

# GOVT 2305: American Politics Field Seminar

Fall 2016

## Instructors:

Dan Carpenter: Office hours are on Thursdays, 1-4, CAPS Conference Room

Jon Rogowski: Office hours are Tuesdays, 3-4, CGIS 420

Wednesdays 2-4pm

Location: Knafel 401

The purpose of this course is to introduce doctoral students to the major themes and some of the best scholarship in the political science literature on American Politics.

The readings for 2305 typically form the core of students' subsequent reading lists for major or minor prelims in American. Still, there is much in the study of American politics that is not represented here, indeed that political scientists have failed to take up. Along the way, we will want to identify what we take to be some of the most important but neglected questions. What issues should motivate the next generation of research in this field? What theoretical and methodological approaches might be appropriate to studying them?

The most important requirement of the course is that you read the assigned readings for each week carefully and critically. The syllabus contains \*starred\* readings that are mandatory, and a large set of additional reading if you want to go deeper into a given topic or set of related arguments. This syllabus can therefore serve as a guide for future readings, and you can also discuss these readings with your advisors if you plan on taking the American Prelim. The starred readings will serve as the primary focus of our weekly discussions, though we will rarely be able to talk about them all in the time allotted. It is important that you read all of them by the appointed time nonetheless, for your reading of some will affect your reading of others assigned for the current week or some subsequent week. More generally, the common readings will provide us, as a group, with common terms of reference upon which good discussions will depend.

To facilitate that discussion we think it important that you write as well as read. In 6 of the weeks of the course you will be asked to focus on a particular reading for that week and write a paper. Set down some critical comments and questions for each piece, and relate it to the other readings and their core arguments (briefly). In your paper, briefly summarize the main claims, emphasizing the most important arguments that tie things together, and provide comments that will help set the agenda for the seminar discussion. Limit your papers to three double-spaced pages. The papers will be due at 5pm the day before class (Tuesdays at 5pm) and should be submitted through the course website at CANVAS.

The final requirement for the course is a literature review based on one of the week's readings, outlining the important debates in that part of the literature. We would like you to imagine this might be the basis for a project you can execute and publish later in your graduate

program, so we want you to think about the open questions, puzzles, and debates that you might be able to answer/solve in your own work. To do this, you should attempt to think about a research design that could result in new data collection (or new understandings of existing data, such as survey analyses based on ANES data or evaluations of legislative decision making). We will talk more about the form this paper might take, but an excellent paper might be 15-20 pages in length. The papers are due on December 16<sup>th</sup> and should be emailed to the instructors. Course grades will depend on participation in the seminars, six short papers, and performance on the final paper, with these three components weighted equally.

The required readings will be available on the CANVAS site for the course or another generally available folder, except for the selections in the following books, which we recommend that you buy.

Larry Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*, Princeton, 2008.  
Cathy Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness*, University of Chicago Press, 1998.  
Keith Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics*, University of Chicago Press, 1998.  
Jennifer Hochschild, *What's Fair*, Harvard, 1981  
Andrea Campbell, *How Policies Make Citizens*, Princeton University Press, 2004  
Robert Mickey, *Paths Out of Dixie*, Princeton University Press, 2015.  
Diana Mutz, *Hearing the Other Side*, Cambridge University Press.  
Skocpol, Theda, *Diminished Democracy*, University of Oklahoma Press.  
Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, Cambridge University Press, 1981.  
Hahrie Han, *How Organizations Develop Activists*, Oxford University Press, 2014.  
David Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection*, Yale University Press, 1974.  
Rosenstone, Steven and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*.  
New York: MacMillan.  
John Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

### Reading Assignments

#### September 7<sup>th</sup>      **Week 1: Democratic Theory and Practice, and Institutional Foundations of the American Order**

- \* James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers*, Nos. 10, 51, 52, 53, 62, 63.
- \* Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, Chapters 1-2.
- \* Robert A. Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, Chs. 1 and 4.
- \* E.E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People*, selections, pp. 1-35.
- \* Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, Chs 1, 2.
- \* David Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection*, pp 1-77.
- \* Simon, Herbert A. 1985. Human nature in politics: The dialogue of psychology with political science. *American Political Science Review* 79:293-304.
- \* Bartels, Larry M. 2003. "Democracy with Attitudes." In Michael B. MacKuen and George Rabinowitz, eds. *Electoral Democracy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.) pp. 48-82.

