

Core Seminar: The Domestic Politics of the United States

POL-GA 1350

Fall 2024

Professors Patrick Egan and Sanford C. Gordon

I. Introduction

This course provides graduate students with a broad overview of important topics in the study of the domestic politics of the United States. We will explore the frontiers of research on political participation, political parties, polarization, elections, legislative politics, race, interest groups, and the role of the media in politics. The course has two goals: First, to introduce students to important controversies in the study of American domestic politics; and second, to encourage students to think rigorously about the process of conducting political research.

Even if your primary focus is not American politics, there are four reasons why you might seriously consider taking this course. First, the United States is a political system about which we know a great deal. For better or worse, both U.S. citizens and foreign students are likely to have a better understanding of this particular political system than that of any political system picked at random off the map. Second, there is a wealth of data on American political phenomena. This facilitates testing a variety of different theories about politics (*especially* if you do not confine yourself to national politics). Third, political science as a discipline has progressed in large part due to advances in the study of American politics that were later applied elsewhere.

Understanding how the field has developed is an important part of becoming a well-rounded student of politics. Finally, with full knowledge of the fact that many of the students who take the course do not focus on US politics in their own research, we have designed the course to emphasize (a) fundamentals of research design; (b) the connection between theory and empirical analysis; and (c) framing research questions. The aim of this emphasis is to provide an exportable skill set and approach valuable to students who plan on pursuing substantive applications elsewhere.

II. Contact and Meeting Information

Patrick Egan

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Sanford C. Gordon

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(Please do not hesitate to e-mail us for appointments outside of office hours – or just drop in if the door is open.)

Class Meetings

Tuesdays, 4 - 6pm, Room 217

III. Student Responsibilities and Course GradingParticipation that reflects preparation: 20%

Participating in seminar in a way that reflects thoughtful preparation (including reading assigned material and your fellow students' papers) is an essential component of the course.

Oral Defenses: 10%

In addition to normal participatory duties, each student will spend a one class meeting providing a public good as "defender" of a particular text or perspective, which will include a 10-15 minute defense at the beginning of our discussion of the material.

Defending a reading is *not* the same as presenting that reading. You should not seek to recapitulate or present results. Rather, your goal is twofold. First, you want to (1) describe the research question, (2) explain what's at stake, (3) explain the challenges the author was presented with, (4) briefly state what the author did, and (5) describe what we know that we didn't know before the research was conducted. Second, you want to respond to criticisms leveled at the work you are defending. Criticisms may come from several sources, the most important of which are the thought papers of your fellow students. Other sources of criticism are published work criticizing the work you're defending and your own ideas of what attacks a critic might hypothetically level at the work.

Do not go overboard on slides! This is a fifteen-minute presentation, so 3-5 slides is what you should be aiming for.

Thought papers: 20%

Each student will write a paper *no longer than one single-spaced page*¹ in the weeks they are not presenting. The paper should be uploaded to Brightspace by 6pm on the Sunday before class so that we can incorporate its insights into class discussion. Once the deadline has passed, we will compile the papers into a zip file for distribution to the whole class.

Your paper may critically examine a particular feature of a single reading; draw comparisons among multiple readings for that week; or suggest avenues for future research. As the course progresses we'll offer more specific feedback on how to make your thought papers constructive.

¹ Papers that conduct data analysis (e.g., replication) to explicate their arguments are permitted to exceed this length for tables and/or figures.

At the end of the semester, we will drop the lowest thought paper score. (This has the practical effect of permitting you to miss writing one thought paper.)

Note: in past years, a disproportionate number of students have written their response papers on the first assigned reading for a given week. Please read all of the assigned readings before deciding which paper you want to write on.

Research proposal/paper: 50%

First year Politics PhD students: A research proposal will count for 50% of your grade.

All other students: A final research paper will count for 50% of your grade.

Details will be discussed in class. You should be thinking about your paper and have a topic approved by us **before November 1**. Note that if your research interest lies primarily in topics covered toward the end of the class, you should read ahead.

