

**POLITICAL SCIENCE 6003, FALL 2004
SURVEY OF THE DISCIPLINE, OR
THE FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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Office Hours: (9-10:30 Wed; 2:00-4:00 Th. (Or by appointment or drop in)

ACCOMMODATION POLICIES:

The University of Oklahoma is committed to providing reasonable accommodation for students with disabilities. Students with disabilities should speak to the instructor early in the semester, and must be registered with the Office of Disabilities prior to receiving accommodations in this course. Disabilities Services is located in Goddard Health, 325-3852.

It is also the policy of the University to excuse absences of students that result from religious observances and to provide without penalty rescheduling of examinations and required classwork that fall on religious holidays.

Beyond these accommodations, please keep me informed if anything is impeding your ability to participate fully in this course.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY:

For all of the assignments you turn in you should be able to affirm, on your honor, that the work is yours. Anytime you use the written words of another person, even a short phrase, you must put them in quotation marks and provide proper citation. If you do not, then you are implying that those words are your own, which is plagiarism and is grounds for academic misconduct proceedings. Be scrupulous in avoiding even the hint of this, since there are now very effective programs to detect matching passages. The more practical issue is that you cannot make progress in a doctoral program if you do not receive frank feedback on your own work.

INTRODUCTION:

Political Science 6003 is a required course for graduate students pursuing a Ph.D. in political science. It has been so established in the conviction that future political scientists should devote some reflection to the nature of the discipline, its central questions, presuppositions, methods, history, classic works, and controversies. It is particularly important to do this because the modern curriculum tends to be fragmented and specialized; thus it is unfortunately possible to immerse oneself in the literature on a sub-field without knowing how it may be rooted in larger questions, or how it may relate to other fields of inquiry. We will try to broaden your grasp, and deepen your understanding, of the contemporary intellectual enterprise of political science.

The course also has a practical focus on introducing students to the various methods and approaches of political inquiry and research design, as well as professional norms and expectations of being a member of both the discipline and the profession of political science.

To attempt to "survey the discipline" in a single semester is, of course, impossible. This course, instead, is intended to initiate the inquiry, spark a continuing interest, and facilitate your continued exploration. You will find, I trust, that even if you do not fully comprehend some of the issues or readings, your initial exposure will help you later in your own teaching and research, when some of these issues and approaches will become salient again. The reading in this course is extensive, yet even so it is by nature selective and limited by the cognitive grasp of the instructor. The course is structured so that students, during the semester, will themselves make major contributions to the exploration of the discipline.

MORE DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF COURSE COMPONENTS:

1: THE EVOLUTION OF THE DISCIPLINE:

We will look at political science as a profession and a discipline, its norms, concerns, diverse fields and sub-fields, its methodological pluralism. We will try to show how the field has evolved, initially through a reading of APSA presidential addresses and other summary pieces. In a sense, this initial inquiry will continue throughout the semester, and you may find that you understand the initial readings much better after benefit of the rest of the course.

2: EPISTEMOLOGY

The course will explore epistemology -- *how do we know that we know what we know?* Since political science calls itself a "science," we are led to an analysis of the nature of scientific inquiry, and to the inevitable discussion of whether social science can achieve the same level of nomological truth that inheres in the natural sciences, or whether such a quest is even useful. Sometimes epistemological disputes even stem from different understandings of the nature of being itself -- the realm of ontology. In other cases differences arise over the best way to comprehend the complexity of the political world. Positivists, theorists, empiricists, phenomenologists, and others continue to clash over the nature of social reality and the best way to describe it. Given epistemological disputes and diverse assumptions, political science is a seemingly eclectic discipline with scholars sometimes functioning at what Almond called "separate tables." But we will also see how the focus on certain timeless questions of politics, or real-world crises, can in some respect unite the discipline.

3: RESEARCH APPROACHES AND DESIGN ISSUES

Political Scientists employ a diverse array of methods and approaches -- from normative inquiry to behaviorism, from quantitative to qualitative techniques, from ethnography and interpretivism to rational choice and feminist theory as ways of understanding the political world. As we probe these approaches we will simultaneously look at issues of research design, using different studies to illustrate how scholars develop theoretical frameworks, identify research questions, and apply systematic inquiry to address those questions.

4: EXPOSURE TO CLASSICS:

The course is explicitly intended have students learn about, and in selective cases, critically analyze, some of the "classics," books and articles that mark important trends, approaches, fields, schools of thought, and findings.