- Herbert Storing, ed., *The Antifederalist Papers*, Chicago: University of Press, 1985: Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican, Letter VII; Essays of Brutus, III and IV; Speeches by Melancton Smith to the New York Ratification Convention, speech of 21 June 1788.
- John Stuart Mill, "Considerations on Representative Government," in *John Stuart Mill: Three Essays*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press: 1975. Chapter 3.
- Hannah Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, chapter 10.
- William Riker, *Liberalism Against Populism*, ch. 1.
- Richard Fenno, "U.S. House Members in their Districts." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 71, No. 3 (Sep., 1977), pp. 883-917.
- Christopher Achen, "Measuring Representation," *American Journal of Political Science*, August 1978.
- Jane Mansbridge. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *Journal of Politics*. 61:628-657.
- Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Two Faces of Power," *APSR*, 1962.
- John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness*, ch. 1.
- Grant McConnell, *Private Power and American Democracy*, "Introduction."
- Berelson, Bernard. 1950. "Democratic Theory and Public Opinion." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 16: 313-330.
- Riker, William. 1995. "The Political Psychology of Rational Choice Theory." *Political Psychology* 16:23-44.
- Kahneman, Daniel (2003). A perspective on judgment and choice: Mapping bounded rationality. *American Psychologist*, 58 (9), 697-720.
- Abelson, Robert P. 1976. Social psychology's rational man. In Mortimore and Benn (eds.), *Rationality and the Social Sciences*. London: Routledge.
- Tversky, Amos, and Daniel Kahneman, eds. 1982. *Judgment under Uncertainty*. (Cambridge)
- Simon, Herbert A. 1979. *Models of Thought*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1955. A Behavioral Model of Rational Choice, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 69, No. 1. (Feb., 1955), pp. 99-118
- Nie, Norman H., Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik. 1979. *The Changing American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press Chapters 1-3, 6-9.
- Sullivan, John L., James E. Piereson, and George E. Marcus. 1978. "Ideological Constraint in the Mass Public: A Methodological Critique and Some New Findings." *American Journal of Political Science* 22: 227-249.
- Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *American Political Science Review* 77: 175-190.
- Wlezien, Christopher. 1995. "The Public as Thermostat: Dynamics of Preferences for Spending." *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 981-1000.
- Wlezien, Christopher. 2004. "Patterns of Representation: Dynamics of Public Preferences and Policy." *Journal of Politics* 66:1-24.
- Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 2000. *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1, 2.

September 14<sup>th</sup>

## Week 2: Partisanship and the Calculus of Voting

\* Anthony Downs. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row. Just Ch. 3, "The Basic Logic of Voting."

- \* Campbell, Angus, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. ch. 2, 6-7
- \* Achen, Christopher. 2002. "Parental Socialization and Rational Party Identification." *Political Behavior* 24(2): 151-70.
- \* Fiorina, Morris. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. (ch. 5) pp. 84-105.
- \* Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler, *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identity of Voters* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2002), chaps. 1-2 (1-51).
- \* Lodge, Milton and Charles Taber. 2013. *The Rationalizing Voter*. Cambridge University Press. chs 1 and 3.

- Abelson, Robert P. 1976. Social psychology's rational man. In Mortimore and Benn (eds.), *Rationality and the Social Sciences*. London: Routledge.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1988. *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press Chapters 3, 4, and 6.
- Elster, Jon. 1993. *Political Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franklin, Charles H. and John E. Jackson. 1983. "The Dynamics of Party Identification." *American Political Science Review*, 77(4):957-973.
- Groenendyk, Eric W. 2013. *Competing Motives in the Partisan Mind : The Psychology of Party Identification Change and Stability*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lau & Redlawsk, 2006, *How Voters Decide*
- Lavine, Howard, Christopher Johnston, and Marco Steenbergen. 2012. *The Ambivalent Partisan: How Critical Loyalty Promotes Democracy*. Oxford University Press. chs 1-3, 5-6, 8
- Lodge, M., Steenbergen, M., and Brau, S., 1995 "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation", *APSR*, 89:309-326
- Sears, David O. and Nicholas A. Valentino. 1997. "Politics Matters: Political Events as Catalysts for Preadult Socialization." *American Political Science Review*, 91(1):45-65.
- Taber, Charles, and Milton Lodge. 2006. "Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 755-69.

