

**Constitutional Choice and Its Consequences:
American Political Development
COLBY COLLEGE
GOVERNMENT 328
SPRING 2020**

Nicholas Jacobs
nfjacobs@colby.edu
Office: Diamond 259
Office Hours: Tuesdays/Wednesdays, 11:00-1:00

Tuesdays and Thursdays
Diamond Hall 153
1:00 – 2:15 p.m.

Overview and Aims

This is a course about change and continuity in American politics. As such, we will examine the deep historical roots of contemporary politics and policy problems in the United States. While it is impossible for just one seminar to consider all of American Political Development (APD), this course will emphasize how politics progresses through time, and how contemporary political processes and problems can be understood as a consequence of both deliberate *and* unintentional decisions made in the past. Those who wish to change our political system must account for this country's traditional political commitments and its past and that set of possibilities is structured by decisions, attitudes, and theories made in the past. Those seeking to practice politics must always make sense of what has come before them both in order to diagnose the present malady, and re-imagine a different political future. Our ultimate goal, therefore, is to address these issues of change and continuity, and make sense of the limits and possibilities of political development in the United States.

First, as an initial foray into studying APD, students will learn to think historically (or temporally) about politics and policy development. We will explore some of the leading contemporary works in the APD subfield and consider what an historical perspective adds to our study of American politics. Additionally, we will practice APD by considering relevant political debates and policy problems that exist outside of class; you will have the option to research and write on one of these pressing topics. Finally, we will consider the role that ideas, institutions, the economy, and *mores* had in producing new politics, and what that politics portends for the future.

Course Requirements and Grade Distribution

Note: To pass this course, students must complete or submit all of the following:

- | | |
|---|-----|
| - Attendance and Participation in Class | 20% |
| - Reading Presentation (2x) | 10% |
| - Paper 1: American Political Culture | 15% |
| - Paper 2: Inequality and Institutions | 15% |
| - Paper 3: Policy Interventions | 15% |
| - Paper 4: Institutional Reform | 25% |

There are three components to the final grade:

Attendance and Participation: Your final grade reflects this commitment to have completed all the readings for the class meetings and to participate willingly in class discussion. I believe that good discussion requires consistent reference back to the text, so it is also necessary for you to

have the reading material with you either electronically, or hard copy. Laptops and tablets in class are acceptable, but please note that I reserve the right to change this policy.

Consider “participation” broadly. Coming to each class and raising a question or two at the beginning is an effective way to start a discussion. I expect that most of this material is new to you, and for many of the texts there are different ways of interpreting the argument. Of course, there are many readings which you might actually disagree with and if so, we all benefit by hearing your criticism. Asking questions during presentations, or responding to a peer’s summary of the readings is also a good way to motivate the conversation. Reading each other’s work at the end of the semester and providing constructive comments is a must. In sum, showing up having read the material is probably not sufficient for most students; write down your questions, concerns, or points as you read. Prepare to talk.

Reading Presentations: At least two times during the term, each student will provide a short introduction for that day’s class. At the start of class students will deliver a brief (7-minute max) introduction to that day’s reading that:

- a) summarizes, in part, the major arguments of the reading
- b) introduces some form of criticism or praise (an argument)
- c) raises 2-3 substantive questions that you have about the reading

Students will sign up for their presentation-days at the start of the semester. The goal here is two-fold. First, I want to talk about what you find interesting. You have a particular world view, and I want our discussion to focus on the political problems you find intriguing. Second, you should feel free to raise questions about what you found difficult or confusing. Your intellectual candor will no doubt help your fellow classmates and help to make our class meeting productive.

Thematic Essay: Students will write four papers, which cover the four major themes of this course: the relationship between culture and governance; the persistence and amelioration of economic, racial, and geographic inequality; the political and intellectual limits of public policy interventions; and institutional reform. For the first three papers, you are limited to 4 pages.

