

GOV 2305: American Politics Field Seminar

Fall 2017

Monday 2-4pm

Location: Knafel 108

Instructors:

Dan Carpenter: Office hours are Wednesdays, 1:15-4:15, CAPS Conference Room

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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 general exams in American politics. 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 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 to read the assigned readings for each week carefully and critically. They will be the focus of our weekly discussions, though we will rarely be able to talk about them all. Nonetheless, please read all of them since your reading of some will affect your reading of others, whether in the current or some other week. More generally, the readings will provide us, as a group, with common terms of reference upon which good discussions will depend.

To facilitate discussion, it is important that you write as well as read and think in advance about how the readings address the overall topic for that session. We have three ways to encourage you to do that:

Defender of the Text: Each student has this role for probably two sessions (depending on the number of participants in the course). The Defender(s) reads the assigned material with extra care, perhaps reads other material by the same authors or other pertinent unassigned material, and throughout the class session makes the best case possible for the assigned readings. The Defender(s) also introduces the class discussion with a few comments on central themes or issues or arguments about the topic for the week, as they emerge from the readings. The Defender will NOT summarize the readings (we will cut you off ruthlessly if you do); your job is to make the best case for the value and importance of the material, and to stick with that stance throughout the class.

This role does not preclude criticism--authors are usually their own best critic--but it does imply that criticism should be "internal" rather than "external." The purpose of this role is to encourage you to escape the classic graduate student dilemma of honing critical skills to a razor-sharp edge while leaving constructive skills dull and unpolished. (We will assign the dates for each student's Defender role, so you don't get to defend the texts or arguments you like best.)

AND

Discussion questions and themes: For 9 of the 12 class weeks, each student submits two or three discussion questions or overall themes for that session to the CANVAS website, with (only) one or two sentences about why you want to class to address those issues. That submission will be due by Sunday at 6 p.m, before each Monday class.

The purpose here is to begin to make the transition from student to teacher. That is, we ask you to put yourself in the role of syllabus writer – why did the professors choose this topic? Why these readings? How do they fit together (building on each other? Contradicting each other? Talking past each other? The goal is to begin integrating the material by framing questions or themes that bring some or all of the readings into direct conversation with one another. That will facilitate class discussion as well as foster your sense of a developing literature in which authors “talk” with one another.

AND

Research idea: In the final few minutes of each class period, a subset of participants (chosen by us at the beginning of the session, more or less randomly) gives a two-sentence statement of a research project that could grow out of the readings and discussion of that day. The purpose here is to begin to make the transition from consumer to producer of scholarship on American politics, and maybe to begin thinking about your final paper or syllabus design (see below).

In addition to the (almost) weekly written comments, you have two choices for the final requirement for the course:

1) write a literature review based on one or several of the week's readings, outlining the important debates in that part of the literature. Think of this as the possible basis for a project you can execute and publish later; consider open questions, puzzles, and debates that you might be able to address or even resolve in your own work. To do this, you need first to persuade your reader that you have a really interesting and important research question that emerges from the scholarly literature (or even the real world!). Then, frame the literature review as the opening steps of a research design to answer that question; the design could result in collection of new evidence or new understandings of existing evidence. Then, lay out the basic contours of the research design itself so we can see where the literature review has taken your argument. We will talk more about the form this paper might take, but an excellent paper might be 15-18 pages in length.

OR

2) design and explain a course outline, including a (mostly complete) syllabus, for a course on American politics. Decide if it is for a graduate or undergraduate course, develop and justify the major themes and weekly topics, and choose key readings and assignments. You might also develop pedagogical and/or technological innovations. Include the introductory lecture to the course; that should explain to your students the reasons for your overall structure of the course, particular topics, and crucial assignments or innovations. You might also include some comparison with other courses on American politics.

The paper or course outline is due on December 8, 2017 and should be emailed to the instructors. Course grades will depend on participation in the seminars, weekly tasks, and quality of the final paper or course outline, with these three components weighted equally.

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.

Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists*: Princeton University Press, 2016
Larry Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*, 2nd ed. Princeton University Press, 2016
Andrea Campbell, *How Policies Make Citizens*, Princeton University Press, 2004
Cathy Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness*, University of Chicago Press, 1998.
Hahrie Han, *How Organizations Develop Activists*, Oxford University Press, 2014.
Jennifer Hochschild, *What's Fair*, Harvard University Press, 1981
Keith Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics*, University of Chicago Press, 1998.
David Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection*, Yale University Press, 1974.
Robert Mickey, *Paths Out of Dixie*, Princeton University Press, 2015.
Diana Mutz, *Hearing the Other Side*, Cambridge University Press, 2006
Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy*, University of Oklahoma Press, 2004
Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, Cambridge University Press, 1981.
John Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Reading Assignments

August 30: 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.
- * Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*
Vol. I, part 2, Ch. 5, "The People's Choice...", "Elements Which May Provide..."