For this course I have ordered some books for all of us and have compiled extensive photocopied material. I have also ordered other books that will be divvied up during the semester, but some of you may want to purchase or your personal libraries.

Finally, to assist the class in exploring the discipline I have compiled recommended readings for most weeks, and a further list (at the end of this syllabus) of important books for future reference. From these books each student will select one for a critical review (talk with me before making the selection). In many cases I may not have included a book on the list because students are likely to read it in another class; other cases involve my ignorance or laxity. Thus I welcome students suggestions for books to be included. Also, if you wish to review a book not on the list, see me for prior approval.

5: A SURVEY OF MAJOR SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT, THEMES, EMERGING TRENDS:

This objective is reflected in the organization of the course. While focusing on disciplinary history, epistemology, research design issues, and classic works, we will simultaneous be plunging into broad schools of thought, theoretical controversies, concerns, and emerging trends in the field.

ASSIGNMENTS:

I) Weekly Assignment (except when other assignments are due): Short 1-2 page reaction paper. This is meant to give you a chance to organize some thoughts or reactions to the readings for that week. Whatever you want to talk about, but keep it succinct and thematic. A good rule of thumb: If your piece is approaching two pages, parse and shorten. It should be polished writing.

II) Critical Review of a Classic: Begin early in the semester. Each student will select one book from RECOMMENDED READINGS OR THE OPTIONAL LIST (Not our regular texts), read it and write an extended critical review of it (5 pages or so). Inform me in a short written note which book you plan to review. If you'd like to review a book not on the list get an ok with me first. I wish to avoid duplication, as students will be encouraged to interject material from their books in class discussions where relevant. For guidance about writing a critique read book reviews in scholarly journals.

III) Scavenger Hunt Through the Discipline -- Use the social sciences index, book reviews, and any other means you can devise, to analyze how a classic continues to influence the field of political science. You may pick a book you reviewed, or one of the books on our required list, or another book. Get prior approval from me before you proceed so we can make sure we avoid duplication and get some variety. Summarize the nature and quantity of the journal literature that draws upon the classic. Also note how a major book or books reflects the legacy of that classic. Learn the library, indexes, book reviews, etc. 7-8 pages or so.

IV) End of the Semester: Write an extended essay in which you synthesize any aspect of the course you wish to, noting the interplay of epistemological issues, influence of the classics, trends in a field, and so forth. 10 pages or so. The key is to show breadth, depth, and sophistication in making an original argument.

GRADING: Weekly Assignments: 15%
Critique: 20%
Scavenger Hunt 30%
Final Essay 35%
Course Participation: Decisive in borderline cases (that includes many students)

REQUIRED BOOKS AVAILABLE FOR PURCHASE:

Robert Dahl, Democracy and Its Critics, Yale University Press, 1989
Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, latest Edition, University of Chicago Press
Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State, and War, New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
Richard Fenno, Watching Politicians: Essays on Participant Observation, IGS Press, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California at Berkeley,
Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, Sidney Verba, Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research, 1994.
Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work. Princeton University Press, 1993.

OTHER BOOKS AVAILABLE FOR PURCHASE: Though not all students will read all of these books, they are made available in order to help you build your own library of reference works. We will divvy these up for students to prep the rest of the class. In some cases sections of books may be divvied up further.

Robert Putnam, Bowling Alone (Simon and Schuster, 2000)
Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.
(Students will read either this or Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy, which I have copies to loan)
Kay Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and David Brady, Voice and Equality.
Samuel Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations, Touchstone Books, 1998.
Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, 1963 original publication by Princeton, Sage 1989.
James Scott, Seeing Like a State, Yale, 1998.
Theta Skocpol, Diminished Democracy, University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.

OTHER RESOURCES:

Political Science: The State of the Discipline III, Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner, editors) In Geri's office, and I have a copy)

Political Science: The State of the Discipline II, Ada Finifter, APSA 1993 (In Geri Rowden's office)

A New Handbook of Political Science, Goodin and Kingemann, Oxford, 1996 (In Geri's Office)

Handbook of Political Science, multi-volume set of green books, Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby editors (Carl Albert Center has a set)

APSA website (which includes electronic APSR): <<http://www.apsanet.org>>

OUTLINE:

Week 1: Introduction

Introductions, sharing of interests, career goals, etc.

What is Political Science:

As a Discipline

As a Profession

What are the big themes, fields, emerging issues?

