

Course: PSC 72000 American Politics: Theories and Core Concepts
Semester: Fall 2022
Room: GC6421
Time: Monday 2–4 pm
Instructor: Sanford Schram
Office: 5410 GC
Hours: Monday 4-5 pm
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Course Description: This seminar surveys the major scholarly debates in the study of the fundamental issues of American politics, especially as related to the current constitutional crisis regarding Donald Trump's efforts to overturn the 2020 election and the Republican Party's related campaign to undermine advancement to achieving a multi-racial democracy. The course draws on prominent theoretical perspectives in the literature for understanding key issues regarding: (1) the effect of the history of American political development in creating opportunities and obstacles for realizing an inclusive multi-racial democracy; (2) the strengths and limitations of the constitutional and institutional structure of American government enabling and constraining the democratic backsliding we are currently witnessing; (3) the overhanging influence of the structure of power and the behavior of political elites in affecting democratic possibilities; and (4) the perplexing role of ordinary people's changing political behavior for enhancing and undermining democracy as best understood in studies of public opinion and political participation broadly construed. The seminar encourages discussion of the relevance of assigned readings for assessing the sustainability of the constitutional system in the United States going forward. Students are to be active participants in the conversation by applying the assigned readings related to enduring political questions to diagnosing the current crisis. The course is designed to use the application of Political Science literature as a way to help students prepare for the doctoral exam in American politics and to acquire the background to teach American politics at the undergraduate level in a way that helps students become active participants in today's politics.

Course Objectives: Besides introducing graduate students to significant scholarship and debates in American politics as related to contemporary politics, this course seeks to encourage the development of several skills needed by scholar-teachers to:

- (1) understand in any given reading the author's analytical approach, the causal logic of the argument and the political significance of the analysis;
- (2) identify alternative explanations related to the subject being examined in any one analysis, including possible alternatives an author may have overlooked; and to compare and contrast competing explanations;
- (3) use readings to appreciate the strengths, weaknesses, and biases of the major approaches to the study of American politics;
- (4) evaluate methods and evidence in the scholarly research examined;

- (5) present concise oral summaries of scholarly work in a way that makes the main points clear to non-specialists;
- (6) develop analytical ability that builds on and integrates different works on a topic;
- (7) begin to produce scholarship (rather than merely consume it) to adds to the existing literature to make an original argument about some aspect of American national politics;
- (8) use the course literature to write a focused and concise essay answer to a broad question of the type found on the program's comprehensive graduate exams; and
- (9) develop facility addressing issues regarding teaching an undergraduate American politics survey course in a way that promotes understanding of contemporary politics.

Arrangements for Students with Disabilities:

I would like to hear from anyone in this class who has a disability that may require some modification of participation, testing, or other class requirements. I am reasonably sure that we can work out whatever arrangements are needed.

COVID-19 information (CUNY's policies are updated here):

<https://www.cuny.edu/coronavirus/>

Anyone entering a CUNY building for any reason or length of time will be required to demonstrate proof of vaccination unless they have an approved exemption (see link). There will be no exceptions to this policy. It is imperative that you upload your vaccination information to CUNYFirst.

Academic Integrity, Cheating and Plagiarism: It is assumed that students in this course will work independently and that all work submitted for a grade is the work of that student. I consider the violation of this policy (including plagiarism) to be a very serious offense and will pursue any offense to the full extent permitted by the university.

Respect: Please try not talk when other students are speaking. Please be patient and wait until they are done.

Graduate Center Policy on Sexual Misconduct:

“The Graduate Center seeks to create and maintain a safe environment in which all members of our campus community —students, faculty, and staff—can learn and work free from fear of sexual assault and other forms of violence. The City University of New York and The Graduate Center prohibit gender-based harassment of any kind, by students, faculty, and staff. Harassment is unwelcome conduct that may include sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, or physical conduct of a sexual nature. Harassing conduct, also implicated by sexual assault, domestic and intimate partner violence, or stalking on any CUNY campus, creates a “hostile environment” which, when sufficiently severe or pervasive, may limit or interfere with a student’s ability to participate in educational activities, or an employee’s ability to perform his or her job.” CUNY Policy Statement:

https://www.gc.cuny.edu/CUNY_GC/media/CUNY-Graduate-Center/PDF/Compliance%20and%20Diversity/Sexual-Misconduct-Policy.pdf

Course Requirements:

1. Complete assigned readings before class meetings. There is a limited the number of pages in assigned readings to keep the reading assignments manageable. For each session, class discussion will be led by a student in the class, focusing on questions about the authors' argument, analytical approach, research methods, use of evidence and relevance to the current constitutional crisis.

