

## PS 7900 -- Seminar in American Politics, Fall 2022

Class Time: F 1:30 – 4:20pm

Classroom: 219 Stubbs

Professor: Dr. Kathleen Searles

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Office: Stubbs 213

Office Hours: Th 1:30-2:30pm via Zoom; sign-up via <https://searles-universitycollege.youcanbook.me/>

**Introduction:** Much of what political science and other disciplines consider to be true about American politics has been challenged in the last few years. This disruption makes the study of American politics today exciting, challenging, and vital. In this course we will draw on the classics as well as more recent additions to the canon so that we can hear from a range of voices and perspectives. We will leverage this period of political turbulence in American politics to glean insights into the institutions – both political and disciplinary – that shape our understanding. We will read a small fraction of an expansive body of work, but in so doing, students will be granted a solid foundation for which to gain mastery in the subfield.

### Required texts

Krupnikov, Yanna and John Ryan. *The Other Divide: Polarization and Disengagement in American Politics*. Cambridge University, 2021.

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

White, Ismail and Chryl Laird. *Steadfast Democrats*. Princeton University Press, 2020.

Curry, James and Frances Lee. *The Limits of Party: Congress and Lawmaking in a Polarized Era*. Chicago University Press, 2020.

Grumbach, Jacob. *Laboratories against democracy: How national parties transformed state politics*. Princeton University Press, 2022.

### Evaluation

Final grades in this course are based on your success in 4 areas for a total of 100 points.

1. **Discussion leading (20):** Two times over the course of the semester, you will have responsibility for leading the discussion on readings and distributing discussion questions at least 24-hours in advance of the seminar. We will coordinate discussion leading during the first week of class. Since on most weeks, we will have two discussants, you should coordinate with your

collaborator. Your job as discussion leader is to focus our attention on the following:

- a. In your view, what are some of the major *theoretical* perspectives that structure research in a given area, what are their major strengths and weaknesses, and how do they compare with other perspectives you're familiar with (encountered in the course or elsewhere)?
  - b. In your view, what do you see as some of the major strengths and weaknesses of the *methods* used to investigate the subject? What methodologies, broadly conceived (e.g., basic issues of design, measurement, etc.) do you feel are most appropriate, given the subject of inquiry, and to what degree do you think the substantive conclusions drawn are dependent on the particular methods employed?
  - c. Do the authors engage with each other? Is this engagement fruitful for furthering the field? Would we learn more as scholars by more study in this area? What do we still not know?
  - d. What are the major *implications* of the findings for democratic theory and public policy? What relevance do the studies have for *your interests*? What does the study say about the way in which the American political system operates in practice – does the system live up to its billing as a democracy? According to what expectations and what definition of democracy?
  - e. What are the implications for practitioners in polling, campaigns, and media?
  - f. How can this research be *improved*, in your view? What theories, methods and substantive foci deserve more attention in future research?
2. **Participation (20):** Participation is essential to the functioning of a graduate seminar, and more importantly, to your engagement with the material. I will score each student each time we meet, but will sum the 10 highest participation scores for the final grade. Students who engage inappropriately or minimally will be scored a 0; Students who demonstrate engagement and thought will be scored a 1; students who demonstrate mastery of the material will be scored a 2.
  3. **Reaction papers (20):** Two times over the course of the semester, you are required to turn in (1-2 page) reaction papers on the readings. Response paper 1 *must be* for the September 30 course meeting. For this response paper and this response paper only you may turn it in via email before the end of class (Friday by 4:30pm). For Response paper 2 you can write on the course readings of your choice; this paper is due by 5pm the Thursday before we meet via email. If you do not receive an email from me to confirm receipt, do not assume I have received it. These papers should offer reactions to the theory, research design, and/or results of the readings. These papers are **not** a summary of the work. The questions listed above are a good starting point. These papers are due during the week you choose.
  4. **Final exam (40):** this will be a take-home, two-hour exam. You will answer two questions: one question will address the course broadly, and then you'll pick from two questions that address specific subjects from course readings (e.g. democracy). This assignment is intended to help you prepare for the

department's comprehensive exam in American politics. The exam will be open books and notes and will be taken on a computer. Exam will be conducted during exam week; date TBD.