Deadline: The formal deadline for this requirement is **December 15**. With that said, we fully expect that you may take the winter break to complete your proposal or paper.

Length: Proposals should be about **6,000-7,500 words**, and research papers on the order of **10,000 words**.

Joint submissions: For some students, it can make sense to submit versions of the same paper to fulfill the requirements of this and another course. Before doing this, meet with us to secure our consent and to discuss guidelines and expectations. Expectations will be higher for such joint submissions.

General note on grades

We will evaluate students in the performance of the above responsibilities in ways that reflect their stage of the Ph.D. program. Expectations are higher for veteran students than they are for first years.

IV. Readings

All but a handful of these readings are available online via NYU libraries. Those that aren't will be available in Brightspace.

Readings for each week are divided into two parts. Those directly under the topic heading for a given week are *required* readings. Readings in the *additional* section are not required, but we list them because they are essential to be familiar with if you're going to be working on that particular topic. With this in mind, think of the syllabus as a resource that you can hold onto going forward in your studies.

V. Schedule

Week 1. September 3, 2024 Introduction and Orientation

- No assigned readings

Week 2. September 10, 2024 Macropolitical Challenges to American Democracy

- McCarty, Nolan. 2019. *Polarization: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Read entire; skim chs. 5-6 if pressed for time.
- Sides, John, Chris Tausanovitch and Lynn Vavreck. 2022. *The Bitter End: The 2020 Presidential Campaign and the Challenge to American Democracy*. Chs. 1, 6, 8, 9.
- Robert Lieberman, et al. 2019. "The Trump Presidency and American Democracy: A Historical and Comparative Analysis." *Perspectives on Politics*.

Additional readings

Students unfamiliar with the U.S. political system may consider reading:

- Gordon, Sanford C. and Jamila Ruddock. 2023. *What Your Professor Thinks You Already Know About US Politics* (eBook Resource, available at [Amazon](#) or [Apple Books](#))

Week 3. September 17, 2024 The Spatial Model

- Poole, Keith T. and Howard Rosenthal. 2007. *Ideology and Congress*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishing, chs. 1-4.
- Clinton, Joshua D. 2012. "Congress, Lawmaking and the Fair Labor Standards Act, 1971-2000." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(2): 355-372.

Additional Readings (on Measurement)

- Poole, Keith. 2005. *Spatial Models of Parliamentary Voting*
- Martin, Andrew D., and Kevin M. Quinn. 2002. "Dynamic Ideal Point Estimation via Markov Chain Monte Carlo for the U.S. Supreme Court, 1953-1999." *Political Analysis* 10(2): 134-153.
- Clinton, Joshua D., et. al. 2004. "The Statistical Analysis of Roll Call Data." *American Political Science Review* 98(2): 355-370.
- Tausanovitch, Chris, and Christopher Warshaw. 2013. "Measuring Constituent Preferences In Congress, State Legislatures, and Cities." *Journal of Politics* 75(2): 330-342.
- Barberá, Pablo. 2015. "Birds of the Same Feather Tweet Together: Bayesian Ideal Point Estimation Using Twitter Data." *Political Analysis* 23:76-91.
- Caughey, Devin, and Eric Schickler. 2016. "Substance and Change in Congressional Ideology: NOMINATE and Its Alternatives." *Studies in American Political Development* 30(2): 128-46.
- Handan-Nader, Cassandra. 2023. "A Classification Approach to Measuring Partisan Polarization in Congress." Typescript, Stanford University.

- Bonica, Adam. 2014. "Mapping the Ideological Marketplace." *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(2): 367–386.

Week 4. September 24, 2024 Legislative Institutions

- Gehlbach, Scott, 2013. *Formal Models of Domestic Politics*, Chapter 4 ("Veto Players").
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1998. *Pivotal Politics*, chapter 1-2.
- Thieme, Sebastian. 2020. "A Direct Test of Legislative Gatekeeping." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 46(4): 855-888.
- Lee, Frances E. 2016. *Insecure Majorities*. Skim pp. 170-179.