The goal of these first three papers is to consider an argument or concept discussed in class, and to apply it to a contemporary political problem. If we can better understand modern issues by exploring their historical roots, then these papers will investigate the various ways in which the past impinges on the present: through shared identities and values, through pre-existing inequities in power arrangements, through entrenched policy networks and programs, and through the rules we establish to govern collective decision-making within and between institutions. I will provide a list of questions students can write on. Students may also propose their own topic and, with permission, use this as motivation for writing their essay.

Good papers draw connections between works assigned in this class and others you may have encountered in both scholarly and popular outlets. Most papers will rely on some amount of outside research. Superior essays make me -- the instructor -- reconsider something about the topic at hand. Bring your personal set of experiences and worldviews into your essay, but keep the style and prose elevated. I assign most of these readings because I think it will challenge your perspective on an issue. If it does, great; tell me why and how. If it does not, great; tell me what we are failing to recognize.

The final and fourth paper is an opportunity to revise and extend an essay you submitted earlier in the semester. Anything written for one of the earlier essays may be used for this final paper.

You are expected to consider my comments and suggestions. The only substantive imposition is that it must engage with institutional reform, broadly construed. There is no minimum page requirement, but these final papers may not exceed 10 pages. Each student will discuss their thesis with me, and I will offer suggestions throughout the term in commenting on students' written work.

You are strongly encouraged to speak with me about your papers throughout the semester. I will happily assist you in developing your ideas and in identifying additional resources that might help you. I want you to walk away from this class with a solid piece of writing that could develop into a senior thesis, or a potential writing sample for future employment. I will also encourage you to attend our voluntary peer-review workshop at the end of the semester (Date: TBD), and will offer additional credit for your participation.

Alternative Course Requirements: 2020 Freedom of Expression Symposium

The Goldfarb Center has made the topic of "inclusive growth" and economic inequality its theme for this year's annual symposium (GFES), which features student presentations and research. Since the story of America is inextricably braided with structural impediments to equal rights and opportunity, APD is a class on inequality.

To encourage submission and eventual participation in the GFES, each student in the class is encouraged to submit a proposal based off of the first two papers they will write. The Goldfarb Center is aware, and deeply hopes to receive proposals stemming from our study of APD. Student proposals will be anchored in the theoretical frameworks and concepts introduced in studying previous efforts to reduce material inequality -- either through policy interventions or political reform -- but students will have complete autonomy to explore any contemporary manifestation of economic or political inequality that they choose.

For students whose proposals are accepted for consideration at the GFES, they will be allowed to fulfill course requirements through a more in-depth exploration of a policy or political intervention, in lieu of the required fourth paper. I encourage group submission of proposals and projects to increase the number of students who might ultimately participate. Full participation at the GFES (including a formal presentation) satisfies the full fourth paper assignment. With my consultation, these papers will satisfy the department's "long paper" requirement for majors.

Readings, Absences, and Participation

Scholars of APD tend to present their research in book-length form. We will consider several of these shorter texts in addition to several book chapters. I encourage you to purchase or rent copies of the following texts, all of which are available at the Colby bookstore:

Meg Jacobs, William J. Novak, and Julian E. Zelizer (eds.). 2003. *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
[ISBN: 978-0691113777](#)

Ira Katznelson. 2005. *When Affirmative Action was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth Century America*. New York, NY: Norton.
[ISBN: 978-0393328516](#)

Suzanne Mettler. 2011. *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

[ISBN: 978-0226521657](#)

Jonathan A. Rodden. 2019. *Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of The Urban-Rural Political Divide*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

[ISBN: 978-1541644274](#)

All other readings are posted online for you to download. *NB: The syllabus available online and available for download is “clickable” and will direct you to PDF copies of each week’s online readings.* The syllabus also denotes a set of recommended readings for each week, which will help those focusing on that topic in any of their papers.

Laptops and tablets in class are totally acceptable for accessing the readings and taking notes, but please note that I reserve the right to change this policy over the course of the semester.