2. Submit 5 blog posts to the class discussion board on blackboard:

https://bbhosted.cuny.edu/webapps/discussionboard/do/message?action=list_messages&course_id=2121313_1&nav=cp_discussion_board&conf_id=2509342_1&forum_id=3185501_1&message_id=56970307_1

Each post should be written in response to one or more of the specific assigned readings for that week, with not more than one blog post per session. Each post should: (a) offer a concise summary of the main point in the assigned article(s), chapter(s) or book(s) you choose to examine; (b) raise questions about problems with the author's arguments, analytical approach, method or evidence; and (c) draw a conclusion as to its value for our understanding of American Politics today. Each post should be short (500-600 words) and designed to encourage dialogue with others in the class. Posts should be uploaded to Blackboard by 1 pm on the day of the class.

3. Lead one class session. We will choose the class session each participant will lead at the first meeting. Each student will be responsible for organizing the discussion for the session, choosing to discuss each reading successively or grouping them together in some way that makes sense. Leading a discussion means just that – offering limited opening remarks to frame the discussion most especially by posing specific questions to encourage the critical analysis of the readings. Don't lecture. No PowerPoint! Performance in leading but not dominating the discussion will figure in the participation component of the grade.

4. Attend class regularly and participate. Read the blog posts before class. Contributions to the class discussion will be considered in the calculation of the final grade for the course.

5. Write one *comparative* review essay on any analytical issue regarding a topic discussed in the course. The analytical issue can be theoretical, conceptual, methodological or empirical, including a focus on where scholars do not agree. To that end, each student should analyze and contrast several scholarly sources a single topic. Students should *contrast* sources that offer *competing* perspectives so as to enable you to come to your own assessment on the analytical issue in question. At least, one source must not be listed as required reading. A recommended option is to choose an issue associated with the topic for which you led discussion. You should get approval in advance from the instructor as to your topic and sources. The purpose of the review essay is for you to build on scholarship to offer your own interpretation of a significant phenomenon in American politics. Although you will need to summarize the authors' views, the key goal is for you to make an original contribution by building upon their work.

The submitted essay should be approximately 10-12 pages doubled-spaced submitted via email as a Microsoft Word document by the Friday following the last class session for this course. Draft papers submitted one week prior to the deadline can be submitted for comments by the instructor.

Grading:

Class Participation	30%
Lead Discussion Session	10%
Blog Posts	20% (5 posts, 4% each)
Final Review Essay	<u>30%</u>
Total	100%

Incompletes are granted only in cases where the student has a legitimate, documented excuse.

Readings:

We will be reading a significant portion of each of the following titles. They are available via the library, in print and electronically.

Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, *The Federalist Papers* (any inexpensive paperback edition, e.g., New American Library or Bantam).

Ganesh Sitaraman, *The Crisis of the Middle-Class Constitution: Why Economic Inequality Threatens Our Republic* (New York: Knopf, 2017).

Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, *Let Them Eat Tweets: How the Right Rules in an Age of Extreme Inequality* (New York: Liveright, 2020).

Lawrence Rosenthal, *Empire of Resentment: Populism's Toxic Embrace of Nationalism* (New Press, 2020).

All other required readings will be available by clicking on the links.

Schedule of Topics and Reading Assignments:

Required reading have an asterisk. You should read them in the order in which they are listed. Additional readings for each topic (listed alphabetically) are intended as a guide to further research and planning for undergraduate instruction, and so include a mix of classic works, new scholarship, and a few popularized treatments.