Additional Readings

Classics

- Wilson, Woodrow. 1887. *Congressional Government*.
- Fenno, Richard. 1973. *Congressmen in Committees*.
- Mayhew, David R. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*.
- Arnold, R. Douglas. 1990. *The Logic of Congressional Action*.

Foundational Work on Legislative Organization

- Rosenthal, Howard. 1990. "The Setter Model." In *Advances in the Spatial Theory of Voting*, James M. Enelow and Melvin J. Hinich, eds.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A., and Barry R. Weingast. 1987. "The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power." *American Political Science Review* 81(1): 85-104.
- Baron, David P., and John A. Ferejohn. 1989. "Bargaining in Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 83(4): 1181-1206.
- Gilligan, Thomas W., and Keith Krehbiel. 1990. "Organization of Informative Committees by a Rational Legislature." *American Journal of Political Science* 34(2): 531-564.
- Weingast, Barry R. and William J. Marshall. 1988. "The Industrial Organization of Congress; or, Why Legislatures, Like Firms, Are Not Organized as Markets." *Journal of Political Economy* 96(1): 132-163.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1991. *Information and Legislative Organization*.
- Cox, Gary W. and Mathew M. McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*.
- Cox, Gary W., and Mathew M. McCubbins. 2005. *Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives*.
- Binder, Sarah A. 1997. *Minority Rights, Majority Rule*.
- Binder, Sarah A. 1999. "The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-1996." *American Political Science Review* 93(3): 519-533.
- Groseclose, Tim, and Nolan McCarty. 2001. "The Politics of Blame: Bargaining Before an Audience." *American Journal of Political Science* 45(1): 100-119.
- Schickler, Eric. 2001. *Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress*.

- Cameron, Charles M. 2000. *Veto Bargaining: Presidents and the Politics of Negative Power*.

Week 5. October 1, 2024 Elections and Politicians' Behavior

- Anzia, Sarah F., and Christopher R. Berry. 2011. "The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson Effect: Why do Congresswomen Outperform Congressmen?" *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3): 478-493.
- Fournaies, Alexander and Andrew B. Hall. 2022. "How Do Electoral Incentives Affect Legislator Behavior? Evidence from U.S. State Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 116(2): 662-76.
- Gordon, Sanford C., and Sidak Yntiso. 2022. "Incentive Effects of Recall Elections: Evidence from Criminal Sentencing in California Courts." *Journal of Politics* 84(4).

Additional Readings

Candidate Selection and the Decision to Run: Classics and Other Work of Note

- Jacobson, Gary C., and Samuel Kernell. 1983. *Strategy and Choice in Congressional Elections*.
- Fowler, Linda, and Robert McLure. 1990. *Political Ambition: Who Decides to Run for Congress*.
- Stone, Walter J., and Sandy Maisel. 2003. "The Not-So-Simple Calculus of Winning: Potential U.S. House Candidates' Nomination and General Election Chances." *Journal of Politics* 65(4): 951-977.
- Thomsen, Danielle M. 2014. "Ideological Moderates Won't Run: How Party Fit Matters for Partisan Polarization in Congress." *Journal of Politics* 76(3): 786-797.
- Teele, Dawn, et. al. 2018. "The Ties that Double Bind: Social Roles and Women's Underrepresentation in Politics." *American Political Science Review* 112(3): 525-541.
- Carnes, Nicholas. 2018. *The Cash Ceiling: Why Only the Rich Run for Office – and What We Can Do About It*.
- Hall, Andrew B. 2019. *Who Wants to Run? How the Devaluing of Political Office Drives Polarization*.
- Hall, Andrew B. 2015. "What Happens when Extremists Win Primaries?" *American Political Science Review* 109(1): 18-42.