Other Policies

Grading: Questions and concerns about a grade do arise. If this is the case, feel free to contact me, *but no sooner than 24 hours after you receive a grade.* After that time, we will schedule an appointment to meet in person that is convenient for both of us. I will ask you to bring the original assignment as well as a typed explanation as to why your assignment should have received a better grade. I do this only to ensure that our conversation will be productive. My obligation back to you is that I will provide an exemplar assignment, which you can reference and consider. I do not accept late papers. But, if you need an extension on a paper, for any reason, just ask. Requests for extensions on papers must be received in writing, by email at least one week prior to the deadline. *NB:* The final paper has a hard-submission deadline set, in part, by the University’s requirements.

The Faculty at Colby College has agreed to use the following scale in assessing student performance. More information about these standards is [available here](#).

A -- Excellent work in meeting the goals of the course, in mastering the course material, in critical analysis, in written and oral communication, or in other forms of creative expression, within the context of the course expectations. (The grade of A+ is awarded only in very rare instances when a student exceeds the highest reasonable expectations for undergraduates.)

B -- Very Good to Good work in meeting the goals of the course, in mastering the course material, in critical analysis, in written and oral communication, or in other forms of creative expression, within the context of the course expectations.

C -- Satisfactory work in meeting the goals of the course, in mastering the course material, in critical analysis, in written and oral communication, or in other forms of creative expression, within the context of the course expectations.

D -- Minimally acceptable work in meeting the goals of the course, in mastering the course material, in critical analysis, in written and oral communication, or in other forms of creative expression, within the context of the course expectations.

F -- Seriously deficient work that is not acceptable. No credit is awarded. F may also indicate abandonment of a course without formal withdrawal.

Academic Honesty: You are assumed to be familiar with the university's policies on cheating and plagiarism, and the potential penalties: <http://www.colby.edu/academicintegrity/>. If, in the course of writing an assignment, you have any questions about whether you have violated an academic integrity standard just ask; there is no penalty for being cautious.

Your Well-Being: If you or someone you know is struggling with gender, sexual, domestic, or other forms of power-based personal violence, there are many resources available through the *Office of the Dean of Students*: 207-859-4250.

As your instructor, and as a person, know that I care about you and your well-being and stand ready to provide support and resources as I can. As your instructor, I am a responsible employee, which means that I am required by College policy and federal law to report what you tell me about power-based personal violence to the University's Title IX Coordinator, who will ensure that you receive the resources and support you need, while also reviewing the information presented to determine whether further action is necessary to ensure survivor safety and the safety of the University community. More generally, if you are facing any other problem that affects your performance in class, informing me immediately can help us resolve potential problems before they interfere with your work. In addition, you should contact your Class Dean, who can help you balance your work and whatever issues you may face throughout the semester.

Reading Schedule and Concept Outline

Week of February 6th

Introduction to American Political Development

Thursday: [William J. Novak. 2008. "The Myth of the 'Weak' American State." *The American Historical Review* 113 \(3\): 752-772.](#)

Week of February 11th

Foundings, Anti-Foundings, and American Political Culture

Tuesday: James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist*. No. 2, 17, 55. Available through the [Avalon Project](#).

[Martha Derthick. 2001. "How Many Communities?" in *Keeping the Compound Republic*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press.](#)

[Pauline Maier. 1999. "The Origins and Influence of Early American Local Self-Government: *Democracy in America Reconsidered*." In Martha Derthick \(ed.\) *Dilemmas of Scale in America's Federal Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center.](#)

Thursday: [Susan McWilliams. 2017. "On the Faiths of \(and in\) Our Fathers: American Men and American Dreams in the Baldwin-Buckley Debate." *American Political Thought* 6 \(4\): 624-631.](#)

[Emily Pears. 2017. "Chords of Affection: A Theory of National Political Attachments in the American Founding." *American Political Thought* 6 \(1\): 1-29.](#)

Recommended: Herbert Storing. 1981. *What the Anti-Federalists Were For: The Political Thought of the Opponents of the Constitution*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

James Ceaser. 2011. "Fame and *The Federalist*: The American Founders and the Recovery of Political Science," *Designing a Polity: America's Constitution in Theory and Practice*. New York, NY: Rowman and Littlefield.