University policy is to utilize a plus/minus grading scale. Below is the 10-point +/- grading scale I will use for this class.

### Grading Scale

96.5 and above	A+
93.50 - 96.49	A
90.00-93.49	A-
86.50-89.99	B+
83.50-86.49	B
80.00-83.49	B-
76.50-79.99	C+
73.50-76.49	C
70.00-73.49	C-
69.99 and below*	F
*there are no D grades in grad. courses	

### Class Policies

**FILMING & RECORDING.** You may not film or record this class without permission.

**COURSE MATERIALS.** All course materials are protected by U.S. copyright law and by University policy. I am the exclusive owner of the copyright in those materials I create. You may take notes and make copies of course materials for your own use. You may also share those materials with another student who is registered and enrolled in this course. You may not reproduce, distribute or display (post/upload) course materials without my express written consent. You also may not allow others to do so.

**CLASS ATTENDANCE AND HOURS OUTSIDE OF CLASS.** Attendance and participation is integral to your success in this class. Each class will build on preceding class lectures, so it is very important you attend each class. If you miss a class it is your responsibility to get notes from a peer. As a general policy, for each hour you are in class, you (the student) should plan to spend at least two hours preparing for the next class. Since this course is for three credit hours, you should expect to spend around six hours outside of class each week reading or writing assignments for the class.

**LATE ASSIGNMENTS.** No late assignments will be accepted.

**MAKE-UP POLICY.** Missing an exam or an assignment will result in a zero grade except under extraordinary circumstances including illness or medical emergency. My expectation is that the student will contact me as soon as possible via email to alert me regarding the emergency. This will ideally be before the student misses the deadline. I reserve the right to make make-up exams or assignments different from the original.

**ACADEMIC MISCONDUCT.** I do not tolerate plagiarizing or cheating of any kind. Such behavior will result in disciplinary action. LSU's policy on plagiarism is the following: "Plagiarism is defined to include any use of another's work and submitting that work as one's own. This means not only copying passages of writing or direct quotations but also paraphrasing or using structure or ideas without citation." Please review the University's guidelines on plagiarism and academic integrity at <http://www.lsu.edu/judicialaffairs/> and <http://www.lsu.edu/judicialaffairs/Plagiarism.htm>.

**CITATION.** I ask that the structure of your in-text citations be parenthetical rather than footnote, but I do not require a style of citation for this class.

**DISABILITY ACCOMMODATION.** The Americans with Disabilities Act requires that reasonable accommodations be provided for students with physical, cognitive, systemic, learning and psychiatric disabilities. Please contact me at the beginning of the semester to discuss any such accommodations for this course. In order to have any accommodations met, you must be registered with the LSU Office of Disabilities Services. More information on registering and accommodation is available on the ODS website: <http://appl003.lsu.edu/slas/ods.nsf/index>

**GRADE REVIEW.** I am willing to review a written request to review a grade submitted no earlier than one-week following receipt of the grade, and no later than 2 weeks after receipt of the grade. If such a request is made, students must be prepared that a review may result in either a lower or higher grade.

**NONDISCRIMINATION, SEXUAL HARRASSMENT & TITLE IX.** LSU provides equal opportunity for all qualified persons in admission to, participation in, or employment in the programs and activities which the university operates without regard to race, creed, color, marital status, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, religion, sex, national origin, age, mental or physical disability, or veteran's status. LSU has implemented a procedure to address complaints for those who believe they have been subjected to discrimination and/or harassment in violation of this policy. Please know that your instructors are here to support you and listen to your experience. We also want you to know that we are mandatory reporters and must report what we know to the Office of Civil Rights and Title IX. All LSU employees, with few exceptions, are required to report instances of sex- or gender-based harassment and discrimination, including sexual misconduct and power-based violence (e.g., sexual assault, stalking, dating violence, domestic violence, sexual exploitation, retaliation, etc.) for which they may not be the victim, but of which they are aware. The Office of Civil Rights & Title IX is the LSU office responsible for investigating complaints regarding any type of discrimination, sexual harassment, or power-based violence. The Office of Civil Rights & Title IX is located in 118 Himes Hall and the phone number is (225) 578-9000. If you are aware of an individual who has been victimized, you are encouraged to contact the Office of Civil Rights & Title IX or file an online report by visiting LSU's Domestic & Sexual Violence Support and Reporting website and clicking the Report an Incident box. If you have been assaulted, harassed, or a victim of violence, we encourage you to contact the Office of Civil Rights & Title IX. Please reach out for help immediately. Some excellent resources available to Baton Rouge residents include:

- STAR (Sexual Trauma Awareness and Response; 24/7 hotline: (855) 435-STAR (7827))

- IRIS Domestic Violence Center; 24/7 hotline: (800) 541-9706
- The Lighthouse Program; (225) 578-5718
- VIA LINK; (800) 273-TALK (8255) [national line but answered from New Orleans]

National resources include:

- RAINN (Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network); 24/7 hotline: (800) 656-4673
- National Sexual Violence Resource Center

For additional information, visit [www.lsu.edu/civil-rights](http://www.lsu.edu/civil-rights) the Office of Civil Rights & Title IX and review PM-73 (Prohibiting Power-based Violence, including Sex- and Gender-based Harassment and Discrimination, and Sexual Misconduct).

## Course Outline\*

### August 26 – Introduction

\*no readings for today, but I recommend you start reading ahead!

### September 2 – Studying Politics and Power

\*March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. "The new institutionalism: Organizational factors in political life." *The American political science review* (1984): 734-749.

\*Simon, Herbert. 1985. "Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 79(2): 293-304.

\*Moe, Terry. 2005. "Power and Political Institutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 3(2): 215-233.

\*Hacker, Jacob and Paul Pierson. 2014. "After the 'Master Theory': Downs, Schattschneider, and the Rebirth of Policy-Focused Analysis," *Perspectives on Politics*. 12(3):643-662.

\*Dahl, Robert. 1967. Preface to Democratic Theory. Chapters 1.

\*Downs, Anthony. An Economic Theory of Democracy. Harper and Row, 1957. Chapters 2-3.

\*Schattschneider, E.E. 1960. The Semisovereign People: A Realists' View of Democracy in America. Boston: Wadsworth. Chapter 1.

### September 9 – Studying Politics and Power, New Voices

\*Francis, Megan Ming. "Can Black Lives Matter within US Democracy?." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 699, no. 1 (2022): 186-199.

Parties

\*Mills, Charles W. Black rights/white wrongs: The critique of racial liberalism. Oxford University Press, 2017. Introduction.

\*Grumbach, Jacob. Laboratories against democracy: How national parties transformed state politics. Vol. 182. Princeton University Press, 2022.

\*Huq, Aziz Z. "The Supreme Court and the Dynamics of Democratic Backsliding." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 699, no. 1 (2022): 50-65.

### September 16 – Reading Day [Professor at APSA, read ahead and work on response papers]

### September 23 – Parties

- \*White, Ismail and Chryl Laird. 2020. Steadfast Democrats. (all)
- \*Costa, Mia. "Ideology, not affect: What Americans want from political representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 65, no. 2 (2021): 342-358.
- \*Cohen, Martin, David Karol, Hans Noel, John Zaller. 2016. Party versus Faction in the Reformed Presidential Nominating System. *PS: Political Science & Politics*. October 2016, Vol. 43 No. 4: 701-707.
- \*Green, Donald P., Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters. Yale University Press, 2004. Chapters 1-2.
- \*Aldrich, John. 1995. Why Parties? Chapters 1.
- \* Hajnal, Zoltan L., and Jeremy D. Horowitz. "Racial winners and losers in American party politics." *Perspectives on Politics* (2014): 100-118.
- \*Olson, Mancur. 1965. The Logic of Collective Action. Harvard University Press. Chapter 1.