### September 21<sup>th</sup>      **Week 3. Participation**

- \* Riker, William H. & Ordeshook, Peter C. 1968. A Theory of the Calculus of Voting. *American Political Science Review*. 62, 1, 25-42.
- \* Aldrich, J.H., 1993 "Rational Choice and Turnout, *American Journal of Political Science*, 37:246-278.
- \* Rosenstone, Steven and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: MacMillan. Chs. 2, 3, and 7.
- \* Campbell, *How Policies Make Citizens*, selections TBA.
- \* Han, *How Organizations Develop Activists*, selections TBA.
- \* Brady, H.E., Verba, S., and Schlozman, K.L., "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation", *American Political Science Review*, 89:271-294
- \* Nancy Burns, Kay Schlozman, and Sidney Verba, "The Public Consequences of Private Inequality: Family Life and Citizen Participation," *APSR* 91 (1997), 373-389.
- \* Donald Green and Alan Gerber, "The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment," *American Political Science Review* 94 (2000), 653-663.
- \* Carpenter, "Recruitment by Petition: American Antislavery, French Protestantism, English Suppression," *Perspectives on Politics* (2016).

\* Clayton Nall, Ben Schneer and Carpenter, "Paths of Recruitment: Rational Social Prospecting in Petition Canvassing," *AJPS* 2016.

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated by Harvey C. Mansfield and Debra Winthrop (Chicago: U. of C. Press, 2000). Part I, Chapters 1, 4, 7, 8, 9. Part II, Chapters 1, 2, 5, 7, 8.

LaPiere, R. T. (1934). Attitudes versus Actions. *Social Forces* 13: 230-237.

Mutz, Diana. 2002. "The Consequences of Cross-Cutting Networks for Political Participation." *American Journal of Political Science*, 838-855.

Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1965), chs. 1-2 (pp. 5-65).

Putnam, Robert. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Skocpol, Theda, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson. 2000. "A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States," *American Political Science Review*, 94, 527-546.

Wolfinger, Raymond E. and Steven J. Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press.

#### September 28<sup>th</sup>                      **Week 4. Information and Public Opinion Formation**

\* Hochschild, *What's Fair?* Selections TBA

\* Delli Carpini, Michael X. and Scott Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 2.

\* Converse, Phillip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent*. pps. 206-61.

\* Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2, 3, 6, 7.

\* Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro, *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), chap. 1, 2 (1-66).

\* Kinder, Donald and Roderick Kiewiet. 1981. "Sociotropic Politics: The American Case," *British Journal of Political Science*. 11:129-41.

\* Arthur Lupia. 1994. "Shortcuts versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections." *APSR* 88:63-76.

\* Bartels, Larry M. 1996. "Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections." *APSR*.

\* Bartels, Larry M. 1993. Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure. *The American Political Science Review*, 87(2): 267-285.

\* Iyengar, S., and Kinder, D.R., 1987. *News that Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (chs. 1-3, 7)

\* Berinsky, A.J., and Kinder, D.R., 2006 'Making Sense of Issues Through Media Frames: Understanding the Kosovo Crisis', *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 68, No. 3, pp. 640-655

Achen, Christopher H. 1975. "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response." *American Political Science Review*. 69:1218-1231

Alford, Funk, and Hibbing. "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" *American Political Science Review* (2006: 153-168)