Robert Horwitz (ed.). 1986. *The Moral Foundations of the American Republic*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

John J. Dinan. 2006. *The American State Constitutional Tradition*. Lawrence, KN: University Press of Kansas.

Bartholomew H. Sparrow. 2019. "The Other Point of Departure: Tocqueville, the South, Equality, and the Lessons of Democracy." *Studies in American Political Development* 33 (2): 178- 208.

Harvey C. Mansfield. 2010. *Tocqueville: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Roger Boesche. 1987. *The Strange Liberalism of Alexis de Tocqueville*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Rogers M. Smith. 1993. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America." *American Political Science Review* 87 (2): 549-566.

Week of February 18th

19th Century Political Development and Regime Decay

Tuesday: [James Morone. 2003. "The Abolitionist Crusade, 1800-1865" *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.](#)

[Keith Whittington. 2001. "The Nullification Crisis and the Limits of National Power." *Constitutional Construction: Divided Powers and Constitutional Meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.](#)

Thursday: [Daniel J. Elazar. 1971. "Civil War and the Preservation of American Federalism." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 1 \(1\): 39-58.](#)

[Stephen Skowronek. 1993. "Abraham Lincoln's Reconstruction," *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University.](#)

Recommend: J. David Greenstone. 1993. *The Lincoln Persuasion: Remaking American Liberalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Elizabeth Sanders. 1999. "Farmers, Workers, and the Administrative State." *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State: 1877-1917*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Martin Shefter. 1986. "Trade Unions and Political Machines," In Ira Katznelson and Aristide Zolberg (eds.) *Working Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Richard F. Bense. 2000. "Political Construction of the National Market." *The Political Economy of American Industrialization*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilson Carey McWilliams. 1980. "Democracy and Citizen: Community, Dignity, and the Crisis of Contemporary Politics," in Robert A. Goldwin and William A. Schambra (eds.), *How Democratic is the Constitution?* Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute.
- Theda Skocpol. 1995. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Karen Orren. 1994. *Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development in the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Elizabeth S. Clemens. 1997. *The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Marie Gottschalk. 2000. *The Shadow Welfare State: Labor, Business, and the Politics of Health Care in the United States*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Week of February 25th

Progressivism and its Constitutional Critique

Tuesday: [Elizabeth Beaumont. 2014. "Suffragists, Gender Justice Constitutionalism, and the Pursuit of National Transformation." *The Civic Constitution: Civic Visions and Struggles in the Path Toward Constitutional Democracy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.](#)

[Sean Beienburg. 2018. "Neither Nullification nor Nationalism: The Battle for States' Rights Middle Ground during Prohibition." *American Political Thought* 7 \(2\): 271-303.](#)

Thursday: [Sidney M. Milkis. 2002. "Roosevelt and the New Politics of Presidential Leadership." In Sidney Milkis and Jerome Mileur \(eds.\), *The New Deal and the Triumph of Liberalism*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.](#)

[Daniel P. Carpenter. 2000. "State Building through Reputation Building: Coalitions of Esteem and Program Innovation in the National Postal System, 1883-1913." *Studies in American Political Development* 14 \(1\): 121-155.](#)

Recommended: Sidney Milkis and Jerome Mileur (eds.). 1999. *Progressivism and the New Democracy*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Marc Landy. 2002. "Presidential Party Leadership and Party Realignment: FDR and the Making of the New Deal Democratic Party." In Sidney Milkis and Jerome Mileur (eds.), *The New Deal and the Triumph of Liberalism*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Theodore Lowi. 1985. *The Personal President: Power Invested, Promise Unfulfilled*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, Chapters 1-3.

James Ceaser. 1979. *Presidential Selection: Theory and Development*, Princeton University Press, Introduction.

Sidney Milkis. 2009. "Roosevelt, Progressive Democracy, and the Progressive Movement" *Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive Party, and the Transformation of American Democracy*. Lawrence, KN: University of Kansas Press.