Theoretical Work on Endogenous Candidate Entry

- Banks, Jeffrey S., and D. Roderick Kiewiet. 1989. "Explaining Patterns of Candidate Competition in Congressional Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 33(4): 997-1015.
- Osborne, Martin J., and Al Slivinski. 1996. "A model of political competition with citizen-candidates." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 111(1): 65-96.
- Gordon, Sanford C., et. al. 2007. "Challenger Entry and Voter Learning." *American Political Science Review* 101(2): 303-320.
- Gordon, Sanford C., and Dimitri Landa. 2009. "Do The Advantages of Incumbency Advantage Incumbents?" *Journal of Politics* 71(4): 1481-1498.

- Ashworth, Scott, et. al. 2024. “Modeling Theories of Women’s Underrepresentation in Elections.” *American Journal of Political Science* 68(1): 289-303.

Electoral Incentives and Accountability: Broad Overview

- Ashworth, Scott. 2012. “Electoral Accountability: Recent Theoretical and Empirical Work.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 15:183-201.

Electoral Incentives and Accountability: Theory

- Ferejohn, John. 1986. “Incumbent Performance and Electoral Control.” *Public Choice* 50(1/3) 5-26..
- Banks, Jeffrey S., and Rangarajan K. Sundaram. 1993. “Optimal Retention in Agency Problems.” *Journal of Economic Theory* 82(2): 293-323.
- Persson, Torsten, et. al. 1997. “Separation of Powers and Political Accountability.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112(4): 1163-1202.
- Fearon, James. 1999. “Electoral Accountability and the Control of Politicians.” In Manin, Bernard, et. al., *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*.
- Canes-Wrone, Brandice, et. al. 2001. “Leadership and Pandering: A Theory of Executive Policymaking.” *American Journal of Political Science* 45(3): 532-550.
- Maskin, Eric, and Jean Tirole. 2004. “The Politician and the Judge: Accountability in Government.” *American Economic Review* 94(4): 1034-1054.
- Fox, Justin, and Shotts, Kenneth W. 2009. Delegates or Trustees? A Theory of Political Accountability. *Journal of Politics* 71(4): 1225–1237.
- Gailmard, Sean. 2014. “Accountability and Principal-Agent Theory.” In Bovens, Mark, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Public Accountability*.
- Cameron, Charles M., and Sanford C. Gordon. 2023. “Fire Alarms and Democratic Accountability.” In Cameron, Charles, et. al., eds., *Accountability Reconsidered: Voters, Interests, and Information in US Policymaking*.

Electoral Incentives and Accountability: Empirical Studies of Note

- Canes-Wrone, Brandice, et. al. 2002. “Out of Step, Out of Office: Electoral Accountability and House Members’ Voting.” *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 127-140.
- Gordon, Sanford C., and Gregory A. Huber. 2007. “The Effect of Electoral Competitiveness on Incumbent Behavior.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 2(2): 107–138.
- Snyder, James M., and David Strömberg. 2010. “Press Coverage and Political Accountability.” *Journal of Political Economy* 118(2): 355-408.
- Ferraz, Claudio, and Frederico Finan. 2011. “Electoral Accountability and Corruption: Evidence from the Audits of Local Governments.” *American Economic Review* 101(4): 1274-1311.
- Clinton, Joshua D., et. al. 2023. “The Importance of Issue Representation in a Polarized Congress.” In Cameron, Charles, et. al., eds., *Accountability Reconsidered: Voters, Interests, and Information in US Policymaking*.

- Alt, James, Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, and Shanna Rose. 2011. “Disentangling Accountability and Competence in Elections: Evidence from U.S. Term Limits.” *Journal of Politics* 73(1): 171-186.

Week 6. October 8, 2024 Executive Branch Politics: Delegation, Politicization, and Autonomy

- Gailmard, Sean, and John Patty. 2006. “Slackers and Zealots: Civil Service, Policy Discretion, and Bureaucratic Expertise.” *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 873-889.
- Gordon, Sanford C. 2011. “Politicizing Agency Spending Authority: Lessons from a Bush Era Scandal.” *American Political Science Review* 105(4): 717-734.
- Kinane, Christina. 2021. “Control without Confirmation: The Politics of Vacancies in Presidential Appointments.” *American Political Science Review*, 115(2), 599-614.
- Kaufman, Aaron R., and Jon C. Rogowski. 2024. “Divided Government, Strategic Substitution, and Presidential Unilateralism.” *American Journal of Political Science* 68(2): 816-831.