- Bartels, Larry M. 2005. "Homer Gets A Tax Cut: Inequality and Public Policy in the Public Mind." *Perspectives on Politics* 3:0101, 15-31.
- Chong, D., and Druckman, J.N., 2007 'Framing Theory', *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 10, pp.103-26
- Converse, Philip. 1970. "Attitudes and Non-Attitudes". In Tufte, Edward R. (Ed.) *The Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley pp. 168-189.
- Druckman, James, and Kjersten R. Nelson. 2003. "Framing and Deliberation: How Citizens' Conversations Limit Elite Influence." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(4): 729-45.
- Druckman, James. 2001. "The Implications of Framing Effects for Citizen Competence." *Political Behavior* (September) 23:225-256.
- Druckman, James. 2001. "On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame?" *Journal of Politics* 63(4): 1041-66.
- Druckman. 2004. "Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)relevance of Framing Effects," *American Political Science Review* 98: 671-686.
- Gamson, W.A., and Modigliani, A., 1987 'The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action', in (eds.) Braumgart, R.A., *Research in Political Sociology*, Vol. 3, pp.137-77
- Haidt, Jonathan. 2001. "The Emotional Dog and Its Rational Tail: A Social Institutional Approach to Moral Judgment". *Psychological Review* 108:814-34.
- Hovland, Carl. 1959. Reconciling Conflicting Results from Experimental and Survey Studies of Attitude Change. *American Psychologist*, 14:8-17.
- Iyengar, Shanto. 1990. Framing Responsibility for Political Issues: The Case of Poverty. *Political Behavior*, 12(1): 19-40
- Katz, Elihu & Paul F. Lazarsfeld. 1955. *Personal Influence*. New York: Free Press. Chs. 1-5, 9, 14.
- Kinder, Donald and Roderick Kiewiet. 1981. "Sociotropic Politics: The American Case," *British Journal of Political Science*. 11:129-41.
- Klapper, Joseph. 1960. *The Effects of Mass Communications*. New York: Free Press. Chs. 2, 3.
- Ladd, Jonathan Ladd and Gabriel S. Lenz. 2009. Exploiting a Rare Communication Shift to Document the Persuasive Power of the News Media. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(2): 394-410.
- Larry M. Bartels, *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. Princeton U. Press, 2007.
- Lau and Redlawsk, Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Information Processing. *American Journal of Political Science* 45(2001): 951-971
- Lenz, Gabriel S. 2009. Learning and Opinion Change, Not Priming: Reconsidering the Priming Hypothesis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(4): 821-837.
- Martin Gilens. 2001. "Political Ignorance and Collective Policy Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 95(2): 379-96.
- Mutz, Diana C. and Byron Reeves. 2005. The New Videomalaise: Effects of Televised Incivility on Political Trust. *American Political Science Review* 99(1): 1-15.
- Mutz, Diana C. and Paul S. Martin. 2001. Facilitating Communication across Lines of Political Difference: The Role of Mass Media. *American Political Science Review* 95(1):97-114
- Nelson and Kinder (1996). Issue Frames and Group-Centrism in American Public Opinion. *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 58 (4): 1055-1078
- Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley. 1997. Media framing of civil liberties conflict and its effect on tolerance. *American Political Science Review*. 91 (September): 567-583.
- Nelson, Thomas E., Zoe M. Oxley, and Rosalee A. Clawson. 1997. "Toward a Psychology of Framing Effects." *Political Behavior* 19: 221-246.

- Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *American Political Science Review* 77: 175-190.
- Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science* 40 (3): 825-50.
- Price, Vincent and John Zaller. 1993. Who Gets the News? Alternative Measures of News Reception and Their Implications for Research. *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 57:133-164.
- Prior, M., 2005 "News vs. Entertainment: How Increasing Media Choice Widens the Gaps in Political Knowledge and Turnout", *AJPS*, 49: 577-92
- Sears, David O. and Rick Kosterman. 1994. Mass Media and Political Persuasion, in *Persuasion: Psychological Insights and Perspectives*, edited by Sharon Shavitt and Timothy C. Brock Boston: Allyn and Bacon. pp. 251-278.
- Stimson James A., Michael B. MacKuen, and Robert S. Erikson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *American Political Science Review* 89:543-565.
- Tversky, Amos, and Kahneman, Daniel. 1981. "The framing of decisions and the psychology of choice." *Science* 211: 453-458.
- Valentino, Nicholas A., Antoine J. Banks, Vincent L. Hutchings, and Anne K. Davis. 2009. "Selective Exposure in the Internet Age: The Interaction between Anxiety and Information Utility." *Political Psychology*, 30(4): 591-613.
- Zaller, John. "The Myth of a Massive Media Impact Revived: New Support for a Discredited Idea," in Mutz, Sniderman and Brody, eds., *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change* (Ann Arbor: UM Press, 1996), 17-60.

**October 5<sup>th</sup>**

**Week 5. Prejudice and Politics**

- \* Cohen, *Boundaries of Blackness*.
  - \* Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Ch. 1, 2, and 5 and 6.
  - \* Sniderman, P., G. C. Crosby and W. G. Howell. 2000. The Politics of Race. In *Racialized Politics: The Debate about Politics in America*. Eds. Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo. 236-279
  - \* Bobo, Lawrence, and Vincent Hutchings. 1996. "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context." *Amer. Soc. Rev.* 61:951-72.
  - \* Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). "Intergroup contact theory." *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 65-85.
  - \* Gilens, Martin. 1996. "Race Coding" and White Opposition to Welfare," *APSR* 90: 593-602.
  - \* Valentino, Nicholas A., Vincent L. Hutchings, and Ismail K. White, "Cues That Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes During Campaigns," *American Political Science Review* 96 (2002), 7-89.
- Banks, Antoine J. and Nicholas A. Valentino. 2012. "Emotional Substrates of Racial Attitudes." *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(2): 286-297.
- Blalock Hubert M. 1967. *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations*. New York: Wiley. Key, V. O. 1984 [1949]. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. New York: Knopf.
- Conover, Pamela J. 1984. "The Influence of Group Identifications on Political Perception and Evaluation." *The Journal of Politics* 46:760-784.
- Katz. 1991. Gordon Allport's "The Nature of Prejudice" *Political Psychology*, 12, (1): 125-157