Why do we care?

Hand Wringing and Hopeful Trends

Review of things to come

Week 2: History of Political Science, along with soul searching, hand wringing, literature.

Required Reading from King Copy packet

Willoughby, "The American Political Science Association," (1904) From Discipline and History, Farr et al.

Charles Merriam, "Recent Advances in Political Methods," (1923), Farr et al.

Merriam, Presidential Address, "Progress in Political Research," APSR 1926

Charles Beard, Presidential Address, "Time, Technology, and the Creative Spirit in Political Science," APSR, 1927.

V.O. Key, Presidential Address, "The State of the Discipline," APSR, 1958

Charles Lindblom, Presidential Address, "Another State of Mind," reprinted in Farr et al., 1981.

Lucian Pye, Presidential Address, "Political Science and the Crisis of Authoritarianism," APSR, 1990

Matthew Holden, "Presidential Address, "the Competence of Political Science: "Progress in Political Research" Revisited.

Robert Putnam, "Presidential Address, "The Public Role of Political Science," APSA, 2003

Gabriel Almond, "Separate Tables" From PS

Gabriel Almond, "Political Science: The History of the Discipline," A New Handbook

James Farr, John Dyzek, and Stephen Leonard, "Introduction," Political Science in History
Katznelson and Helen Milner, "The discipline's State and the State of the Discipline." From Political Science: State of the discipline.

Not Required but for further reference:

Woodrow Wilson, "The Study of Administration," 1887, reprinted in APSA December 1941. I have a copy of this classic piece for PA scholars in which Wilson articulates the politics/administration dichotomy.

Dwight Waldo, "Political Science: Tradition, Discipline, Profession, Science, Enterprise," from the Handbook of Political Science. Sweeping history of political inquiry, beginning with the Greeks and moving through Waldo's time.

Heinz Eulau, "Understanding Political Life in America: the Contribution of Political Science"

David Ricci, The Tragedy of Political Science

Somit and Tannenhaus, *American Political Science: A Profile of a Discipline*

Seidelman and Harpham, *Disenchanted Realists: Political Science and the American Crisis, 1884-1984*

Week 3: The Philosophical and Normative Tradition

Robert Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*

Ian Shapiro, "The State of Democratic Theory," from Katznelson

For further reference: Here is a very short list of works that I believe all political scientists should be familiar with:

Plato, Republic

Aristotle, Ethics, Politics

Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War

Machiavelli, The Prince

John Locke, Second Treatise on Government

Tocqueville, Democracy in America

Week 4: Introduction to epistemology: or What is knowledge and how do we get it? Positivism, The Scientific Method, Falsification, the Distinction between fact and value, the role of theories. Ontological question: what is the nature of political reality that we can know it?

Required Reading:

Karl Popper selections

Max Weber "Objectivity in Social Science and Social Policy," from Philosophy of the Social Sciences, edited by Natanson, or another selection.

Strauss, "Natural Right and the Distinction between Facts and Values," from Natural Right and History (his response to Weber)

David Easton, Selections from The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science (on hyperfactualism and the role of theory)

For further reference:

Popper, The Logic of Scientific Discovery

Objective Knowledge

The Poverty of Historicism

The Open Society and Its Enemies (two volumes)

Ernest Nagel, The Structure of Science

Hans Zetterberg, On Theory and Verification in Sociology

Maruice Natanson, editor, Philosophy of the Social Sciences

Max Weber, Essays in Sociology (edited by Gerth and Mills) "Politics as a Vocation," "Science as Vocation"

Week 5: Epistemology II: or BROTHER, CAN YOU PARADIGM?

Required Reading:

Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 1-6, 8-10, 12-13. (pp. 1-65, 77-135, 144-173)

Uses (or Misuses) of Kuhn:

Gabriel Almond, "Political Theory and Political Science" APSR, 1966

David Truman, "Disillusion and Regeneration: The Quest for a Discipline"

For Further Reference:

Miller, "Positivism, Historicism, and Political Inquiry" APSR 68, 1972, 796.

Oakshott, "Rationalism in Politics," in Rationalism in Politics

Richard Bernstein, Restructuring of Social and Political Theory

Feyerabend, Against Method

Winch, The Idea of a Social Science

Lindblom, Charles and David Cohen, Usable Knowledge, Yale University Press 1979.

For an excellent example of puzzle solving within a paradigm: Jacobson and Kernell, Strategy and Choice in Congressional Elections.