8/29: Course Overview

Please read and review the following linked articles and video before the first session and come prepared to discuss them:

*[Matthew Rosenberg, Jim Rutenberg and Michael M. Grynbaum, "The Next Big Lies: Jan. 6 Was No Big Deal, or a Left-Wing Plot," *New York Times*, January 6, 2022.](#)

*[David Remnick, "Is a Civil War Ahead?" *The New Yorker*, January 5, 2022.](#)

*[Robert A. Pape, "What an Analysis of 377 Americans Arrested or Charged in the Capitol Insurrection Tells Us," *The Washington Post*, April 6, 2021.](#)

*[Dmitriy Khavin, Haley Willis, Evan Hill, Natalie Reneau, Drew Jordan, Cora Engelbrecht, Christiaan Triebert, Stella Cooper, Malachy Browne and David Botti, "Day of Rage: How Trump Supporters Took the U.S. Capitol," *New York Times*, June 30, 2021 \(video\).](#)

9/5: NO CLASS (Labor Day)

9/12 *Conceptual Models for the Study of American Politics: Analyzing Power--Behavioral, Institutional, Rational Choice and Racial Models*

- *[Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, "Two Faces of Power," *American Political Science Review* \[hereafter *APSR*\] 56 \(1962\): 947-952.](#)
- *[Clarissa Rile Haywood, "Disruption: What is it Good for" *Journal of Politics* 82, 2 \(April 2020\): 448-459.](#)
- *[Suzanne Mettler and Joe Soss, "The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship: Bridging Policy Studies and Mass Politics," *Perspectives on Politics* 2 \(1\) \(March 2004\): 55-73.](#)
- *[Megan Ming Francis, "The Strange Fruit of American Political Development" *Politics, Groups and Identities* 6, 1 \(2018\): 128-37.](#)
- *[Terry M. Moe, "Power and Political Institutions," *Perspectives on Politics* 3, 2 \(June 2005\): 215-233.](#)
- *[Robert C. Lieberman, "Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change," *APSR* 96, 4 \(December 2002\): 697-712.](#)
- * [Katherine Miller, "Liz Cheney Is Prepared to Lose Power, and It Shows," *New York Times*, August 1, 2022.](#)

Supplemental Reading:

- Robert A. Dahl, "The Behavioral Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest," *APSR* (1961): 763-72.
- Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper, 1957).
- Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).
- John Aldrich, "Rational Choice Theory and the Study of American Politics," chap. 9 in Lawrence C. Dodd and Calvin Jillson, eds., *The Dynamics of American Politics: Approaches and Interpretations* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), pp. 208-34.
- Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- Morris Fiorina, "Rational Choice and the New (?) Institutionalism," *Polity* (1995): 107-115.
- Jeffrey Friedman, ed., *The Rational Choice Controversy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
- John Gerring, "APD from a Methodological Point of View," *Studies in American Political Development* 17 (Spring 2003): 82-102
- Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, "After the 'Master Theory': Downs, Schattschneider, and the Rebirth of Policy-Focused Analysis," *Perspectives on Politics*, 12, 3 (September 2014): 643-62.
- Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, "The Study of American Political Development," in Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, eds., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (New York: Norton, 2002), pp. 722-54.
- Kenneth A. Shepsle, "Studying Institutions: Some Lessons from the Rational Choice Approach," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1, 2 (1989): 131-47.

9/19 *The Foundations of American Politics: American Political Culture and the Haunting of Thomas Jefferson*

- *[Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* \(1955; reprint ed., San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1991\), chap. 1.](#)
- *[Philip Abbott, “Still Louis Hartz after All These Years: A Defense of the Liberal Society Thesis,” *Perspectives on Politics* 3, 1 \(March 2005\): 93-109.](#)
- *[Rogers M. Smith, “Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America,” *APSR* 87 \(3\) \(September 1993\): 549-66.](#)
- *[Sara Rushing, “We Are in This Together, Whether We Like It or Not,” *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, August 5, 2020](#)
- *[Stephen Skowronek, “The Reassociation of Ideas and Purposes: Racism, Liberalism, and the American Political Tradition,” *APSR* 100 \(2006\): 385-401.](#)
- *[Vesla M. Weaver and Gwen Prowse, “Racial Authoritarianism in U.S. Democracy,” *Science* 369 \(2020\):1176-1178.](#)

Supplemental Reading:

- Robert Bellah, et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
- James E. Block, *A Nation of Agents: The American Path to a Modern Self and Society* (2002).
- Daniel J. Elazar, *The American Mosaic: The Impact of Space, Time, and Culture on American Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).
- J. David Greenstone, “Political Culture and American Political Development: Liberty, Union, and the Liberal Bipolarity,” *Studies in American Political Development* 1 (1986): 1-49.
- Samuel Huntington, *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1983).
- James A. Morone, *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
- George Shulman, *American Prophecy: Race and Redemption in American Political Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).
- Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Views of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

9/26 NO CLASS

10/3 *The Constitutional Framework*

- *[*Federalist Papers*, nos. 1, 9-10, 51, 56-57, 68-70, 78, 84.](#)
- *Ganesh Sitaraman, *The Crisis of the Middle-Class Constitution: Why Economic Inequality Threatens Our Republic* (New York: Knopf, 2017).
- *[Danielle Allen, “The Flawed Genius of the Constitution,” *The Atlantic*, October 5, 2020.](#)
- *[Jack Balkin, *Constitutional Redemption: Political Faith in an Unjust World* \(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011\), chap. 1.](#)
- *[Carl T. Bogus, “Was Slavery a Factor in the Second Amendment?” *New York Times*, May 24, 2018.](#)

Supplemental Reading:

- Danielle Allen, *Our Declaration: A Reading of the Declaration of Independence in Defense of*

- Equality* (New York: Liverlight, 2015).
- Akhil Reed Amar, *The Constitution Today: Timeless Lessons for the Issues of Our Era* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).
- Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1913).
- Michael J. Klarman, *The Framers' Coup: The Making of the United States Constitution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- Robert A. McGuire, *To Form a More Perfect Union: A New Economic Interpretation of the United States Constitution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (JBS Classics, 2017).
- Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969).

10/10 NO CLASS

10/17 Federalism

- *David Brian Robertson, *Federalism and the Making of America* (New York: Routledge, 2012), chaps. [4](#) and [5](#).
- *[Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy* \(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998\), chap. 1.](#)
- *[Joe Soss, Richard C. Fording and Sanford F. Schram, "The Color of Devolution: Race, Federalism and the Politics of Social Control," *American Journal of Political Science* 52, 3 \(July 2008\): 536-53.](#)
- *[Jamila Michener, "Race, Politics, and the Affordable Care Act," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 45 4 \(2020\): 547-566.](#)
- *[Theodore J. Lowi "Think Globally, Lose Locally," *Boston Review*, \(April/May 1998\).](#)
- *[Gary Gerstle, "Federalism in America: Beyond the Tea Partiers," *Dissent* \(Fall 2010\).](#)

Supplemental Readings:

- Jacob Grumbach, *Laboratories against Democracy: How National Parties Transformed State Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020).
- Samuel Beer, *To Make a Nation: The Rediscovery of American Federalism* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1993).
- Raoul Berger, *Federalism: The Founders' Design* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).
- Martha Derthick, *Keeping the Compound Republic: Essays on American Federalism* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2001).
- John D. Donahue, *Disunited States: What's at Stake as Washington Fades and States Take the Lead* (New York: Basic Books, 1997).
- Gary Gerstle, "The Resilient Power of the States Across the Long Nineteenth Century: An Inquiry into a Pattern of American Governance," which appeared in Lawrence Jacobs and Desmond King, eds., *The Unsustainable American State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 61-87.
- Kimberly S. Johnson, *Governing the American State: Congress and the New Federalism, 1877-1929* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
- Robert C. Lieberman and John S. Lapinski, "American Federalism, Race and the Administration of Welfare," *British Journal of Political Science* 31 (2) (April 2001): 303-29.

- Robert F. Nagel, *The Implosion of American Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- John D. Nugent, *Safeguarding Federalism: How States Protect their Interests in National Policymaking* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).
- Paul Peterson, *The Price of Federalism* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1995).
- Sanford F. Schram and Samuel Beer, *Welfare Reform: A Race to the Bottom?* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).
- David B. Walker, *The Rebirth of Federalism: Slouching toward Washington* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1995).

10/24 The Structure of Power and Elite Politics Today: Empirical, Methodological and Theoretical Debates

- * Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, *Let Them Eat Tweets: How the Right Rules in an Age of Extreme Inequality* (New York: Liveright, 2020).

