our democracy.

**Keeping an Open-Mind & Importance of Questions:** It is critical to challenge partisan predispositions and other biases we may hold, even if that means confronting powerful myths that can bias our perceptions and assessments. Assessing whether our democracy functions well requires questioning everything, both of the theories themselves and my interpretation of them. Intellectual curiosity and asking questions is both a strong and desirable virtue. Asking questions and engaging in a conversation by sharing your ideas and thoughts help strengthen our assessments.

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**Conceptual Course Overview Outline**

1. Madison’s Republican: Foundation of American Democracy
   - (a) What foundations about human behavior underpin Madison’s *Theory of the Republic*? What does Madison assume about human nature and how does this relate to the need for government as he sees it?
   - (b) In the view of citizens and elites (i.e., elected representatives), what role does human self-interest play in underpinning political behavior in Madison’s *Theory of the Republic*? How does Madison view self-interest in the context of justifying the existence of a collective government?
   - (c) Turning to the institutional side of Madison’s *Theory of the Republic*, how does Madison view political ambition as a way to ensure equitable legislative representation? What role does political ambition play in ensuring political conflict between institutions and why does Madison view political conflict as a normatively positive feature of political life? How does Madison view “transaction costs” in the policymaking process?

2. Citizen Political Behavior: Functioning as Critical Principals
   - (a) Why is democracy fundamentally a collective action problem? Why do citizens have a rational incentive to abstain from political participation and free-ride from the participation of other citizens?
   - (b) What are the costs to participating in politics facing individual citizens? Why should we, as political scientists, care that certain citizens systematically participate in politics while others do not?
(c) How does the “D-term” help explain why citizens participate in politics when it is irrational to do so given the costs?

(d) What does the top-of-the-head model suggest for how citizens form sincere political preferences? Does the model argue that these political preferences on policy and attitudes about politics are sincere and closely-held (i.e., sticky)? Why does the model’s argument lead political scientists to suggest a Democratic Dilemma in the United States?

(e) How do heuristics (short-cuts) help citizens reach the standard of “being informed” that Madison assumes in his Theory of the Republic? How do the distinct heuristics of partisanship, ideology, and valence help citizens make decisions relating to electoral choice? When might these heuristics lead voters astray at the ballot box?

(f) How does campaign context affect how citizens make electoral decisions? What are some of the long-term trends in congressional elections as it relates to competitiveness, campaign spending, redistricting, and the role of partisanship? Is there evidence that congressional elections are party-centered and what does this mean for the role of candidate characteristics, such as incumbency?

(g) How does the pluralist model of representation (pluralism) attempt to reframe Madison’s Theory of the Republic? How does the model predict citizens are represented through multiple points of access and what are the role of interest groups in this model of representation?

(h) Why do critics of pluralism contend that smaller groups are more likely to gain political representation than larger latent groups? What does this potential bias towards smaller groups, at the expense of larger groups, suggest for government responsiveness to the interests of economic elites? Is there empirical support for these charges argued by critics of pluralism?

3. Post-Election: How Institutions Function within the Framework

(a) How does Party Theory differ from Madison’s Theory of the Republic in terms of political representation? How do parties “in the electorate” help citizens make electoral decisions? How has partisanship grown as a heuristic with respect to electoral choice and sorting around “issue positions.”

(b) Turning to the institutional dimension of Party Theory, how do political parties organize legislatively in the U.S. Congress? According to Party Theory, how do political parties operate like a “procedural cartel” and why is controlling a legislative agenda so critical for developing the “electoral partisan brand?”

(c) Why is delegation to party leaders, for the purposes of agenda setting, so critical to Party Theory and how political parties legislate in Congress? How do parties guard against “agency loss” by party leaders and what incentives do party leaders face to being “faithful agents” for the party?

(d) What does legislative representation look like during the “Textbook Congress” era? Are members of Congress evaluated as individuals or members of a partisan team? Is there a difference in the role of congressional committees and “pork barrel politics” during a Congress where power is centralized with party leaders?
(e) How do the political incentives for the president differ than those faced by Congress? Why might President’s act “unilaterally” and how does electoral accountability look like for Presidents compared to what it looks like for individual members of Congress?

(f) How does Pivotal Politics Model explain federal policymaking in the United States? What makes this model a “spatial model” and is policymaking “costly” in this model? How does this model capture the spirit of Madison’s Theory of the Republic with respect to competing incentives and the transaction costs of governing?

(g) What does ideological polarization suggest for electoral accountability and governing in the United States? What are some of the consequences of heightened ideological policy differences between the parties (polarization) with respect to making policy and legislator-level accountability in the United States?

(h) What are some of the fundamental differences between Madison’s Theory of the Republic and comparative parliamentary democracy as it relates to policy change and electoral accountability? In light of the national institutions found in the United States, what are some of the ‘trade-offs’ between the American system and that found in the traditional Westminster parliamentary system?

Course Road-Map

This section of the syllabus outlines the course schedule & readings. The course will be divided into three distinct sections outlined in the course objective. Understanding of these three questions will help assess the behavior of citizens and institutions and the implications these behaviors have for the functioning of the American political system as a representative democracy. It is imperative that you treat each section as a part of a framework by which we judge the functioning of American democracy. Each section objective articulates the role of the section within the framework

1. Madison’s Republic: Foundation of American Democracy

Section Objective: Madison’s theory of representative democracy, outlined in Federalist 10 & 51, outlines the justification for the American constitution and our representative form of government. This section provides an understanding of the motivation underpinning a representative form of democracy, centered around Madison’s argument about human nature, how representatives behave in political life, and the consequences of Madison’s argument on political change. Ask yourself, how well does this theory explain the American system today?