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

Vol. 1, part 2, Ch. 9, "How the Enlightenment, Habits..."

Vol. II, part 2, Chs. 1, 2, 8

Vol. II, part 4, Chs. 2, 6

- * Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, Chs 1-2.
- * Robert Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, Chs. 1 and 4.
- * E.E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People*, pp. 1-35.
- * Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, Chs 1, 2.
- * Herbert Simon, 1985. "Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science." *APSR* 79:293-304.

September 11: Information, Ideology, Opinion Formation and Citizenship

- * Jennifer Hochschild, 1986 *What's Fair?* Chs. 2, 6 and 8.
- * Phillip Converse, 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent*. pp. 206-61.
- * Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. Chs. 2, 6-7
- * Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge University Press. Chs. 2, 3, 6, 7.
- * Michael Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*. Yale University Press. Ch 2.
- * Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro, 1992. *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences*. University of Chicago Press. Chs. 1, 2.
- * Donald Kinder and Roderick Kiewiet. 1981. "Sociotropic Politics: The American Case," *British Journal of Political Science*. 11:129-41.
- * Larry Bartels, 1996. "Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections." *APSR* https://my.vanderbilt.edu/larrybartels/files/2011/12/Uninformed_Votes.pdf
- * Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann, 1974. "The Spiral of Silence," *Journal of Communication* 24 (2): 43-51
- * James Druckman. 2004. "Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)relevance of Framing Effects," *APSR* 98: 671-686.

September 18: Participation

- * Andrea Campbell, *How Policies Make Citizens*, Chs 1-2, 4-6.
- * Hahrie Han, *How Organizations Develop Activists*, *passim* (short book).
- * Henry Brady, Sydney Verba, and Kay Schlozman, 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation", *APSR*, 89:271-294
- * Donald Green and Alan Gerber, 2000 "The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment," *APSR* 94: 653-663.

- * Clayton Nall, Ben Schneer, and Daniel Carpenter 2017, "Paths of Recruitment: Rational Social Prospecting in Petition Canvassing," *AJPS*.
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/ajps.12305/abstract>
- * Taeku Lee, 2002. *Mobilizing Public Opinion*. University of Chicago Press, Chs. 4, 5
- * Jane Mansbridge, 1986. *Why We Lost the ERA*, University of Chicago Press. Chs. 10, 13

September 25: Politics of Race and Ethnicity

- * Thomas Pettigrew, 1998. "Intergroup contact theory." *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 65-85.
Optional but more recent update if you are interested: Thomas Pettigrew and Linda Tropp, 2006. "A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory," *Journal of personality and social psychology* 90 (5), 751-xxx
- * Paul Frymer, 2005. "Racism Revised: Courts, Labor Law, and the Institutional Construction of Racial Animus," *APSR*, 99 (3); 373-387.
- * Paul Frymer, 2014. "'A Rush and a Push and the Land is Ours': Territorial Expansion, Land Policy, and U.S. State Formation". *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (2): 119-144.
- * Jennifer Hochschild and Brenna Powell, 2008. "Racial Reorganization and the United States Census 1850-1930: Mulattoes, Half-Breeds, Mixed Parentage, Hindoos, and the Mexican Race," *Studies in American Political Development*, 22 (1): 59-96
- * Michael Tesler, 2012. "The Spillover of Racialization into Health Care: How President Obama Polarized Public Opinion by Race and Racial Attitudes." *AJPS* 56(3): 690-704.
- * Amy Lerman and Vesla Weaver. 2010. "The Political Consequences of the Carceral State," *APSR* 104(4):817-833.
- * Aristide Zolberg, 2008. *A Nation by Design*. Harvard University Press, Chs. 1, Conclusion
- * Richard Alba, Tomás Jiménez, and Helen Marrow. 2014. "Mexican Americans as a Paradigm for Contemporary Intra-Group Heterogeneity." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(3): 446-66.

Optional but a bit more on immigration if you are interested:

Daniel Hopkins. 2010. "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition." *APSR* 104 (1): 40-60.