Supplemental Reading:

[Clarissa Rile Haywood, "Disruption: What is it Good for" *Journal of Politics* 82, 2 \(April 2020\): 448-459.](#)

G. William Domhoff, *Who Rules America? The Triumph of the Corporate Rich* (7th Edition). (McGraw-Hill Education, 2014).

Martin Gilens, *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (Second ed.) (New York: Palgrave, 2005).

Nelson Polsby, *Community Power and Political Theory* (Second ed.) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

[Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics* 12, 3 \(Fall 2014\): 564-81.](#)

[Peter K. Enns, "Relative Policy Support and Coincidental Representation," *Perspectives on Politics* 13, 4 \(December 2015\): 1053-1064.](#)

Martin Gilens, "The Insufficiency of 'Democracy by Coincidence': A Response to Peter K. Enns," *Perspectives on Politics* 13, 4 (December 2015): 1065-71.

Peter Enns, "Reconsidering the Middle: A Reply to Martin Gilens," *Perspectives on Politics* 13, 4 (December 2015): 1072-74.

10/31 Interest Group Politics: Past and Present, Causes and Consequences

*[Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics* 12, 3 \(Fall 2014\): 564-81.](#)

* [Darla Strolovitch, *Affirmative Advocacy: Race, Class, and Gender in Interest Group Politics* \(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007\), chap. 1.](#)

*[David Lowery, "Why Do Organized Interests Lobby? A Multi-Goal, Multi-Context Theory of Lobbying," *Polity* 39, 1 \(January 2007\): 29-54.](#)

*[Daniel Tichenor and Richard Harris, "Organized Interests and American Political Development," *Political Science Quarterly* 117 \(Winter 2002-03\): 587-612.](#)

*[Anne N. Costain, "Social Movements as Interest Groups: The Case of the Women's Movement," in Mark Petracca, ed., *The Politics of Interests: Interest Groups Transformed* \(Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992\), pp. 285-306.](#)

*[McGee Young, "The Political Roots of Small Business Identity," *Polity* 40 \(4\) \(October 2008\): 436-63.](#)

Supplemental Reading:

Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech *Basic Interests: The Importance of Groups in Politics and Political Science* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

Frank R. Baumgartner et al., *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Anne Costain, *Inviting Women's Rebellion: A Political Process Interpretation of the Women's Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1992).

Virginia Gray and David Lowery, *Population Ecology of Interest Representation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

Kevin W. Hula, *Lobbying Together: Interest Group Coalitions in Legislative Politics* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2000).

William C. Mitchell and Michael C. Munger, "Economic Models of Interest Groups: An Introductory Survey," *American Journal of Political Science* 35, 2 (May 1991): 512-46.

Francesca Polletta, *Freedom is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Adam D. Sheingate, *The Rise of the Agricultural Welfare State: Institutions and Interest Group Power in the United States, France, and Japan* (2001).

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

Jack L. Walker, *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991).

McGee Young, *Developing Interests: Organizational Change and the Politics of Advocacy* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2010).

11/7 Public Political Participation: Policy Feedback and Policy-Politics Interaction as an Analytical Issue

* [Theda Skocpol, "The Tocqueville Problem: Civic Engagement in American Democracy," *Social Science History* 21:4 \(Winter 1997\): 455-80.](#)

*[Suzanne Mettler, "Bringing the State Back In to Civic Engagement: Policy Feedback Effects of the G.I. Bill for World War II Veterans," *APSR* 96 \(2\): 351-65.](#)

*[Ira Katznelson and Suzanne Mettler, "Race and Policy History: A Dialogue about the G.I. Bill," *Perspectives on Politics* 6, 3 \(September 2008\): 519-537.](#)

*[Joe Soss, "Lessons of Welfare: Policy Design, Political Learning, and Political Action," *APSR* 93 \(2\) \(June 1999\): 363-80.](#)

* [Joe Soss and Sanford F. Schram, "A Public Transformed: Welfare Reform as Policy Feedback," *APSR* 101, 1 \(February 2007\): 111-27.](#)