1. August 24: Course Overview & “First-Attempts” at American Democracy
   - The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union. 1777.
   - Republic at Risk (Ch.1) : Some Enduring Questions and Relevant Concepts

Each seminar slideset and supplemental material will be uploaded before seminar on Microsoft Teams.
   - Madison, James. 1787. “Federalist 10.” In United States Congress Resources
   - Republic at Risk (Introduction): Self-Interest as the Problem and Solution

3. August 31 & September 2: Madison’s Theory: Self-Interest & Ambition as the Solution
   - Reread: Madison, James. 1787. “Federalist 10.” In United States Congress Resources
   - Madison, James (or Alexander Hamilton). 1788. “Federalist 51.” In United States Congress Resources
   - Constitution of the United States 1788. Particular emphasis on Articles I, II, IV, & VI.
   - Republic at Risk (Ch.2): Big Answers, Bigger Questions: Madison’s Theory of the Republic

September 7: Labor Day (No Class)

2. Citizen Political Behavior: Functioning as Critical Principals

   Section Objective: It’s clear that Madison’s Republic posits an important role for citizens in a representative democracy. This section highlights how citizens function as principals of their elected representatives (i.e., agents). This section provides an understanding of which type of citizens participate in politics, what the incentives are to be “disengaged” from the political process, how well elections work, and what role parties play (if any) in helping citizens make political decisions. Pay close attention to some key questions. What are the implications of the “disengagement” incentive for the functioning of Madison’s Republic? Do elections help citizens make a more “representative” form of government and how do we know when they do? How does the pluralist theory challenge Madison’s republic? And, perhaps the most important question, is an informed electorate NECESSARY for Madison’s theory to work?

1. September 9 & 14: Variation in Citizen Participation: Resources and Free-Riding Incentive
   - Republic at Risk (Ch.3 ): Citizen Participation in Politics: An Interest in Self-Interest?

2. September 16: Developing Political Preferences: Citizen Self-Interest
   - Re-read Republic at Risk (Ch.3 ): Citizen Participation in Politics: An Interest in Self-Interest?

- Republic at Risk (Ch.4): Who’s In Charge Here? Voting Choice in Elections

September 28 or 30: G. Elliott Morris (Data Journalist, The Economist)
Discussion regarding 2020 presidential campaign & forecasting election day


- Re-read Republic at Risk (Ch.4): Who’s In Charge Here? Voting Choice in Elections

5. October 5 & 7: An Alternative to the Madisonian Model of Representation: Pluralism & By-Product Representation through Interest Groups

- Republic at Risk (Ch.5): Interest Group & Pluralist Theory

6. October 12: Does Pluralism Provide Equitable Representation? Critiques of the By-Product Model

- Re-read Republic at Risk (Ch.5 ): Interest Group & Pluralist Theory


Midterm Examination (October 19, 2020)

3: Post-Election: How Institutions Function within the Framework

Section Objective: This section turns our focus from citizens, the principals in a representative democracy, to elected representatives, the agents. This section focuses on two institutions, the Congress and the Executive, and assesses the incentives they have to be faithful agents for voters and whether they provide accurate political representation. This section begins with how
Party Theory provides a framework of representation and policymaking. Pay close attention to how Party Theory differs from Madison’s conception of district-centered representation. This section wraps up with a discussion on collective institutional behavior. Critical questions for this section focus on comparing & contrasting Madison’s model of representation, Pluralism (By-Product Theory), and Party Theory. Speaking to institutions, think about how do the differing electoral incentives found in Congress and the Presidency inherently create a status quo bias? How does polarization exasperate this bias, which types of citizens get represented, and is the system in need of reform in light of Madison’s theory?

   - Republic at Risk (Ch.6 ): Political Parties: An Alternative to the Republic?

   - Re-read Republic at Risk (Ch.6 ): Political Parties: An Alternative to the Republic?

   November 2 or 4: Mike Zamore & Allison Hunn (Chief of Staff & Policy Advisor, U.S. Senator Jeff Merkley, D-Ore.) Discussion regarding economic/democracy policy work & career paths to the U.S. Senate.

   - Republic at Risk (Ch.8 ): Congress: Representation and Power

4. November 9: Change in Representation: Are Citizens Represented in the System?
5. November 11: The Presidency: At-Large Constituency & Presidential Representation
   - Republic at Risk (Ch.9): Presidential Leadership: Beyond-Self Interest?
   - Judd, Gleason. 2017. “Taking unilateral action can improve a president’s re-election chances, but it may not be good for the country.” In London School of Economics: U.S. Politics & Policy Blog
   - Rudalevige, Andrew. 2018. “As a candidate, Trump criticized Obama’s use of executive power. So guess what powers President Trump has been leaning on?” In Washington Post: The Monkey Cage Blog

   - Republic at Risk (Ch.7): A Pivotal Politics Model of the Policy Process

7. November 23: Polarization: Implications for Policymaking & Accountability
   - Re-read Republic at Risk (Ch.8): Congress: Representation and Power
   - Re-read Republic at Risk (Ch.7): A Pivotal Politics Model of the Policy Process

   November 25: Group-Based Office Hours (No Class)

   - Republic at Risk (Ch.11): Conclusion: Self-Interest and Representative Government


   December 9: Final Exam (10:00AM-12:45PM)