- Mendelberg, Tali. 1997. "Executing Hortons: Racial Crime in the 1988 Presidential Campaign," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 61: 134-157.
- Pettigrew, T. E. (1997). Generalized intergroup contact effects on prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 173-185.
- Sears DO, Henry PJ. 2003. The origins of symbolic racism. *J. Pers. Soc. Psychol.* 85(2): 259–75
- Sidanius, J. & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Sidanius, J., Devereux, E., & Pratto, F. (1992). A comparison of symbolic racism theory and social dominance theory as explanations for racial policy attitudes. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 132, 377–395.
- Sniderman, Paul M.; Thomas Piazza; Philip E. Tetlock; A. Kendrick. 1991. "The New Racism." *American Journal of Political Science* 35: 423-447.
- Tajfel, Billig, & Bundy. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behavior. *European Journal of Social Psychology*: 1, 149-178.
- Tarman and Sears. (2005) The Conceptualization and Measurement of Symbolic Racism. *The Journal of Politics* Vol. 67(3): 731-761
- Brader, Ted, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Elizabeth Suhay, "What Triggers Public Opposition to Immigration? Anxiety, Group Cues, and Immigration Threat," *AJPS* 52 (2008), 959-976.
- Wagner, Ulrich, Oliver Christ, Thomas F. Pettigrew, Jost Stellmacher, Carina Wolf (2006). Prejudice and Minority Proportion: Contact Instead of Threat Effects *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 69(4) pp. 380-390.
- Winter (2006). Beyond Welfare: Framing and the Racialization of White Opinion on Social Security. *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50 (2): 400-420.
- Wood, P. B., & Sonleitner, N. (1996). The effect of childhood interracial contact on adult anti-Black prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 1-17.
- Zarate, Michael, Berenice Garcia, Azaenett A. Garza, and Robert T. Hitlan. 2004. "Cultural Threat and Perceived Realistic Group Conflict as Dual Predictors of Prejudice." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 40(1): 99-105.

**October 12<sup>th</sup>**

**Week 7. Political Parties and Elections**

- \*Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, Ch. 7-8.
- \*Stephen Ansolabehere, James M. Snyder, Jr., and Charles Stewart III, "Candidate Positioning in US House Elections," *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(1):136-159.
- \*Tim Groseclose, "A Model of Candidate Location When One Candidate Has a Valence Advantage," *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(4):862-886.
- \*John H. Aldrich, *Why Parties? A Second Look* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), selections TBA.
- \*Robert Mickey, *Paths Out of Dixie: The Democratization of Authoritarian Enclaves in America's Deep South, 1944-1972*, Princeton University Press, 2014, selections TBA.
- \*Kathleen Bawn, Martin Cohen, David Karol, Seth Masket, Hans Noel, and John Zaller, "A Theory of Political Parties: Groups, Policy Demands and Nominations in American Politics," *Perspectives on Politics* 10 (2012), 571-591.
- \*Fiorina, Morris. 2010. *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*, pp. 1-47.
- \*Carmines and Stimson, *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*, Chs. 1 and 2.

\*Valentino, Nicholas A. and David O. Sears. 2005. "Old Times There Are Not Forgotten: Race and Partisan Realignment in the Contemporary South." *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(3): 672-688.

David Mayhew, "Electoral Realignments." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000), 449-74.

Austin Ranney, *The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government*, chs. 1 and 2.

V.O. Key, 1955. *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*.

Sean M. Theriault, *Party Polarization in Congress*, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Anthony S. Chen, Robert W. Mickey, and Robert P. Van Houweling, "Explaining the Contemporary Alignment of Race and Party: Evidence from California's 1946 Ballot Initiative on Fair Employment." *Studies in American Political Development*, 27: 2, Fall 2008 pp 204-228

Sean M. Theriault and David W. Rohde, 2012. "The Gingrich Senators and Party Polarization in the U.S. Senate." *Journal of Politics* 73: 04 / October 2011, pp 1011-1024

Charles Cameron, David Epstein, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1996. "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Representation in Congress?" *American Political Science Review*, 90 (December): 794-812.