S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Tom Wong, 2010. "Partisanship, Not Spanish: Explaining Municipal Ordinances Affecting Undocumented Immigrants," in Monica Varsanyi, ed. *Taking Local Control: Immigrant Policy Activism in U.S. Cities and States*. Stanford University Press, 73-96

October 2: The Politics of Gender and Sexuality

- * Jane Mansbridge. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *Journal of Politics*. 61:628-657.
- * Daniel Carpenter and Colin Moore, 2014. "When Canvassers Became Activists: Antislavery Petitioning and the Political Mobilization of American Women." *APSR* 108 (3): 479-498.

- * Jennifer Jones, 2016. " 'Talk Like a Man.' The Linguistic Styles of Hillary Clinton, 1992-2013," *Perspectives on Politics* (2016): 625-642
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/perspectives-on-politics/article/talk-like-a-man-the-linguistic-styles-of-hillary-clinton-19922013/0F8189E4F3221D78C6233C2F38C72A3E>
- * 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.
- * Tali Mendelberg, Christopher Karpowitz, and Lee Shaker. 2012. "Gender Inequality in Deliberative Participation." *APSR*. 106 (3): 533-547.
- * Richard Vallely, 2012. "LGBT Politics and American Political Development," *Annual Review of Political Science*. Vol. 15:313-332.
- * Patrick J. Egan, 2012. "Group Cohesion without Group Mobilization: The Case of Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals." *British Journal of Political Science* 42(3): 597-616.
- * Arthur Lupia, Yanna Krupnikov, Adam Seth Levine, Spencer Piston, and Alexander Von Hagen-Jamar, 2010. "Why State Constitutions Differ in their Treatment of Same-Sex Marriage," *Journal of Politics*, 72: 1222-22

October 9: observed University holiday

October 16: Political Parties, Partisanship and Elections

- * Anthony Downs. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Harper & Row. Chs. 3, 7-8.
- * John Aldrich, 2011. *Why Parties? A Second Look*. University of Chicago Press). selections TBA.
- * Robert Mickey, 2014. *Paths Out of Dixie: The Democratization of Authoritarian Enclaves in America's Deep South, 1944-1972*, Princeton University Press, Chs 1, 5, 9-11.
- * Kathleen Bawn, Martin Cohen, David Karol, Seth Masket, Hans Noel, and John Zaller, 2012, "A Theory of Political Parties: Groups, Policy Demands and Nominations in American Politics," *Perspectives on Politics* 10: 571-591.
- * Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler, 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identity of Voters*. Yale University Press, Chs. 1-2.
- * Warren Miller and Donald Stokes, 1963. "Constituency Influence in Congress," *APSR* 57 (1): 43-56.
- * Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, 2016. *Democracy for Realists*, Chs. 8, 9, 10, 11
- * William Riker and Peter Ordeshook, 1968. "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting." *APSR*. 62 (1): 25-42.

Optional but a classic to keep in mind:

Theodore Carmines and James Stimson, 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*, Princeton University Press, Chs. 1 and 2.

October 23: Legislatures and Representation

- * David Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection*, pp 1-77.
- * Richard Fenno, 1989, *Home Style*. Pearson, ch. TBA
- * Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*, 2nd. ed., Chs. 2, 3

- * Richard Hall and Bernard Grofman, 1990. "The Committee Assignment Process and the Conditional Nature of Committee Bias," *APSR*, 84:797-820.
- * Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole, and Howard Rosenthal, 2016. *Polarized America*, 2nd ed. chs. 2, 4
- * Kenneth Shepsle and Barry Weingast. 1987, "The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power," *APSR*, 81:1, and exchange among Shepsle, Weingast, and Krehbiel, 1987, "Why are Committees Powerful," *APSR*, 81:929-45.
- * 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.
- * Hacker and Pierson, 2010. "Winner-Take-All Politics," *Politics and Society*, 38 (2): 152-204. <http://www.kysq.org/docs/Hacker.pdf>
- * Keith Krehbiel, 1998. *Pivotal Politics*, University of Chicago Press, Chs. 1, 2.

