

Government 6031 American Politics Field Seminar, Spring 2012 Elizabeth Sanders

Tuesday, 5-7 pm GSH 144

[mes14@cornell.edu](mailto:mes14@cornell.edu) 314 White Hall 255-2305 Office Hours: M 4:30-6; Th: 1:30-3:30+ (or by appt other days)

This course introduces a wide selection of important and theoretically/methodologically diverse works in American politics. **The required readings are indicated with an asterisk.** Each week, you are expected to read roughly the equivalent of one 300- page book. This may, in some weeks, leave you free to do some triage according to your own interests. But please try to read all the starred works when you are presenting.

There are three options for the major course project (the first two are preferred):

1. A research paper on a related broad topic, with my approval.
2. A critical bibliography on one of the topic areas or a question or subfield of your choice, with my approval. A critical bibliography takes a central question or problem and analyzes how (and how well) the literature has dealt with it. It resembles the first chapter of many books and most dissertations.
3. A 48-hour take home exam answering four out of seven broad questions.

In the first two options, a one-page prospectus (including questions to be asked and preliminary bibliography) must be turned in no later than the fifth week of class.

For practice in critical/analytical writing, and to raise questions for the class, students will share with me and the class each week a brief (1-2 pp.) critique (not a simple summary) connecting and commenting on the questions raised by the week's readings. These must be received by noon Monday, the day before class day. You are allowed to skip one essay, and turn one in late (but you still have to do the readings before class). I will return these weekly critiques with brief comments. They will not be assigned specific individual grades, but note will be taken of general quality and pattern of improvement. You will also distribute your critiques (electronically) to each member of the class Tuesday morning. Please read over the other papers before class (but not before doing your own paper), since the weekly critiques will provide questions for class discussion. You are encouraged to critically examine assumptions, methods, definitions, and logic in the readings, and to compare and contrast them.

You will be the primary presenter for one or more classes (depending on the number in the class). Your presentation will take about 10 minutes and open the general discussion. In addition, on several weeks you will be the discussant, critiquing the presenter verbally.

Weekly critiques and class participation will count for forty percent of the final grade; the paper or exam for 60 percent.

The starred (required) article/chapter readings will be on Blackboard reserve; other listings (without asterisks) are provided as a resource for papers or A exams. Limited numbers of starred books may be available at the bookstore for purchase. All books will be on reserve in Olin.

Students are on their honor to use these books in the room where they are shelved, or nearby, and always to return the books to the shelf so others can find them.

First meeting: Tuesday, Jan. 24 (organizational)

State Structure and State Development: what can we learn from the founding and early development? (Jan 31)

\*David Robertson, *The Constitution and America's Destiny*, at least the preface, 20-29, 128-31, 152-59, 214-27, 245-65

\*Richard Bense, *The Political Economy of American Industrialization*, preface, ch. 1

*OPTIONAL:*

\*Brian Balogh, *A Government Out of Sight*, 1-17

\*Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," *APSR*, June, 2000, 251-66. [Optional: there's an interchange on PD in SAPD, Spr. 2000]

I Institutions : Structuring Representation and the Policy Process

A. The National Legislature (Feb 7)

David A. Mayhew, *America's Congress*, ix-128.

\*Richard L. Hall and Frank W. Wayman. 1990. "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees." *APSR* 84 (Sept.): 797-820.

\*Richard F. Bense, "Sectionalism and Congressional Development," in Schickler & Lee, *Oxford Handbook of The American Congress*, ch. 33

*OPTIONAL:*

\*Gerald Kramer, "Short-Term Fluctuations in U.S. Voting Behavior, 1896-1964," *APSR* (1971), 131-43 (*The foundational study of elections and the economy*)

Eric Schickler, *Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovations and the Development of the U.S. Congress*, 3-27 and 136-280 (*skim 132-35*)

Wendy Schiller, *Partners and Rivals*, 3-62, 149-73

Nelson Polsby et al, "The Growth of the Seniority System in the House of Representatives," *APSR* 63 (1969), 787-807 or "The Institutionalization of the House of Representatives," *APSR* 63, 144-68.