Additional Readings

Works of Note (Mostly Bureaucracy, not Presidency)

- Arnold, R. Douglas. 1979. *Congress and the Bureaucracy: A Theory of Influence*
- Skowronek, Stephen. 1982. *Building a New American State*.
- Weingast, Barry R., and Mark J. Moran. 1983. “Bureaucratic Discretion or Congressional Control? Regulatory Policymaking by the Federal Trade Commission.” *Journal of Political Economy* 91(5): 765-800.
- Moe, T. 1985. “Control and Feedback in Economic Regulation: The Case of the NLRB.” *American Political Science Review* 79(4): 1094–1116.
- McCubbins, Mathew D., et al. (“McNollGast”). 1987. “Administrative Procedures as Instruments of Political Control.” *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organizations* 3(2): 243-277.
- Wilson, James Q. 1989. *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why they Do It*.
- Moe, Terry M. 1989. “The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure.” In Chubb, John E. and Paul E. Peterson, eds., *Can the Government Govern?*
- Johnson, Ronald, and Gary Libecap. 1994. *The Federal Civil Service System and the Problem of Bureaucracy*.
- Carpenter, Daniel P. 2001. *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy*.
- Huber, John D. and Charles R. Shipan. 2002. *Deliberate Discretion? The Institutional Foundations of Bureaucratic Autonomy*.
- Lewis, David E. 2008. *The Politics of Presidential Appointments: Political Control and Bureaucratic Performance*.
- Carpenter, Daniel P. 2010. *Reputation and Power: Organizational Image and Pharmaceutical Regulation at the FDA*.

- Potter, Rachel Augustine. 2019. *Bending the Rules: Procedural Politicking in the Bureaucracy*.
- Howell, William G. 2003. *Power without Persuasion*.

Theory

- Niskanen, William. 1971. *Bureaucracy and Representative Government*.
- McCubbins, Mathew D., and Thomas Schwarz. 1984. "Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols versus Fire Alarms." *American Journal of Political Science* 28(1): 165-179.
- Holmström, Bengt, and Paul Milgrom. 1991. "Multitask Principal Agent Analyses: Incentive Contracts, Asset Ownership, and Job Design." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 7(special issue): 24-52.
- Aghion, Philippe, and Jean Tirole. 1997. "Formal and Real Authority in Organizations." *Journal of Political Economy* 105(1): 1-29.
- Prendergast, Canice. 2003. "The Limits of Bureaucratic Efficiency." *Journal of Political Economy*, 111: 929–58.
- Ting, Michael M. 2003. "A Strategic Theory of Bureaucratic Redundancy." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 274-292.
- Bendor, Jonathan, and Adam Meirowitz. 2004. "Spatial Models of Delegation." *American Political Science Review* 98(2): 293-310.

Week 7. October 15, 2024

Legislative Monday – Class Will Not Meet

Week 8. October 22, 2024 U.S. Racial Politics and Black Political Behavior

- Schickler, Eric. 2016. *Racial Realignment: The Transformation of American Liberalism, 1932-1965*. Chs. 1, 4, 5, 6
- Dawson, Michael. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Chs. 1, 4, 6, 9.
- Ismail K. White and Chryl Nicole Laird. 2020. *Steadfast Democrats: How Social Forces Shape Black Political Behavior*. Introduction, Chs. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8.

Additional Readings

- Du Bois, W. E. B. 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk*.
- DuBois, W.E.B. 1935. *Black Reconstruction*.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. 1944. *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*.
- Key, V.O. 1949. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*.
- McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*.
- Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*.
- Chong, Dennis. 1991. *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*.

