

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Department of Government
American Politics Field Seminar – Gov. 2305
Fall 2011
Monday, 2-4 p.m., Room K 107, CGIS

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This seminar is designed to acquaint students with classic, recent, and current scholarly writing on American politics. The goal is to acquaint students with various lines of substantive inquiry in political science regarding politics in the United States, as well as the many frameworks and methods used to study American political activity, institutions, beliefs, and governance. This course is also designed to begin your transition from a consumer to a producer of knowledge, by developing interesting and research-able questions, examining research designs or conceptual frameworks, and making *constructive* critiques of the materials you are reading. Perhaps most important, the course intends to introduce or re-introduce you to work that is among the best produced by our discipline and its predecessors; this material will provide resources for your own further work as a political scientist.

Of course, a one-semester seminar cannot provide a complete survey of the field. Students planning to be examined in American politics should read other books and articles, and review materials included in versions of this seminar offered in the past few years as well as reading lists of peer universities. Other courses in American politics are also essential for learning the field.

Requirements

We expect everyone to read and reflect on the required reading prior to class. All materials not available on JSTOR or some other electronic source will be available on the course website. The books with longer assignments are available in the Textbook section of the Coop, and many are available as used copies in on-line sources such as Amazon.com, Alibris.com, Abebooks.com, or Barnes and Nobles. You must participate in seminars and complete the written assignments to pass the course.

Books on Order at the Coop

Bruce Ackerman, *We the People: Transformations*. Harvard University Press, 2000.

John Aldrich, *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*. University of Chicago, 1995.

Larry Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*. Russell Sage Foundation and Princeton University Press, 2008.

Daniel Carpenter, *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862-1928*. Princeton University Press, 2001.

Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler, *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. Yale University Press, 2004.

James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, *Federalist Papers*. Any complete edition – also available online.

Eric Schickler, *Disjointed Pluralism*. Princeton University Press 2001.

Stephen Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership in Political Time*. University Press of Kansas, 2008.

Michael Tesler and David Sears, *Obama's Race*. University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*. Any complete edition – also available online.

Lynn Vavrick, *The Message Matters: The Economy and Presidential Campaigns*. Princeton University Press, 2009.

Sidney Verba, Kay Schlozman, and Henry Brady, *Voice and Equality*. Harvard University Press, 1995

Keith Whittington, *Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy*. Princeton University Press, 2009.

John Zaller, *Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Memos

Each student will also be responsible, for 9 of the 12 weeks, for a one-page memo to be turned in by midnight on Sunday (i.e. the day before the class). We will set up a drop box on the course website, so students can read each others' memos. Each memo will begin with a key question that you would use if you were to run that day's discussion; it should also include observations about why the question is important, what points you would hope to elicit during the discussion,

and how the question is connected with that week's (and possibly previous weeks') readings. These papers will not be individually graded, but their quality will enter into our overall evaluation of your performance in the course.

At the end of each class session, be prepared to state orally what you would do if you were to develop a research project on the topic of that week's readings and discussion.

Final Paper

A longer paper, approximately 20 pages, is due by December 20, 2011. Its purpose is to identify a research question and propose a research design that will address the question. The paper should identify some aspect of American politics or government which you would like to investigate, justify its importance and interest to readers, review and interpret the relevant literature, and develop a significant hypothesis related to your topic. You should indicate the kind of data and evidence you would use, even if you cannot specify it exactly. *Your paper should then include two research designs*: the first would be undertaken by a researcher with unlimited financial resources (but staying within the bounds of ethical research); the second is a practicable design that could be undertaken by a graduate student with the usual limited financial resources. *The emphasis of this paper should not be the literature review* but should instead be the research designs. (The language in this paragraph assumes standard hypothesis-testing modes of research; if you prefer a different mode, such as a more conceptual or historical style of analysis, consult with us about how to frame this project.)

If you are writing a research paper for another course, you may combine the assignment with this one if you first clear the plan with us and the professor in the other course. If you combine the assignments, you will ordinarily be expected to actually carry out the research project.

You should plan to submit a preliminary memo about your paper to us, or to both instructors if the paper is for two courses, by December 5, 2011. Late submissions of proposals and final papers are not permitted.

Evaluation

Memos, contributions to class discussion, and the final research paper will be given equal weight in your grade for this seminar.

Syllabus

August 31: Course Introduction

September 5: Labor Day Holiday (No Class)

September 12: Constitutional design and structure

Federalist Papers, Nos. 10, 11, 23, 39, 51.

Ackerman, *We the People: Transformations* chaps. 1, 2, 4, 10.

September 19: Courts and separation of powers

Federalist, No.78.

Whittington, *Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy*, chaps. 1, 5, 6.

Mark Richards and Herbert Kritzer. 1992. "Jurisprudential Regimes in Supreme Court Decision Making," *APSR* 96 (2): 305-320.

Howard Gillman, Mark Graber, and Keith Whittington, *American Constitutionalism*, chap. 8

September 26: Civic participation

Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

Vol. I, part 2:

chap. 4

chap. 9, "How the Enlightenment, Habits..."

Vol. II, part 2

chaps. 1, 2, 5, 8

Vol. II, part 4

chaps. 2, 6

Verba, Scholzman, and Brady, *Voice and Equality*, chaps. 12, 13, 14, 16.

V. O. Key, 1949. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. Knopf. chaps. 1, 15, 24.

Paul Beck et al, 2002. "The Social Calculus of Voting: Interpersonal, Media, and Organizational Influences on Presidential Choices," *American Political Science Review* 96 (1): 57-73.