Week 6: Scientific Method and Political Science

Gary King, Keohane, Verba, Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research

PS: Political Science and Politics: Replication, Replication

For further Reference:

Gary King, Unifying Political Methodology: The Likelihood Theory of Statistical Inference; and a recent book that "solves" the ecological fallacy problem in aggregate data.

Week 7: Qualitative Methodology

Required Reading:

Clifford Geertz, Thick Description: Toward and Interpretative Theory of Culture," From The Interpretation of Cultures.

Fenno, Watching Politicians: Essays on Participant Observation

For further reference:

Jane Mansbridge, Why We Lost the ERA (Example of Participant Observation Research)

Robin LeBlanc, Bicycle Citizens: The Political World of the Japanese Housewife, (Example of Participant Observation Research)

Richard Bernstein, "The Restructuring of Social and Political Theory," Part III.

Bachrach and Baratz, Decisions and Nondecisions: An Analytical Framework" APSR

Kristin Luker, Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood

Crosier, The Bureaucratic Phenomenon

Hummel, The Bureaucratic Experience

Scott, The Moral Economy of the Peasant. Phenomenological

Hertzke's religion stuff

Week 8: The Behavioral Revolution and pluralist thought

Book Critique Deadline: Though you are welcomed to turn in early. See me if there is some reason for turning in late.

Required Reading:

Robert Dahl, "The Behavioral Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Revolution," APSR Dec. 1961

David Easton, "The New Revolution in Political Science" (in which Easton asks forgiveness)

James Farr, "Remembering the Revolution," from *Political Science in History*

Readings for Further Reference:

On Behavioral Revolution:

Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life

Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in *Ideology and Discontent*, edited by Apter

Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, *The American Voter*

On Pluralism:

Selections from Dahl and Lindblom, *Politics, Economics and Welfare*.

Lindblom and Braybrook, *A Strategy of Decision*

Lindblom, *The Intelligence of Democracy* (links incremental theory to pluralism).

Dahl, *Who Governs*

Dahl, *Preface to Democratic Theory*

Arthur Bentley, *The Process of Government*

David Truman, *The Governmental Process*

Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory
John Witte, The Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax

And the Critics:

Arend Lijphart: The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands
Ted Lowi, The End of Liberalism
C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite
Bachrach and Baratz, "Two Faces of Power"
The later Lindblom, Politics and Markets. Also his presidential address

Week 9: Rational Choice and political economy

Required Reading:

Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* OR
Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*
Handout on Game Theory
Jonathan Cohn, "Irrational Exuberance," The New Republic, October 25, 1999
Dow and Munger, "Public Choice in Political Science: We Don't Teach it, But we Publish It," PS

Divvying up:

William Riker, "The Two-Party System and Duverger's Law: An Essay on the History of Political Science"
Orbell, et al., "Machiavellian Intelligence as Basis for the Evolution of Cooperative Dispositions," APSR February 2004.
Lots of others...

For further reference:

Robert Axelrod, *The Origin of Cooperation*, Game theory, prisoners dilemma and all that
Riker, The Theory of Political Coalitions
Buchanan and Tullock, Calculus of Consent

And critics:

Pathologies of Rational Choice, Donald Green and Ian Shapiro
Beyond Self-Interest, edited by Jane Mansbridge
Jon Elster, Solomonic Judgments: Studies in the Limitations of Rationality (Cambridge)

Week 10: Civic Culture and Social Capital

Thomas Rochon, "Robert D. Putnam: For a Meaningful Political Science," PS Sept. 2001
Robert Putnam: *Making Democracy Work*

I will introduce a discussion of Almond and Verba, *Civic Culture* (A good book for students doing the book review or the scavenger hunt, and one of possibles for next week, so let me know and I'll have you featured).

Week 11: Civic Culture and Participation

Divvying Up:

Arend Lijphart, "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma," Presidential Address, APSR, March 1997

Theta Skocpol, "Voice and Inequality: The Transformation of American Civic Democracy," Presidential Address, Perspectives on Politics, March 2004

Lucius Barker, Presidential Address, "Limits of Political Strategy: A Systematic View of the African American Experience, APSR March 1994.