Brian Balogh. 2009. *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth Century America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

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

Ira Katznelson. 2014. *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time*. New York, NY: Liveright.

Sidney Milkis. 1993. *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System Since the New Deal*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

**** FIRST PAPER DUE MONDAY, MARCH 2nd at 9:00 A.M. ****

Week of March 3rd

Race and the American State

Tuesday: Ira Katznelson. 2005. *When Affirmative Action was White*, New York, NY: Norton Press, Preface-Chapter 3.

Thursday: Ira Katznelson. 2005. *When Affirmative Action was White*, New York, NY: Norton Press, Chapter 5-6.

[Janice Fine and Daniel J. Tichenor. 2009. "A Movement Wrestling: American Labor's Enduring Struggle with Immigration, 1866-2007." *Studies in American Political Development* 23 \(2\): 218-248.](#)

Recommended: Suzanne Mettler. 2005. *Soldiers to Citizens: The GI Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Richard Rothstein. 2017. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. Washington, D.C.: Economic Policy Institute.

Sidney Milkis and Jerome Mileur (eds.). 2002. *The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Richard Valelly. 2004. *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Desmond S. King. 2006. *The Liberty of Strangers: Making the American Nation*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Marie Gottschalk. 2006. *The Prison and the Gallows: The Politics of Mass Incarceration in America*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Week of March 10th

Policy Making and the Administrative State

Tuesday: [Nicholas E. Jacobs, Desmond King, and Sidney M. Milkis. 2019. "Building a Conservative State: Partisan Polarization and the Redeployment of Administrative Power." *Perspectives on Politics* 17 \(2\): 453-469.](#)

Brian Balogh. 2003. "Mirrors of Desires": Interest Groups, Elections, and the Targeted Style in Twentieth-Century America." In Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer (eds.), *The Democratic Experiment*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Thursday: [R. Shep Melnick. 2002. "From Tax and Spend to Mandate and Sue: Liberalism after the Great Society." In Sidney Milkis and Jerome Mileur \(eds.\), *The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.](#)

Julian E. Zelizer. 2003. "The Uneasy Relationship: Democracy, Taxation, and State Building since the New Deal." In Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer (eds.), *The Democratic Experiment*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Recommended: Julian E. Zelizer. 1998. *Taxing America: Wilber D. Mills, Congress and the State, 1945-1975*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Edward C. Banfield. 1991. "The Capacities of Local Government," *Here the People Rule: Selected Essays* (2nd Ed.). Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute.
- David Truman. 1985. "Party Reform, Party Atrophy, and Constitutional Change: Some Reflections." *Political Science Quarterly* 99 (4): 637-655.
- Jacob Hacker. 2002. *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle Over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Steven M. Teles. 2007. "Conservative Mobilization Against Entrenched Liberalism." In Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol (eds.), *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Week of March 17th

Geography and Political Development

- Tuesday: Jonathan A. Rodden. 2019. *Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of the Urban-Rural Political Divide*. Chapters 1-4.
- Thursday: Jonathan A. Rodden. 2019. *Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of the Urban-Rural Political Divide*. Chapters 5-7.
- Matthew D. Lassiter. 2003. "Suburban Strategies: The Volatile Center in Postwar American Politics." In Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer (eds.), *The Democratic Experiment*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Recommended: Valdimer O. Key, Jr. 1949. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. New York, NY: A.A. Knopf.
- David A. Hopkins. 2018. *Red Fighting Blue: How Geography and Electoral Rules Polarize American Politics*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Daniel Hopkins. 2018. *The Increasingly United States: How and Why American Political Behavior Nationalized*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Clayton Nall. 2018. *The Road to Inequality: How the Federal Highway Program Polarized America and Undermined Cities*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomas K. Ogorzalek. 2018. *The Cities on the Hill: How Urban Institutions Transformed National Politics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Katherine J Cramer. 2016. *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Daniel Elazar, *American Federalism: A View from the States*, 2nd ed. (New York: Crowell Publishing, 1972).