B. The President (Feb 14): Power for What Purpose?

Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make*, pp. 3-58, 287-447

- (A short version of the paired presidents analyses can be found in "Presidential Leadership in Political Time," in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*, 8th ed.)\* See also his 2010 APSA paper on BB\*
- \*Theodore J. Lowi., *The Personal President*, pp. 44-117, 134-75.
  - \*Daniel Galvin, *Presidential Party Building*, at least bottom p. 4-8, 10-38
  - \*Benjamin Fordham, "Partisanship, Macroeconomic Policy, and U.S. Uses of Force", 1949-1994, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (August 1998), 418-39.
  - \*Frederik Logevall, *Choosing War*, 383-99 (OPT: chapters. 1, 9-12)

*OPTIONAL*

*Dan Wood and James E. Anderson, "The Politics of U.S. Antitrust Regulation," American Journal of Political Science, vol. 37 (1993), 1-39.*  
*Gary C. Jacobson, A Divider, Not a Uniter, 1-37, 131-48, & skim tables*

C. Administration (Feb 21) Who Controls the Bureaucracy, and Why does it Matter?

- Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, pp. 1-46 (opt: 165-76, 248-84).  
Daniel Carpenter, *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy*, pp. 1-64, 179-254, 290-325.  
OR read Carpenter, *Reputation and Power*, pp 8-29, 36-61, cptrs, 4, 10.  
James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy* (2000 ed.), 3-30 and one substantive chapter

*OPTIONAL*

*Andrew F. Krepenevich, The Army and Vietnam, 33-69, 99-177, 215-25, 258-75;*  
*Gordon M. Goldstein, Lessons in Disaster, 69-143.*

D. Executive-Legislative Relations (Feb 28) Do voters choose DG? What are its consequences?

- David Mayhew, *Divided We Govern*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. A Classic. Read at least ix-xii, 1-7, 175-226.  
\*Morris Fiorina, *Divided Government* (2nd ed.), pp. 1-23, 44-84, 125-157.  
Charles M. Cameron, *Veto Bargaining*, 1-68, 83-177, 261-69  
\*Mathew McCubbins and Thomas Schwartz, "Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols versus Fire Alarms." *AJPS* 28 (1984):165-179.

*OPTIONAL*

*Alberto Alesina and Howard Rosenthal, Partisan Politics. Divided Government, and the Economy, pp. 1-120, 161-187.*  
\*Mathew McCubbins, Roger Noll, and Barry Weingast, "Administrative Procedures as an Instrument of Political Control," *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* 3 (1987): 243-277.

## E. The Judiciary (March 6 )

\*Keith Whittington, *The Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy*, xi-27, 124-34, 285-96

Sean Farhang, *The Litigation State*, chs 1-3, 7

Jeffrey A. Segal and Harold J. Spaeth, *The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model*

Revisited. This is a long and imp. book, but can be read selectively. I suggest you read cptr 1, skim cptrs. 2-3 and 165-77; read 252-78 and 312-50 in cptr 8; and finish with 10-11.

### *OPTIONAL*

\*Paul Frymer, "Acting When Elected Officials Won't," *APSR* 97 (2003), 483-99

Ronald Kahn and Ken I. Kersch, eds., *The Supreme Courts and American Political Development*, chapters by Kahn, Tushnet, Gillman, and Kersch

## III. Individual Calculation, Social Choices, Collective Action: The Pluralist Chorus, as Schattsneider observed, sing with an upper-class accent.

### A. Interests, Collective Action, Civil Society: The Power of the Organized (March 13)

Frank R. Baumgartner et al, *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why*, cptrs 1-2, 7-8, 10

\*Kim Philips-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement*, ix-25 (Opt: 166-269; see also, below, Steven Teles, *Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement*

\*Simon Johnson and James Kwak, *Thirteen Bankers* (at least intro-cptr 2, and 7)

\*John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby*, 3-40, 258-62

\*Lawrence R. Jacobs and Benjamin I. Page, "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?" *APSR* 99 (Feb. 2005), 1-17

### *OPTIONAL*

*Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action* 1-65, 107-10, 122-54, 165-67; skim 66-97

*Andrea Campbell, "Self-Interest, Social Security, and the Distinctive Participation Patterns of Senior Citizens," American Political Science Review* 96 (September 2002): 565-74.

## **Spring Break March 17-25**

### B. Measurement and Significance of Public Opinion: How do we know what citizens think? Who leads their thinking?

(March 27)

John R. Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*, 1-53.

Taeku Lee, *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes*, 1-15 and 120-49; then scan cptr 4 for the flavor of the letters counted in cptr , and look at his critique of Zaller, Carmines, and others (the elite-led opinion model) pp. 22-34.

