

Political Science W3922: Direct Democracy

Fall 2010

Thursday, 2:10pm – 4:00pm

IAB 501

Professor Justin Phillips

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733 International Affairs Building

Office Hours: Monday 2 – 4 pm

& by appointment

This seminar focuses on direct democracy institutions in America—the citizen initiative, referendum, and recall. In particular, the readings explore the motivation behind the adoption of these institutions, their usage, and their effects on public policy, politics, and minority rights. The central question is whether these institutions are beneficial for American democracy.

Course Requirements:

Attendance & Participation: This class is conducted in a seminar format. Attendance is mandatory and will be taken weekly. Only university-approved absences are permissible. Students must complete all of the assigned readings and take time to reflect upon them in a critical manner prior to our weekly meeting. Participation grades are determined by attendance and the quality of informed commentary contributed during in-class discussions.

Short Paper Assignments: Students are required to complete, during the course of the semester, four short (4-5 pages) review papers reacting to the week's readings. The first two must be written in the first half of the semester (before November 4th) and the remaining two in the second half. No late papers will be accepted. These papers must be turned in (in hard copy or electronically) no later than 5 p.m. on the Tuesday prior to class.

Research paper: Each student is required to complete a 15 to 20 page research paper on a topic of his or her choosing. The topic must be approved by Professor Phillips and cover some general theme related to direct democracy. Students are required to submit a two-page proposal on October 14th. Each student will also be required to give a 10-15 minute presentation on the preliminary findings of his or her research paper. The presentations will take place during the last two weeks of the course. The paper is due by 5 pm on December 18th.

Grades: Grades for the seminar will be determined in the following manner

Class Participation

25%

Review Papers	30%
Research Paper Proposal	5%
Presentation of Research Paper	10%
Research Paper	30%

Books To Be Purchased (available at Book Culture, 536 West 112th Street)

Goebel, Thomas. 2002. *A Government by the People: Direct Democracy in America, 1890-1940*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Gerber, Elisabeth R. 1999. *The Populist Paradox: Interest Group Influence and the Promise of Direct Legislation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chavez, Linda. 1998. *The Color Bind: California's Battle to End Affirmative Action*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gerber, Elisabeth R., Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and D. Roderick Kiewiet. 2001. *Stealing the Initiative: How State Government Responds to Direct Democracy*. Maryland: Prentice Hall.

Gerston, Larry N. and Terry Christensen. 2004. *Recall!: California's Political Earthquake*. New York: Sharpe.

Matsusaka, John. 2004. *For the Many or the Few: The Initiative, Public Policy, and American Democracy*. Chicago

Miller, Kenneth P. 2010. *Direct Democracy and the Courts*. Cambridge University Press.

Fossedal, Gregory A. 2005. *Direct Democracy in Switzerland*. Translation Publishers.

Other Readings

Course Packet: (available at the Village Copier on the corner of Amsterdam & 118th)

CourseWorks: Many of the readings for this course will only be available online through Courseworks (<https://courseworks.columbia.edu/>). These readings are posted under "Class Files."

COURSE OUTLINE

September 9th: Introduction & Course overview

September 16th: Populism & the Origins of Direct Democracy in America

- (1) Goebel, Thomas. 2002. *A Government by the People: Direct Democracy in America, 1890-1940*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press. Chapters 1-7.
- (2) Cain, Bruce E. and Kenneth Miller. 2001. "The Populist Legacy: Initiatives and the Undermining of Representative Democracy." In Larry J. Sabato, Howard R. Ernst, and Bruce A. Larson, eds. *Dangerous Democracy? The Battle over Ballot Initiatives in America*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers. (Course packet)

September 23rd: The Question of Voter Competence

- (1) Magleby, David B. 1984. *Direct Legislation: Voting on Ballot Propositions in the United States*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 7 (Coursepack)
- (2) Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections," *American Political Science Review* 88:63-76. (CourseWorks)
- (3) Gerber, Elisabeth and Justin H. Phillips. 2003. "Development Ballot Measures, Interest Group Endorsements, and the Political Geography of Growth Preferences," *American Journal of Political Science* 47:625-39. (CourseWorks)
- (4) Smith, Daniel A. and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2004. *Educated by Initiative: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Citizens and Political Organizations in the American States*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. Chapter 3 (Coursepack)

September 30th: The Initiative Industrial Complex

- (1) Donnavon, Todd, Shaun Bowler, and David S. McCaun. 2001. "Political Consultants and the Initiative Industrial Complex." In Larry J. Sabato, Howard R. Ernst, and Bruce A. Larson, eds. *Dangerous Democracy? The Battle over Ballot Initiatives in America*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers. (Course packet)
- (2) Ellis, Richard J. 2002. *Democratic Delusions: The Initiative Process in America*. Kansas: University of Kansas Press. Chapter 3. (Course packet)
- (3) Stratmann, Thomas. 2005. "The Effectiveness of Money in Ballot Measure Campaigns." *Southern California Law Review* 78:1041-64. (CourseWorks)
- (4) Hasen, Richard L. 2005. "Rethinking the Unconstitutionality of Contribution and Expenditure Limits in Ballot Measure Campaigns." *Southern California Law Review* 78:885-926. (CourseWorks)

October 7th: How Powerful Are Interest Groups?

- (1) Gerber, Elisabeth R. 1999. *The Populist Paradox: Interest Group Influence and the*

Promise of Direct Legislation. Princeton: Princeton University Press. All

October 14th: Direct Democracy & the Attack on Affirmative Action

(1) Chavez, Linda. 1998. *The Color Bind: California's Battle to End Affirmative Action*. Berkeley: University of California Press. All.

(2) **Paper proposals due**

October 21st: Gay & Lesbian Rights

(1) Andersen, Ellen Ann. 2005. *Out of the Closets and into the Courts: Legal Opportunity Structure and Gay Rights Litigation*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. Chapter 6. (Course packet).

(2) Ruling in *Perry v. Schwarzenegger* (CourseWorks)

October 28th: The Tax Revolt

(1) Smith, Daniel A. 1998. *Tax Crusaders and the Politics of Direct Democracy*. New York, NY: Routledge. Chapters 2-4 & 6 (Coursepack)

(2) Matsusaka, John. 2004. *For the Many or the Few: The Initiative, Public Policy, and American Democracy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Chapters 2-5

November 4th: Do Judges & Legislatures Undermine Direct Democracy?

(1) Gerber, Elisabeth R., Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins, and D. Roderick Kiewiet. 2001. *Stealing the Initiative: How State Government Responds to Direct Democracy*. Maryland: Prentice Hall. All

(2) Miller, Kenneth P. 2010. *Direct Democracy and the Courts*. Cambridge University Press

November 11th: Recall Elections & the Rise of Arnold Schwarzenegger

(1) Gerston, Larry N. and Terry Christensen. 2004. *Recall!: California's Political Earthquake*. New York: Sharpe. All.

(2) Chandler, William M. and Thad Kousser. "Governors, Geography, and Direct Democracy: The Case of Arnold Schwarzenegger." (CourseWorks)

November 18th: Comparative Direct Democracy

(1) Fossedal, Gregory A. 2005. *Direct Democracy in Switzerland*. Translation Publishers.

November 25th: Thanksgiving Break

December 2nd: Research Presentations

December 9th: Research Presentations

December 18th: Research Papers Due