**** SECOND PAPER DUE MONDAY, MARCH 30th at 9:00 A.M. ****

Week of March 31st

Path Dependency in the Life of Policy

Tuesday: [Kimberly Morgan and Andrea Louise Campbell. 2011. "Exploring the Delegated Welfare State," *The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets and the Governance of Social Policy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.](#)

Thomas J. Sugrue. 2003. "'All Politics is Local': The Persistence of Localism in Twentieth-Century America." In Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer (eds.), *The Democratic Experiment*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Thursday: [Vesla Weaver. 2012. "The Significance of Policy Failures in Political Development: The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the Growth of the Carceral State," in Jeffery Jenkins and Eric Patashnik \(ed.\), *Living Legislation: Durability, Change, and the Politics of American Lawmaking*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.](#)

[Daniel Dagan and Steven M. Teles. 2013. "Locked In? Conservative Reform and the Future of Mass Incarceration," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 65 \(2013\).](#)

Recommended: Kimberly J. Morgan and Andrea Louise Campbell. 2011. *The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets, and the Governance of Social Policy*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Jamila Michener. 2018. *Fragmented Democracy: Medicaid, Federalism, and Unequal Politics*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Week of April 7th

Feedback: How Policy Makes Politics

Tuesday: [Andrea Louise Campbell. 2002. "Self-Interest, Social Security, and the Distinctive Participation Patterns of Senior Citizens." *American Political Science Review* 96 \(3\): 565-574.](#)

[Martha Derthick and Steven Teles. 2003. "Riding the Third Rail: Social Security Reform." In W. Elliot Brownlee and Hugh Davis Graham \(eds.\), *The Reagan Presidency: Pragmatic Conservatism and Its Legacies*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.](#)

Thursday: [Donald T. Critchlow and Cynthia L. Stachecki. 2008. "The Equal Rights Amendment Reconsidered: Politics, Policy, and Social Mobilization in a Democracy." *Journal of Policy History* 20 \(1\): 157-176.](#)

Nicholas Jacobs. Working Paper. The New Economic Sectionalism: Federalism, Executive-Centered Partisanship, and the Politics of Geographic Inequality.

Recommended: E.E. Schattschneider. 1935. *Politics, Pressures and the Tariff*. New York, NY: Prentice-Hall.

Andrew Louise Campbell. 2005. *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Week of April 14th

Modern Policymaking and the Submerged State

Tuesday: Suzanne Mettler. 2011. *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, Chapters 1-3.

Thursday: Suzanne Mettler. 2011. *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, Chapters 4-6.

Recommended: Jeffery A. Jenkins and Eric M. Patashnik (eds.). 2012. *Living Legislation: Durability, Change, and the Politics of American Lawmaking*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Andrea Louise Campbell and Kimberly Morgan. 2005. "Financing the Welfare State: Elite Politics and the Decline of the Social Insurance Model in America." *Studies in American Political Development* 19 (1): 173-195.

David Mayhew. 1991. *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-1990*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Martha Derthick. 2001. "Up-to-Date in Kansas City" in *Keeping the Compound Republic*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press.

Theodore Lowi. 1979. *The End of Liberalism: The Second Republic in the United States*, 2nd edition. New York, NY: Norton.

Week of April 21st

Foreign Policy and American Political Development

Tuesday: [James Ceaser. 2012. "The Origins and Character of American Exceptionalism," *American Political Thought* 1 \(1\): 1-25.](#)

[David R. Mayhew. 2005. "Wars and American Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 3 \(3\): 473-493.](#)

Thursday: [Theda Skocpol, Ziad Munson, Andrew Karch, and Bayliss Camp, “Patriotic Partnerships: Why Great Wars Nourished American Civic Volunteerism,” in Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter \(ed.\) *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political*](#)

[Bert A. Rockman. 2004. “Reinventing What for Whom? President and Congress in the Making of Foreign Policy.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 30 \(1\): 133-154.](#)