David Lublin, "Racial Redistricting and African-American Representation: A Critique of 'Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Representation in Congress?'" and Reply, David Epstein and Sharyn O'Halloran, "A Social Science Approach to Race, Redistricting, and Representation," *American Political Science Review*, March 1999, 93:183-91.

Shotts, Kenneth (2003). "Does Racial Redistricting Cause Conservative Policy Outcomes? Policy Preferences of Southern Representatives in the 1980s and 1990s." *Journal of Politics*, 65, 1, 216- 226.

Chen, Jowei and Jonathan Rodden, 2013. "Unintentional Gerrymandering: Political Geography and Electoral Bias in Legislatures" *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 8(3): 239-269, Forthcoming 2013.

Washington, Ebonya. 2010. "Do Majority Black Districts Limit Blacks' Representation? The Case of the 1990 Redistricting" *Journal of Law and Economics*, 2012, 55 (2) 251-274.

## October 19<sup>th</sup>                      **Week 8: Legislative Behavior and Institutions – Representation**

\* Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*, passim.

\* John Kingdon, "Models of Legislative Voting," *Journal of Politics*, 1977, 39:563-595.

\* Morris P. Fiorina, *Representatives, Roll Calls, and Constituencies*, 1974, chs. 1 and 2.

\* Warren Miller and D. Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress," *American Political Science Review*, March 1963, 43-56.

\* Richard L. Hall. 1996. *Participation in Congress*, Ch. 1.

\* Tracy Sulkin, *Issue Politics in Congress*, TBA.

\* Vincent L. Hutchings, Harwood K. McClerking and Guy-Uriel Charles. 2004. "Congressional Representation of Black Interests: Recognizing the Importance of Stability." *Journal of Politics*.66

\* Keith T. Poole, Howard L. Rosenthal, *Ideology and Congress*, 2007, Chs. 1 and 4.

\* Chen, Jowei, 2010. "The Effect of Electoral Geography on Pork Barreling in Bicameral Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science*. 54(2): 301-322.

John W. Kingdon, *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*, 3rd edition.

- John E. Jackson and David C. King, 1989. "Public Goods, Private Interests, and Representation," *American Political Science Review*, 83: 1143-1164.
- David Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection*, pp. 78 to end.
- Barry R. Weingast and William J. Marshall, "The Industrial Organization of Congress; or, Why Legislatures, Like Firms, Are Not Organized as Markets," in *Journal of Political Economy*, 1988, 96:132-163.
- Thomas Gilligan and Keith Krehbiel, "The Gains from Exchange Hypothesis of Legislative Organization," in Kenneth Shepsle and Barry Weingast, eds. *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- \*Richard L. Hall, "Empiricism and Progress in Positive Theories of Legislative Institutions," in Kenneth Shepsle and Barry Weingast, eds., *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions*, University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- Chen, Jowei and Neil Malhotra. 2007. "The Law of k/n: The Effect of Chamber Size on Government Spending in Bicameral Legislatures." *American Political Science Review*. 101(4): 657-676.
- Timothy Groseclose and James Snyder, "Buying Supermajorities," *APSR*, June 1996.
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**October 26<sup>th</sup>                      Week 9. Legislative Behavior and Institutions, Part II**

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- \* Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry Weingast, "The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power," *American Political Science Review*, 81:1, March 1987, as well as the exchange between Shepsle and Weingast and Keith Krehbiel, "Why are Committees Powerful," *American Political Science Review*, 1987, 81:929-45.
- \* Keith Krehbiel, "Are Congressional Committees Composed of Preference Outliers?" *APSR*, 1990.
- \* Richard L. Hall and Bernard Grofman, "The Committee Assignment Process and the Conditional Nature of Committee Bias," *APSR*, September 1990, 84:797-820.
- \*Gary Cox, and Matthew McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. Berkeley: University of California Press., Ch. 1.
- \*Keith Krehbiel, "Where's the Party," *British Journal of Political Science*, 1993, 23:235-66.
- \*Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins. 2005. *Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives*. Cambridge University Press.  
selections TBA.
- \*Keith Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics*, chs. 1, 2.
- Doug Dion, 1997. *Turning the Legislative Thumbscrew: Minority Rights and Procedural Change in Legislative Politics*, University of Michigan Press, Preface, Chs. 1-3.
- Eric Schickler and Andrew Rich. 1997. "Controlling the Floor: Parties as Procedural Coalitions in the House." *American Journal of Political Science* 41(October) 1340-1375. And see the exchange that follows: Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins, "Toward a Theory of Legislative Rules Changes: Assessing Schickler and Rich's Evidence;" Eric Schickler and Andrew Rich. 1997. "Party Government in the House Reconsidered: A Response to Cox and McCubbins."