*[Sanford F. Schram and Richard C. Fording, "Racial Liberalism Resurgent: Connecting Multi-Racial Protests and Electoral Politics Today," *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics*, 6, 1\(March 2021\): 97-119.](#)

Supplemental Reading:

Daniel Beland, Andrea Campbell and R. Kent Weaver, *Policy Feedback: How Policies Shape Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

- Desmond King, Robert C. Lieberman, Gretchen Ritter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Democratization in America: A Political Development Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
- Eileen McDonagh, *The Motherless State: Women's Political Leadership and American Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977).
- Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
- Doug McAdam and Karina Kloos, *Deeply Divided: Racial Politics and Social Movements in Postwar America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- Diana C. Mutz, "The Consequences of Cross-Cutting Networks for Political Participation," *American Journal of Political Science* 46, 4 (2002): 838-55.
- Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (1993).
- Kay L. Schlozman, "Citizen Participation in America: What Do We Know? Why Do We Care?" in Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, eds., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (New York: Norton, 2002), pp. 333-61.
- Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016).
- Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady, *Voice and Inequality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- Cliff Zukin, et al., *A New Engagement? Political Participation, Civic Life, and the Changing American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

11/14 American Political Behavior in an Age of Partisan Polarization: The Return of the Paranoid Style of Politics

- * Lawrence Rosenthal, *Empire of Resentment: Populism's Toxic Embrace of Nationalism* (New Press, 2020).
- Supplemental Reading:
- Phillip E. Converse, "Assessing the Capacity of Mass Electorates," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000): 331-53.
- Donald R. Kinder and Nathan P. Kalmore, *Neither Liberal nor Conservative: Ideological Innocence in the American Public* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).
- Martin Gilens, "Political Ignorance and Collective Policy Preferences," *APSR* 95 (2) (June 2001): 379-96.
- Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro, *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro, *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- Samuel Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
- Morris P. Fiorina and Samuel J. Abrams, "Political Polarization in the American Public," *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (2008): 563-88.
- Kathy Cramer, *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of*

Scott Walker (University of Chicago Press, 2016), chap. 1.
[Thomas B. Edsall, "Donald Trump's Political Stew," *New York Times*, March 9, 2017.](#)
[Richard C. Fording and Sanford F. Schram, "The Cognitive and Emotional Sources of Trump Support: The Case of Low-Information Voters," *New Political Science* 39, 4 \(December 2017\): 670-86ads.](#)

11/21 Political Parties, Elections, and Partisan Regimes

- *[Andrew J. Polsky, "Partisan Regimes in American Politics," *Polity* 44, 1 \(January 2012\): 51-80.](#)
- *[Richard Jensen, "The Changing Shape of Burnham's Political Universe," *Social Science History* 10, 3 \(Fall 1986\): 209-219.](#)
- *[Marty Cohen, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller, *The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform* \(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009\), chap. 2.](#)
- *[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, 3 \(2012\): 571-597.](#)
- *[Marc J. Hetherington, "Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization," *APSR* 95, 3 \(September 2001\): 619-30.](#)
- *[Larry Bartels, "Ethnic Antagonism Erodes Republicans' Commitment to Democracy," *PNAS*, September 15, 2020.](#)
- *[Conor Friedersdorf, "How the Party Decided on Trump," *The Atlantic*, May 3, 2016.](#)
- *[Ned Resnikoff, "Donald Trump is an Ambassador from the Abyss: Alienation is Threatening Democracy. Only Solidarity Can Save It," *ThinkProgress*, June 28, 2017.](#)

Supplemental Reading:

- John H. Aldrich, *Why Parties? A Second Look* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), chaps. 1-2.
- John Gerring, *Party Ideologies in America, 1828-1996* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Tim Groeling, *When Politicians Attack: Party Cohesion in the Media* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- James C. Scott, "Patronage Regimes and American Party Development from 'The Age of Jackson' to the Progressive Era," *British Journal of Political Science* 38 (2006): 39-60.
- David C. Leege et al., *The Politics of Cultural Differences: Social Change and Voter Mobilization Strategies in the Post-New Deal Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
- David Lublin, *The Republican South: Democratization and Partisan Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
- David R. Mayhew, *Placing Parties in American Politics: Organization, Electoral Settings, and Government Activity in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
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