Recommended: Mary L. Dudziak. 2000. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Aaron L. Friedberg, “American Antistatistism and the Founding of the Cold War State,” in Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter (ed.) *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Mary L. Dudziak. 2012. *War Time: An Idea, Its History, Its Consequences*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Bartholomew H. Sparrow. 1996. *From the Outside In: World War II and the American State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Daniel Kryder. 2000. *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State During World War II*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Sheldon D. Pollock. 2009. *War, Revenue, and State Building: Financing the Development of the American State*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Matthew Karp. 2016. *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

***** THIRD PAPER DUE MONDAY, APRIL 27th at 9:00 A.M. *****

Week of April 28th

Litigation, Legal Processes, and Federalism

Monday (11:00-12:15) -- Alternative Class with Judge Patti Saris on Sentencing Reform.

Tuesday: [Sean Farhang and Miranda Yaver. 2016. “Divided Government and the Fragmentation of American Law.” *American Journal of Political Science* 60 \(2\): 401-417.](#)

[Robert A. Kagan. 1991. "Adversarial Legalism and American Government." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 10 \(3\): 369-406](#)

Thursday: [Robert Mickey. 2015. “The Deathblows to Authoritarian Rule: The Civil and Voting Rights Acts and National Party Reform, 1964-72.” *Paths Out of Dixie: The Democratization of Authoritarian Enclaves in America’s Deep South, 1944-1972*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.](#)

[Stephen Ansolabehere and Samuel Issacharoff. 2004. "The Story of Baker v. Carr." In, Michael C. Dorf \(ed.\) *Constitutional Law Stories*. New York, NY: Foundation Press, 297-323.](#)

Recommended: James C. Scott. 1969. "Corruption, Machine Politics, and Political Change." *American Political Science Review* 63 (3): 1142-58.

Paul Nolette. 2017. "The Dual Role of State Attorneys General in American Federalism: Conflict and Cooperation in an Era of Partisan Polarization." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 47 (3): 342-377.

Donald H. Haider. 1974. *When Governments Come to Washington: Governors, Mayors, and Intergovernmental Lobbying*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Theda Skocpol. 2003. *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*. Tulsa, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Margaret Weir. 1998. *The Social Divide: Political Parties and the Future of Activist Government*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Sean Farhang. 2010. *The Litigation State: Public Regulation and Private Lawsuits in the United States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Karen Orren. 1992. *Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development in the United States*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

James Q. Wilson. 1975. "The Rise of the Bureaucratic State." *The Public Interest* 41 (1): 77-103

Week of May 5th

Democratization and Polarization

Tuesday: [Morris P. Fiorina. 2011. *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America* \(3rd Ed.\), Boston, MA: Longman Press, Chapters 3-4.](#)

[Vanessa Williamson, Theda Skocpol, and John Coggin. 2011. "The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism," *Perspectives on Politics* \(1\): 25-43.](#)

Thursday: [Samuel Huntington. 1983. *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, Chapter 5.](#)

James T. Kloppenberg. 2003. "From Hartz to Tocqueville: Shifting the Focus of Liberalism to Democracy in America." In Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer (eds.), *The Democratic Experiment*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Recommended: Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson. 2015. "Confronting Asymmetric Polarization," in Nathaniel Persily (ed.), *Solutions to Political Polarization in America*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

E.J. Dionne, Jr. 2016. "In the Shadow of Goldwater," *Why the Right Went Wrong: Conservatism from Goldwater to the Tea Party and Beyond*. New York, NY: Simon and Shuster.

Brian J. Glenn and Steven M. Teles, "Conclusion," *Conservatism and American Political Development*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Clinton Rossiter. 1982. *Conservatism in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Jacob S. Hacker. 2010. "The Road to Somewhere: Why Health Reform Happened or Why Political Scientists Who Write About Public Policy Shouldn't Assume They Know How to Shape It," *Perspectives on Politics* (September): 861-876.

James W. Ceaser, Andrew E. Busch, and John J. Pitney, Jr. *Defying the Odds: The 2016 Elections and American Politics*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017.

***** FOURTH PAPER DUE TUESDAY, MAY 18th at 9:00 A.M. *****