Kay Schlozman, "Citizen Participation in America: What Do We Know? Why Do We Care," Katznelson

Divvying up:

Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone* (selections are Ok)

Kay Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and David Brady, *Voice and Equality* (I'll suggest selections of this long book)

Theta Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy*

Almond and Verba, *Civic Culture*, A comparison of five democracies. And *Civic Culture Revisited* (selections)

Further Reading on participation:

Carole Pateman: *Participation and Democratic Theory*

On Culture and Politics:

Wildavsky, "Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions: A Cultural Theory of Preference Formation" APSR 1987

Richard Merelman, *Making Something of Ourselves*

Mary Douglas and Aaron Wildavsky, *Risk and Culture*

Thompson Ellis and Wildavsky, Cultural Theory

Ellis and Wildavsky, Dilemmas of Presidential Leadership

Week 12: Global Visions and Comparisons

David Laitin, Comparative Politics: The State of the Subdiscipline, Katznelson

Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*

James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*

Other Reading:

Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*

Week 13: War and International Relations

Required Reading:

Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State and War

For further reference:

Hans Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations

Donald Kagen, The Origins of War

Theta Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, A comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China

Robert Keohane, "Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond," from Finifter

Kenneth Waltz, Theory of International Politics

Week 14: Separate Tables Revisited

(Scavenger Hunt Paper Deadline)

Topics and articles for Divvying up:

1) Political Development, Historical Approaches, and Interpretivism

Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol, "Historical Institutionalism in Contemporary Political Science,"
Katznelson

Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, "The Study of American Political Development,"Katznelson"

2) Feminist Theory and Epistemology

Helene Silverberg, "Gender Studies and Political Science: The History of the "Behavioralist
Compromise," Farr et al. Discipline and History.

Barbara Nelson, "Women and Knowledge in Political Science: Texts, Histories, and
Epistemologies" in Women & Politics

Susan Hekman, "The Feminization of Epistemology: Gender and the Social Sciences," from
Feminism and Epistemology.

Judith Grant, "I Feel Therefore I am: A Critique of Female Experience as the Basis for a Feminist
Epistemology," in Feminism and Epistemology.

3) Secularization paradigm and resurgence of religion

Hertzke's Critique of Ted Lowi

Other selections to divvy up

4) Political Psychology and Sociology (for further reading, not required)

Harold Lasswell, Power and Personality

Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics

Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man
Fred Greenstein, Personality and Politics
James David Barber, Presidential Character
Irving Janis, Groupthink (Iraq war as a new case study?)
Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics

Week 15: Student sharing of essays. Final Essay Deadline

BOOKLIST OF ADDITIONAL READINGS, CLASSICS AND EMERGING LEADERS:

This list can serve two purposes: 1) For student book critique selections, and 2) for Scavenger Hunt selections. Please consult with instructor about reviewing a book not on the list, or deciding on the Scavenger Hunt book. This list is very limited, so if you have suggestions for books to add, especially in comparative field, let me know.

Theda Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States.
Graham Allison, Essence of Decision (Cuban Missile Crisis from different perspectives)
Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace
James Macgregor Burns, Leadership
Axelrod, The Origin of Cooperation (Game Theory)
Robert Dahl, Who Govern
Polyarchy
A Preface to Democratic Theory
Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man
Theodore Lowi, The End of Liberalism
Leon Epstein, Political Parties in Western Democracies
Walter Dean Burnham, Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics
Mayhew, Congress: The Electoral Connection
V.O. Key, Southern Politics
E.E. Schattschneider, The Semisovereign People
Neustadt, Presidential Power
Carole Pateman: Participation and Democratic Theory
Mills, C. Wright, The Power Elite
Robert Michels, Iron Law of Oligarchy
David Truman, The Governmental Process
Charles Lindblom,
Politics and Markets
Usable Knowledge, with Cohen
Strategy of Decision, with Braybrook
Politics, Economics and Welfare, with Dahl
Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics
Who Gets What, When and How.

Arend Lijphart, The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands
Fred Greenstein, Personality and Politics
James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, The Calculus of Consent, 1962
Murray Edelman, Symbolic Uses of Politics
Rawls, A Theory of Justice
Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy
Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory
David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life
Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies (modernization theory)
Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy
Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China
Herb Simon, Administrative Behavior
Aaron Wildavsky, The Politics of the Budgetary Process
Vincent Ostrom, Intellectual Crisis of American Public Administration
Leo Strauss, Natural Right in History
James Q. Wilson, Crime and Human Nature, co-authored with Richard J. Herrnstein
Edward Banfield, The Unheavenly City
Almond and Verba, Civic Culture
Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy
Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action
Samuel Huntington, The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century
Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, The American Voter
Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America