Robert Dahl, 1961. *Who Governs*, Yale University Press, chaps. 8, 12, 16, 24, 27, 28.

Andrea Campbell, 2003. *How Policies Make Citizens*, Princeton University Press, chaps. 6, 7.

October 3: Identity in politics – gender and sexuality

Michael Pisapia, 2010. "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of American Public Education, 1860-1930," *Studies in American Political Development* 24 (1): 24-56.

Sarah Anzia and Christopher Berry, 2011. "The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson Effect: Why Do Congresswomen Outperform Congressmen" *AJPS*, 55 (3): 478-493.

John Griffin, Brian Newman, and Christina Wolbrecht, 2011, forthcoming. "A Gender Gap in Policy Representation in the U.S. Congress?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36.

David Campbell and J. Quin Monson. 2008. "The Religion Card: Gay Marriage and the 2004 Presidential Election," *Public Opinion Quarterly*.72 (3): 1-20.

Jeffrey Lax and Justin Phillips, 2009. "Gay Rights in the States: Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness," *APSR* 103 (3): 367-386.

October 10: Columbus Day Holiday (No Class)

October 17: Identity in politics – race, ethnicity, and immigration

Lorrie Frasure and Michael Jones-Correa. 2010. "The Logic of Institutional Interdependency: The Case of Day Laborer Policy in Suburbia." *Urban Affairs Review*. 45 (4): 451-482.

Paul Frymer, 2003. "Racism Revised: Courts, Labor Law, and the Institutional Construction of Racial Animus." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 373-387.

Michael Tesler and David Sears. 2010. *Obama's Race*, chaps. 3 and 4.

Daniel Hopkins. 2010. "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition." *American Political Science Review* 104 (01): 40-60.

John Mollenkopf and Raphael Sonenshein, "The New Urban Politics of Integration: A View from the Gateway Cities," in Jennifer Hochschild and John Mollenkopf, eds. *Bringing Outsiders In: Transatlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*, Cornell University Press, 2009: 74-92.

October 24: Public opinion and media

Tocqueville, *Democracy...*,

Vol. I, part 2, chap. 5, "The People's Choice...", "Elements Which May Provide...",

Vol. I, part 2, chap. 7, "Tyranny of the Majority," "The Power Exercised by the Majority...", "The Greatest Danger to..."

Zaller, *Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*, chaps. 1-5, 9.

Markus Prior 2005. "News v. Entertainment: How Increasing Media Choice Widens Gaps in Political Knowledge and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science*, 49 (3): 594-609.

Matthew Baum 2002. "Sex, Lies, and War..." *American Political Science Review*, 96 (1): 91-109.

October 31: Political parties

Anthony Downs, 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, Harper and Row, chaps. 1, 7, 8, 13, 14.

Aldrich. *Why Parties?* chaps. 1 and 2.

Marty Cohen, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. 2008. *The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform*. University of Chicago Press. chaps 2 and 5.

Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal. 1991. "Patterns of Congressional Voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 35 (1): 228-278.

November 7: The role of the president

Federalist, Nos. 70, 73.

Skowronek, 2008. *Presidential Leadership in Political Time*, chaps. 1, 2, 3.

Richard Neustadt, 1990. *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents*, Free Press, chaps. 1, 3, 4, 5

William Howell, 2003. *Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action*. Princeton University Press. chaps: 1, 4.

November 14: Partisanship and ideology

Angus Campbell et al. 1960. *The American Voter*. Wiley, chaps: 6-8, 10.

Phillip Converse. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." in *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David Apter. Free Press.

Jennifer Hochschild. 1981. *What's Fair: American Beliefs about Distributive Justice*. Harvard University Press, chaps. 6 and 7.

Green, Palmquist, and Schickler, *Partisan Hearts and Minds*, chaps: 1-4

November 21: Congressional lawmaking

Federalist Nos. 52, 54, 62, 63.

David Mayhew, 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*, Yale University Press, chap. 1.

Schickler, *Disjointed Pluralism*, chaps. 1, 6, Epilogue.

Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins, 1997. "Toward a Theory of Legislative Rules Changes: Assessing Schickler and Rich's Evidence," *American Journal of Political Science* 41(4): 1376-1386.

Keith Krehbiel, 1999. "Paradoxes of Parties in Congress," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 14 (1): 31-64.

Ebonya Washington, 2008. "Female Socialization: How Daughters Affect Their Legislator Fathers' Voting on Women's Issues," *American Economic Review*. 98 (1): 311-332.

November 28: Bureaucracy and agencies

Carpenter, *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy*, chaps. 1, 8, and conclusion

James Q. Wilson, 1991, *Bureaucracy*, Basic Books, chaps. 5, 6, 9, 10, 17.

Terry Moe, 1989. "The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure" in *Can the Government Govern?* John Chubb and Paul Peterson, eds. Brookings Institution Press.

December 5: Elections and voting behavior

Federalist, No. 14.

Richard Fenno, 1978. *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts*, Little, Brown, chaps. 4 and 5.

Vavreck. *The Message Matters*, chaps: 1-3, 5.

Andrew Gelman and Gary King, "Why Are American Presidential Election Campaign Polls So Variable When Votes Are So Predictable?" *British Journal of Political Science*. 23 (4): 409-451.

Larry Bartels, 2008. *Unequal Democracy*, Russell Sage Foundation and Princeton University Press, chaps. 2, 4, 6.