- Tate, Katherine. 1993. *From Protest to Politics: The New Black Voters in United States Elections*.
- Gilens, Martin. 1999. *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Anti-Poverty Policy*.
- Gay, Claudine. 2001. "The Effect of Black Congressional Representation on Political Participation." *American Political Science Review*.
- Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*.
- Hutchings, Vincent and Nicholas Valentino. 2004. "The Centrality of Race in American Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science*.
- Katznelson, Ira. 2005. *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in America*.
- Frymer, Paul. 2008. *Black and Blue: African Americans, the Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party*.
- Hutchings, Vincent. 2009. "Change or More of The Same? Evaluating Racial Attitudes in the Obama Era." *Public Opinion Quarterly*.
- Frymer, Paul. 2010. *Uneasy Alliances: Race and Party Competition in America*.
- Gay, Claudine, Jennifer Hochschild, and Ariel White. 2016. "Americans' Belief in Linked Fate: Does the Measure Capture the Concept?" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 1 (1): 117-144.
- Tesler, Michael. 2016. *Post-Racial or Most-Racial? Race and Politics in the Obama Era*.
- Abrajano, Marisa, and Zoltan L. Hajnal. 2017. *White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics*.
- Philpot, Tasha S. 2017. *Conservative but Not Republican: The Paradox of Party Identification and Ideology among African Americans*.
- Sides, John, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2019. *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America*.
- Jardina, Ashley. 2019. *White Identity Politics*.
- Keele, Luke, et. al. 2021. "Suppressing Black Votes: A Historical Case Study of Voter Restrictions in Louisiana." *American Political Science Review* 115(2): 694-700.

Week 9. October 29, 2024 Nationalization in a Federal System

- Hopkins, Daniel J. 2018. *The Increasingly United States*, chs. 3-4.
- Grumbach, Jake. 2022. *Laboratories Against Democracy: How National Parties Transformed State Politics*, chs. 6-7.
- Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2017. "The Decline of Local News and its Effects: New Evidence from Longitudinal Data." *Journal of Politics* 80(1): 332-336
- Martin, Gregory J., and Joshua McCrain. 2019. "Local News and National Politics." *American Political Science Review* 113(2):372-84.

Additional Readings

On Political Tradeoffs Associated with Federalism

- Madison, James. 1787. *Federalist No. 10 and 41-46*.
- First Essay of Brutus (“To the Citizens of the State of New-York”). *New York Journal*, 18 October 1787
- Address and Reasons of Dissent of the Minority of the Convention of Pennsylvania to their Constituents. 12 December 1787.
- Riker, William H. 1964. *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance*.
- Grodzins, Morton. 1966. *The American System: A New View of Government in the United States*.
- Elazar, Daniel J. 1966. *American Federalism: A View from the States*.
- Oates, Wallace E. 1972. *Fiscal Federalism*.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*.
- Besley, Timothy, and Stephen Coate. 2003. “Centralized versus Decentralized Provision of Local Public Goods: A Political Economy Approach.” *Journal of Public Economics* 87 (12): 2611–37.
- Hafer, Catherine, and Dimitri Landa. 2007. “Public Goods in Federal Systems.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 2(3): 253-275.
- Inman, Robert P., and Daniel L. Rubinfeld. 2020. *Democratic Federalism*.
- Gordon, Sanford C., and Dimitri Landa. 2021. “National Conflict in a Federal System.” *Journal of Politics* 83(3): 961-974.

On Political Consequences of Media Consolidation

- Gentzkow, Matthew. 2006. “Television and Voter Turnout.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 121(3): 931-972.
- DellaVigna, Stefano, and Ethan Kaplan. 2007. “The Fox News Effect: Media Bias and Voting.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 122(3): 1187-1234.
- Prior, Markus. 2007. *Post-Broadcast Democracy: How Media Choice Increases Inequality in Political Involvement and Polarizes Elections*.
- Clinton, Joshua D., and Ted Enamorado. 2014. “The National News Media’s Effect on Congress.” *Journal of Politics* 76(4): 928-943.
- Moskowitz, Daniel. J. 2021. “Local News, Information, and the Nationalization of U.S. Elections.” *American Political Science Review* 115(1):114-129.