\*Frederick M. Wirt, *We Ain't What We Was*, ch. 4 (more if possible )

\*W. Lance Bennett et al, *When the Press Fails*, 14-29, 48-57

\*MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1992. "Peasants or Bankers? The Am. Electorate and the U.S. Economy." *APSR* 86 (Sep.): 597-611.

*OPTIONAL*

*Brian J. Gaines et al, "Same Facts, Different Interpretations... Opinions on Iraq," JOP 9 (Nov. 2007), 957-74*

*Nathaniel Persily, Jack Citrin, Patrick Egan, eds., Public Opinion and Constitutional Controversy (read intro, and a chapter of your choice)*

*John Mark Hansen, "Individuals, Institutions, and Public Preferences over Public Finance," APSR 92 (Sept. 1998), 513-31*

*John Hurwitz and Mark Peffley, Perception and Prejudice, 1-57, 100-70*

C. (April 3) Parties, Voting, and Electoral Systems: polarization and the determinants of voting

\*John Gerring, *Party Ideologies in America 1828-1996*, 1-31

Larry Bartels, *Unequal Democracy* (at least 1-97)

\*Jeffrey M. Stonecash, *Class and Party in American Politics*, 1-42 (and skim tables and chapter conclusions if possible)

\*Gary Jacobsen, "Party Polarization in National Politics," in Jon R. Bond and Richard Fleisher, *Polarized Politics*, 9-30

\*James M. Glaser, *Race, Campaign Politics and Realignment in the South*, 1-43, 67-80, 121-141, 167-174.

*OPTIONAL*

*Earl Black and Merle Black, Divided America, chapters 2 and 9.*

*Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole, Howard Rosenthal, Polarized America, cpts 1,3,4,6.*

*Alan I. Abramowitz and Kyle Saunders, "Ideological Realignment in the U.S. Electorate, JOP, Aug. '98, 634-652*

*Gary Jacobson, the Politics of Congressional Elections (7th ed.), cpts 1 & conclus.*

D. (April 10) Social Movements: Why do they emerge? What determines their success?

\*David S. Meyer, *The Politics of Protest*, chapter 1

Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*, 1-180

\*Dennis Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, pp. 1-37, 51-65, 78-87, 164-72, 191-206, 220-29.

Clyde Wilcox, *Onward Christian Soldiers?* (4th ed), cptrs 1-3 and 134-41, 159-61.

\*William A. Gamson, *the Strategy of Social Protest*, 2nd ed. 28-37, 72-88

E. (April 17) Movements in Institutions: Policy and Consequences

Eileen McDonagh, *The Motherless State*, chs 1, 2, 4, 7 (and scan appendix 1)

Mary Katzenstein, *Faithful and Fearless*, 3-22, 32-103

\* Steven Teles, *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement*, Intro, Ch. 1, & 262-81

*OPTIONAL*

*Anthony S. Chen, The Fifth Freedom: Jobs, Politics, and Civil Rights in the United States, 1941-1972, xiii-xiv, chs 1, 5, conclusion, (and scan appendix)*

F. (April 24) Path Dependence and Policy History

\*Jacob Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State*, 5-21, 85-95, 135-57

\*Suzanne Mettler, *Soldiers to Citizens*, 1-14, 106-20 (+)

\*Marie Gottschalk, *The Prison and the Gallows*, 1-17

*OPTIONAL*

*Daniel Tichenor, Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America;*  
*Kimberly Morgan and Andrea Campbell, The Delegated Welfare State*

G. (May 1) Problems in American Democracy

\*James Pfiffner, *Power Play*, 1-12, 67-83

Philip J. Cooper, *The War against Regulation*, 1-13, 46-169 OR Steven P. Croley,  
*Regulation and Public Interests*, chapters 1-3, 14-15.

\*Stephen F. Cohen, *Soviet Fates and Lost Alternatives*, 162-98

”Eisenhower’s Warning Still Challenges a Nation,”

<http://www.npr.org/2011/01/16/132935716/eisenhowers-warning-still-challenges-the-nation?ps=cprs> (listen to the speech, and commentary)

*OPTIONAL*

*Joseph Lowndes et al, eds., Race and American Political Development, 1-30, 80-105*  
*Steven P. Croley, Regulation and Public Interests*