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**November 2<sup>nd</sup>**      **Week 10: Presidency and Executive Branch** (note that Bureaucratic Behavior, Oversight and Delegation have not been included here, as Carpenter is teaching a related course this semester)

- \*John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, chs. 1, 4, and 9.
- \* Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, selections TBA.
- \*Frank Baumgartner and Bryan C. Jones, *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*, 2nd ed. University of Chicago Press, 2009, pp. 1-56.
- \*Richard Neustadt, *Presidential Power*, ch. 1.
- \*Kernell, Samuel. 2006. *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*, 4th Edition. TBA.
- \*Charles Cameron, *Veto Bargaining*, Cambridge University Press, 2000. Chs. 1, 2.
- \* William G. Howell, *Power Without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action*, Princeton University Press, 2009, chapters 1-3.
- \* William G. Howell, Saul P. Jackman, and Jon C. Rogowski, *The Wartime President: Executive Influence and the Nationalizing Politics of Threat*, University of Chicago Press, 2013, chapters 1, 2.

Matthew Beckmann, *Pushing the Agenda: Presidential Leadership in US Lawmaking, 1953-2004*, Cambridge University Press, 2010. Chs. 1, 2.

Terry Moe and William Howell, "The Presidential Power of Unilateral Action," *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 15 (1999), 132-177.

Mark Peterson, *Legislating Together*, Harvard Press 1990, Chs. 1, 3, and 6.

William G. Howell and David E. Lewis, "Agencies by Presidential Design," *Journal of Politics*, 64:4, November 2002, 1095-1114.

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Stephen Skowronek, "Presidential Leadership in Political Time," in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*, fifth ed. (Washington: CQ Press, 1998), 124-168.

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**November 9<sup>th</sup>**      **Week 11: Interest Groups and Social Movements**

- \* Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*, selections TBA.
- \* John Mark Hansen, "The Political Economy of Group Membership," *APSR* 79, 1985, 79-96.
- \* Dennis Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, selections TBA.
- \* Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy*, selections tba.

- \* Daniel Carpenter and Colin Moore, "When Canvassers Became Activists: Antislavery Petitioning and the Political Mobilization of American Women." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 108, No. 3 August 2014
- \* Daniel Carpenter, "Recruitment by Petition: American Antislavery, French Protestantism, English Suppression," *Perspectives on Politics* (September 2016).
- \* Hahrie Han APSR 2016
- \* Ken Kollman, *Outside Lobbying*, chs. 1 and 3
- \* David Austen-Smith and John R. Wright, "Counteractive Lobbying," *American Journal of Political Science*, 1994, 38:25-44.
- \* Richard L. Hall and Alan V. Deardorff, "Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy," *APSR*, 100, 2006, 69-81.

Bauer, Raymond A., Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Lewis A. Dexter. 1963. *American Business and Public Policy: The Politics of Foreign Trade*. New York: Atherton Press.

Baumgartner, Frank R., Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech. 2009. *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

John Mark Hansen, *Gaining Access*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, Introduction, Chs. 1, 6, Commentary and Conclusions.

Richard L. Hall and Frank Wayman, "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees." *APSR*, March 1990.

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Arthur Denzau and Michael Munger, "Legislators and Interest Groups: How Unorganized Interests Get Represented," *American Political Science Review*, 1986, 80:89-106.

Gregory Wawro. 2001. "A Panel Probit Analysis of Campaign Contributions and Roll-Call Votes." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 45, No. 3. (Jul., 2001), pp. 563-579.

Jack L. Walker, "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups," *APSR*, 77, 1983, 390-406

Elisabeth Gerber and Justin H. Phillips. 2003. "Development Propositions, Interest Group Endorsements, and the Political Geography of Growth Preferences," *American Journal of Political Science* 47:4, 625-639.

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John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology*, 82:6 1977.

Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*, ch. 3

Strolovitch, Dara Z. "Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender." *Journal of Politics* 68 (4), 894-910.

Nolan McCarty and Lawrence Rothenberg. 1996. "Commitment and the Campaign Contributions Contract." *American Journal of Political Science*, 40:872-904.