Week 10. November 5, 2024

Election Day – Class Will Not Meet

Week 11. November 12, 2024 Private Influence in Public Policy

- Blanes I Vidal, Jordi, Mirko Draca, and Christian Fons-Rosen. 2012. “Revolving Door Lobbyists.” *American Economic Review* 102: 3731-3748.
- Bertrand, Marianne, et. al. 2020. “Tax-Exempt Lobbying: Corporate Philanthropy as a Tool for Political Influence” *American Economic Review* 110(7): 2065-2102.
- Hirsch, Alexander V., et. al. 2023. “Lobbyists as Gatekeepers: Theory and Evidence” *Journal of Politics* 85(2): 731-748.

Additional Readings

Classics and Other Works of Note

- Schattschneider, E.E. 1935. Politics, Pressure, and the Tariff
- Dahl, Robert. 1960. *Who Governs?*
- Schattschneider, E.E. 1960. *The Semisovereign People.*
- Bauer, Raymond A., et. al. 1963. American Business and Public Policy: The Politics of Foreign Trade.
- Olson, Mancur. 1965. The Logic of Collective Action.
- Stigler, George J. 1971. "The Theory of Economic Regulation." *Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science* 2(1): 3-21.
- Wilson, James Q. 1973. *Political Organizations.*
- Grossman, Gene, and Elhanan Helpman. 2001. *Special Interest Politics.*
- Hall, Richard L., and Alan V. Deardorff. 2006. "Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy." *American Political Science Review* 100(1) 69–84.
- Gilens, Martin. *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America.*
- Bertrand, Marianne, et. al. 2014. "Is it Whom You Know or What You Know? An Empirical Assessment of the Lobbying Process." *American Economic Review* 104(12): 3885-3920.
- Mian, Atif, et. al. 2010. "The Political Economy of the US Mortgage Default Crisis." *American Economic Review* 100(5): 1967-1998.
- Carpenter, Daniel P., and David A. 2013. *Preventing Regulatory Capture: Special Interest Influence and How to Limit It.*
- Kalla, Joshua L., and David E. Broockman. 2016. "Campaign Contributions Facilitate Access to Congressional Officials: A Randomized Field Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(3): 545–58.

Week 12. November 19, 2024 Voters: Preferences and Competence

- Lenz, Gabriel. 2009. "Learning and Opinion Change, Not Priming: Reconsidering the Priming Hypothesis." *American Journal of Political Science.*
- Tesler, Michael. 2015. "Priming predispositions and changing policy positions: An account of when mass opinion is primed or changed." *American Journal of Political Science.*
- Egan, Patrick J., and Megan Mullin. 2012. "Turning Personal Experience into Political Attitudes: The Effect of Local Weather on Americans' Perceptions about Global Warming." *Journal of Politics.*
- Fowler, Anthony, et. al. 2023. "Moderates." *American Political Science Review* 117(2): 643-660.

Additional Readings

- Lippmann, Walter. 1922. *Public Opinion.*

- Blumer, Herbert. 1948. "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling." *American Sociological Review*.
- Key, V.O. 1961. *Public Opinion and American Democracy*.
- Converse, Philip. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In David Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent*.
- Zaller, John R. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*.
- Page, Benjamin, and Robert Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public*.
- Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections." *American Political Science Review*.
- Berinsky, Adam. 1999. "The Two Faces of Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Ansolabehere, Steven, et. al. 2008. "The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 102(2): 215-232.
- Bullock, John. 2011. "Elite Influence on Public Opinion in an Informed Electorate." *American Political Science Review*.
- Barber, Michael and Jeremy C. Pope. 2019. "Does Party Trump Ideology? Disentangling Party and Ideology in America." *American Political Science Review*.
- Peterson, Erik and Shanto Iyengar. 2021. "Partisan Gaps in Political Information and Information-Seeking Behavior: Motivated Reasoning or Cheerleading?" *AJPS*.

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