**September 30 – Public Opinion and Polarization [Professor giving Talk at UNC – submit response paper 1 by 4:30pm (end of class)]**

- \*Baldassarri, Delia, and Andrew Gelman. "Partisans without constraint: Political polarization and trends in American public opinion." *American Journal of Sociology* 114, no. 2 (2008): 408-446.
- \*Druckman, James N., Samara Klar, Yanna Krupnikov, Matthew Levendusky, and John Barry Ryan. "Affective polarization, local contexts and public opinion in America." *Nature Human Behaviour* (2020): 1-11.
- \*McGregor, Shannon C. "Social Media as Public Opinion: How Journalists Use Social Media to Represent Public Opinion." *Journalism* 20, no. 8 (August 2019): 1070–86.
- \*Darr, Joshua P., Matthew P. Hitt, and Johanna L. Dunaway. "Newspaper closures polarize voting behavior." *Journal of Communication* 68, no. 6 (2018): 1007-1028.
- \*Kalla, Joshua L., and David E. Broockman. "Voter outreach campaigns can reduce affective polarization among implementing political activists." OSF Preprints. June 18 (2021).

**October 7 – Elections and Voters**

- \*Krupnikov and Ryan, 2021. "Split Feelings: Understanding Implicit and Explicit Political Persuasion." *American Political Science Review*, 115(4), 1424-1441. (all)
- \*White, Ariel. "Misdemeanor Disenfranchisement? The demobilizing effects of brief jail spells on potential voters." *American Political Science Review* 113, no. 2 (2019): 311-324.
- \*Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. The American Voter. University of Chicago Press, 1980. Chapters 1-2, 6.
- \*Christopher H., Achen and Larry M. Bartels. Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government. Princeton University Press, 2016. Chapter 1.
- \*Coppock, Alexander, Seth J. Hill, and Lynn Vavreck. "The small effects of political advertising are small regardless of context, message, sender, or receiver: Evidence from 59 real-time randomized experiments." *Science advances* 6, no. 36 (2020).

**October 14 – Fall Holiday, NO CLASS**

**October 21 – Presidency**

- \*Moe, Terry M., and William G. Howell. "Unilateral action and presidential power: A theory." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1999): 850-873.
- \*Milkis, Sidney M., Daniel J. Tichenor, and Laura Blessing. "The historical presidency: 'Rallying force': The modern presidency, social movements, and the transformation of American politics." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (2013): 641-670.
- \*Canes-Wrone, Brandice, William Howell and David E. Lewis. 2008. "Toward a Broader Understanding of Presidential Power: A Reevaluation of the Two Presidencies Thesis." *Journal of Politics* 70(1): 1-16.
- \*Neustadt, Richard. 1960. Presidential Power. Chapters 1.
- \*Howell, William G. 2003. Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action. Chapters 1-2.
- \*Kernell, Samuel. Going Public. Chapter 1.
- \*Braman, Eileen. "Thinking about Government Authority: Constitutional Rules and Political Context in Citizens' Assessments of Judicial, Legislative, and Executive Action." *American Journal of Political Science* 65, no. 2 (2021): 389-404.

### **October 28 – Policy and Bureaucracy**

- \*Michener, 2018. "Fragmented Democracy: Medicaid, Federalism, and Unequal Politics." Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (all)
- \*Skocpol. "Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States." 1992. Introduction.
- \*Mettler, Suzanne. The submerged state: How invisible government policies undermine American democracy. University of Chicago Press, 2011. Chapters 1-2.
- \*Troutstine, Jessica. "Segregation by Design." (2018). Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1
- \*Lewis, Angela K., Pearl K. Ford Dowe, and Sekou M. Franklin. "African Americans and Obama's domestic policy agenda: a closer look at deracialization, the federal stimulus bill, and the affordable care act." *Polity* 45, no. 1 (2013): 127-152.
- \*Weaver, Vesla. 2007. "Frontlash: Race and the Development of Punitive Crime Policy." *Studies in American Political Development* 21: 230-265.

### **November 4 – Congress**

- \*Curry & Lee, 2020. "The Limits of Party Congress and Lawmaking in a Polarized Era." (all).
- \* Mayhew, 1974. "Congress: The Electoral Connection." Introduction, Chapter 1.
- \*Grimmer, Justin. 2013. "Appropriators not Position Takers: The Distorting Effects of Electoral Incentives on Congressional Representation." 2013. *American Journal of Political Science*: 624-640.
- \*Krehbiel, Keith. 1998. Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking. Chapter 1.
- \*Harbridge, Laurel. (2015). Is Bipartisanship Dead? Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
- \*Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2020. "Women's Underrepresentation in the U.S. Congress." *Daedalus* 149 (1): 40–55. doi:10.1162/daed\_a\_01772.
- \*Binder, Sarah. 2015. "The Dysfunctional Congress," *Annual Review of Political Science*.