Optional but instant classics to keep in mind:

David Bateman et al. 2017. "A House Divided?..." *AJPS* 61 (3): 698-714

David Mayhew, 2017. *The Imprint of Congress* (Yale University Press)

October 30: Presidency and Executive Branch

- * Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, Chs 6-8 and Conclusion.
- * Richard Neustadt, 1960. *Presidential Power*, Ch. 1.
- * Samuel Kernell, 2006. *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*, 4th Edition. Selections TBA.
- * Charles Cameron, 2000. *Veto Bargaining*, Cambridge University Press. Chs. 1, 2.
- * William Howell, 2009. *Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action*, Princeton University Press, Chs. 1-3.
- * Brandice Canes Wrone, 2002. "Presidential Approval and Legislative Success." *Journal of Politics*. 64 (2): 491-509.
- * Douglas L. Kriner and Eric Schickler 2016. *Investigating the President: Congressional Checks on Presidential Power*, Chs. 2, 4.
- * William G. Howell, Saul P. Jackman, and Jon C. Rogowski. 2013. [*The Wartime President: Executive Influence and the Nationalizing Politics of Threat*](#). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Selections TBA

November 6: Agendas, Interest Groups and Social Movements

- * Frank Baumgartner and Bryan Jones, 2009. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*, 2nd ed. University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-56.
- * John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, Chs. 1, 4, and 9
- * Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*, selections TBA.
- * John Mark Hansen, 1985. "The Political Economy of Group Membership," *APSR* 79: 79-96.
- * Dennis Chong, 1991. *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, selections TBA.
- * Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy*, Chs 2-4, 7.

- * Richard Hall and Alan Deardorff, 2006. "Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy," *APSR*, 100: 69-81.
- * Strolovitch, Dara, 2006. "Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender." *Journal of Politics* 68 (4), 893-908.

November 13: State and Local Politics

- * Elizabeth Rigby and Gerald Wright, 2013. "Political Parties and Representation of the Poor in the American States," *AJPS* 57: 552-565.
- * Elisabeth Gerber. 1996. "Legislative Response to the Threat of Popular Initiatives," *AJPS*, 40(1): 99-128.
- * V. O. Key, Jr., 1984 [1949]. *Southern Politics in State and Nation* Knopf, pp 298-311.
- * Jeffrey Lax and Justin Phillips. 2012. "The Democratic Deficit in the States," *AJPS* 56: 148-166.
- * Charles Shipan and Craig Volden, 2008. "The Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion," *AJPS* 52: 840-854.
- * Jami Taylor et al., 2012. "Content and Complexity in Policy Reinvention and Diffusion..." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 12 (1): 75-98
- * Christopher Berry. 2008. "Piling On: Multilevel Government and the Fiscal Common-Pool." *AJPS* 52(4):802-820.
- * Jessica Trounstein. 2016. "Segregation and Inequality in Public Goods," *AJPS*, 60 (3)

November 20: Legal Process and the Courts

- * Robert Dahl, 1957. "Decision--Making in a Democracy: The Supreme Court as National Policy Maker," *Journal of Public Law*, 279-295.
- * Keith Whittington, 2005. *The Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy*. Princeton University Press, selections TBA.
- * Michael Bailey and Forrest Maltzman, 2011. *The Constrained Court: Law, Politics, and the Decisions Justices Make*. Princeton University Press. selections TBA.
- * Gregory Caldeira and James Gibson. 1992. "The Etiology of Public Support for the US Supreme Court." *AJPS* 36(3): 635-664.
- * Benjamin Lauderdale and Tom Clark, 2012. "The Supreme Court's Many Median Justices," *APSR* 106: 847-866
- * Pamela Brandwein, 1999. *Reconstructing Reconstruction: The Supreme Court and the Production of Historical Truth*, Duke University Press: Ch. 1.
- * Mariah Zeisberg, 2013. *War Powers: The Politics of Constitutional Authority*, Princeton University Press, Ch. 1.

November 27 Bureaucracy

- * Charles Lindblom, 1959. "The Science of Muddling Through," *Public Administration Review*: 79-98.
- * Terry Moe, 1989. "The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure," in John Chubb and Paul Peterson, eds., *Can the Government Govern?* The Brookings Institution, pp. 267-329.

- * Matthew McCubbins and Thomas Schwartz, 1984, "Congressional Oversight Overlooked," *AJPS*, 28:167-179.
- * John Huber and Charles Shipan, 2002. *Deliberate Discretion: The Institutional Foundations of Bureaucratic Autonomy*, chs. 1-4.
- * Daniel Carpenter, 2001. *Forging Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputation, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862-1928*. Princeton University Press, Ch. 1.
- * Ariel White, Noah Nathan, and Julie Faller. 2015. "What Do I Need to Vote? Bias in Information Provision by Local Election Officials" *APSR* 109 (1): 129-142.
- * Sean Gailmard and John Patty. 2007. "Slackers and Zealots," *AJPS* 51 (4): 873-889.
- * Daniel W. Drezner, 2000. "Ideas, Bureaucratic Politics, and the Crafting of Foreign Policy," *AJPS* 44 (4): 733-749