- \*Elizabeth Rigby and Gerald C. Wright, "Political Parties and Representation of the Poor in the American States," *AJPS* 57 (2013), 552-565.
- \*Elisabeth Gerber. 1996. "Legislative Response to the Threat of Popular Initiatives," *American Journal of Political Science*, 40:1 99-128.
- \*Valdimer Orlando Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (NY: Knopf, 1984 [1949]), "Nature and Consequences of One-Party Factionalism" (298-311).
- \*Jeffrey R. Lax and Justin H. Phillips. 2012. "The Democratic Deficit in the States," *AJPS* 56 148-166.
- \*Charles R. Shipan and Craig Volden, "The Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion," *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (2008), 840-854.
- \*Arthur Lupia, Yanna Krupnikov, Adam Seth Levine, Spencer Piston, and Alexander Von Hagen-Jamar, "Why State Constitutions Differ in their Treatment of Same-Sex Marriage," *Journal of Politics*, 72, 2010.
- \* Christopher Berry. 2008. "Piling On: Multilevel Government and the Fiscal Common-Pool." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4):802-820.

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- Nancy Burns, *The Formation of Local Governments*, Oxford University Press.
- Rufus P. Browning, DR Marshall, DH Tabb. 1984. *Protest is not enough: The struggle of blacks and Hispanics for equality in urban politics*, University of California Press.
- Elisabeth Gerber, Zoltan L. Hajnal, and Hugh Louch. 2002. "Minorities and Direct Legislation: Evidence from California Ballot Proposition Elections," *Journal of Politics* 64:1, 154-177
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**November 30<sup>th</sup>**

### **Week 13. Legal Process and the Courts**

- \* Robert Dahl, "Decision--Making in a Democracy: The Supreme Court as National Policy Maker," *Journal of Public Law* (1957), 279-295.
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- \* Michael A. Bailey and Forrest Maltzman, *The Constrained Court: Law, Politics, and the Decisions Justices Make* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), selections TBA.
- \* Gregory A. Caldeira and James L. Gibson. 1992. "The Etiology of Public Support for the US Supreme Court." *American Journal of Political Science* 36(3):635-664.
- \* Benjamin E. Lauderdale and Tom S. Clark, "The Supreme Court's Many Median Justices," *APSR* 106 (2012), 847-866
- \* Pamela Brandwein, *Reconstructing Reconstruction: The Supreme Court and the Production of Historical Truth*, Duke University Press: 1999. Ch. 1.
- \* Mariah Zeisberg, *War Powers: The Politics of Constitutional Authority*, Princeton University Press: 2013. Ch. 1.

- Ryan J. Owens, "The Separation of Powers and Supreme Court Agenda Setting," *APSR* 54 (2010), 412-425.
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- \*Terry Moe, "The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure," in John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson, eds., *Can the Government Govern?* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1989), 267-329.
- \*Matthew McCubbins and Thomas Schwartz, "Congressional Oversight Overlooked," *American Journal of Political Science*, February 1984, 28:167-179.
- \*John Huber and Charles Shipan, *Deliberate Discretion: The Institutional Foundations of Bureaucratic Autonomy*, chs. 1-4.
- \*Daniel P. Carpenter and Gisela Sin, "Policy Tragedy and the Emergence of Regulation: The Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938." *Studies in American Political Development*, 21:2, Fall 2007 pp. 149-180.
- \*Carpenter, Daniel P. *Forging Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputation, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862-1928*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001. Ch. 1.
- Charles Lindblom, "The Science of Muddling Through," *Public Administration Review*, 1959:79-98.
- Anthony Downs. *Inside Bureaucracy*.
- James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It* (New York: Basic Books, 1989), chaps. 3-6 and 9 (31-110 and 154-175).
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- Lipsky M. 1980. *Street-Level Bureaucracy Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage Found.
- Daniel P. Carpenter, "State Building through Reputation Building: Coalitions of Esteem and Program Innovation in the National Postal System, 1883-1913," *Studies in American Political Development* 14 (2000), 121-155.
- Brehm J, Gates S. 1997. *Working, Shirking, and Sabotage: Bureaucratic Response to a Democratic Public*. Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press.
- R. Douglas Arnold, *Congress and the Bureaucracy: A Theory of Influence*, Yale 1979, chs. 1-4.
- Terry Moe, "An Assessment of the Positive Theory of 'Congressional Dominance,'" *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1987, 12:475-520.
- Arthur Lupia and Matthew McCubbins. 1994. "Learning from Oversight: Fire Alarms and Police Patrols Reconstructed." *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*, 10:96-125.
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