### **November 11 – Courts**

- \*Clark, Tom S. "The separation of powers, court curbing, and judicial legitimacy." *American Journal of Political Science* 53, no. 4 (2009): 971-989.

- \*Epstein Lee, Lindstädt René, Segal Jeffrey A., and Westerland Chad. 2006. "The Changing Dynamics of Senate Voting on Supreme Court Nominees." *The Journal of Politics* 68 (2): 296. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2508.2006.00407.x.
- \*Epstein, Lee, and Jack Knight. "Reconsidering judicial preferences." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16 (2013).
- \*Keck, Thomas M. 2007. "Party, Policy, or Duty: Why Does the Supreme Court Invalidate Federal Statutes?" *American Political Science Review* 101: 321-338.
- \*Moyer, Laura P., John Szmer, Susan Haire, and Robert K. Christensen. "'All eyes are on you': Gender, race, and opinion writing on the US Courts of Appeals." *Law & Society Review* 55, no. 3 (2021): 452-472.
- \*Braman, Eileen, and Thomas E. Nelson. "Mechanism of motivated reasoning? Analogical perception in discrimination disputes." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 4 (2007): 940-956.
- \*Hasen, Richard L. "Polarization and the Judiciary." *Annual Review of Political Science*, May (2019): 2018-10.
- \*Clark, C. S., & Paluck, E. L. (2022). The effect of the leaked Supreme Court draft abortion decision on public opinion and perceptions of the Court.

### **November 18 – Race**

- \*Acharya, Avidit, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. 2016. "The Political Legacy of American Slavery." *Journal of Politics* 78 (3): 621-641.
- \*Dawson, Michael C. 1994. Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-4.
- \*DeSante, Christopher D., and Candis Watts Smith. "Less Is More: A Cross-Generational Analysis of the Nature and Role of Racial Attitudes in the Twenty-First Century." *The Journal of Politics* 82, no. 3 (2020): 000-000.
- \*Harris-Lacewell, Melissa V. "The heart of the politics of race: Centering Black people in the study of White racial attitudes." *Journal of Black Studies* 34, no. 2 (2003): 222-249.
- \*Jardina, Ashley. "In-Group Love and Out-Group Hate: White Racial Attitudes in Contemporary US Elections." *Political Behavior* (2020): 1-25.
- \*Gillespie, Andra, and Nadia E. Brown. "# BlackGirlMagic Demystified." *Phylon* (1960-) 56, no. 2 (2019): 37-58.

### **November 25 – Thanksgiving Holiday, NO CLASS**

### **December 2 – Gender**

- \*Teele, Dawn Langan, Joshua Kalla, and Frances Rosenbluth. "The ties that double bind: social roles and women's underrepresentation in politics." *American Political Science Review* 112, no. 3 (2018): 525-541.
- \*Klar, Samara. "When common identities decrease trust: An experimental study of partisan women." *American Journal of Political Science* 62, no. 3 (2018): 610-622.
- \*Corder, J. Kevin, and Christina Wolbrecht. Counting Women's Ballots. Cambridge University Press, 2016. Chapters 1.
- \*Karpowitz, Christopher F., Tali Mendelberg, and Lee Shaker. (2012). "Gender Inequality in Deliberative Participation." *American Political Science Review*. 106: 533-547.



\*Dowe, Pearl K. Ford. "Resisting marginalization: Black women's political ambition and agency." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 53, no. 4 (2020): 697-702.

\*Osborn, Tracy, Rebecca J. Kreitzer, Emily U. Schilling, and Jennifer Hayes Clark. "Ideology and Polarization Among Women State Legislators." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (2019): 647-680.

\*Bauer, Nichole M. "Shifting standards: How voters evaluate the qualifications of female and male candidates." *The Journal of Politics* 82, no. 1 (2020): 1-12.

[Final Exam Period December 5-10; final exam due date for course TBD.]

\*The instructor reserves the right to make changes to the schedule and syllabus.