

# American Political Development

MIT | 17.270 | Spring 2022 | Tue 11:00–1:00 | [E53-438](#)

Course site: <https://canvas.mit.edu/courses/12870>

Professor Devin Caughey  
[caughey@mit.edu](mailto:caughey@mit.edu) | E53-463

## Course Description

This course examines the development of American politics over time. Not surprisingly, it focuses primarily on scholarship in the American political development (APD) subfield of American politics, but it also draws from work in comparative politics, American political and legal history, economic history, and historical sociology. The course is organized roughly chronologically, though each week tends to focus on a specific substantive theme. Recurring topics include state building, political culture, race, political economy, social movements, and political geography. Students will have a choice of a take-home final exam or a capstone research paper.

## Required Texts

Nearly all of the readings are available to MIT students online or are short enough to scan and disseminate as PDFs. In the course schedule below, these readings are indicated with WEB or PDF. All PDFs will be posted on the [course website](#). There is, however, one book that you should either purchase or borrow from a library:

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

NB: There are several important APD works I have *not* assigned because I assume you will read them in other courses, notably Skowronek's *The Politics Presidents Make* and Carpenter's *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy*. If you haven't read them, you should.

## Expectations

The most important purpose of this course is absorbing and engaging with the assigned readings. APD is a book-oriented field, but where possible I have assigned an article or chapter that summarizes arguments the author makes at greater length elsewhere. Given the vastness of the intellectual terrain the course covers, however, the reading load is inevitably heavy—close to 300 pages in the typical week. I nevertheless expect you to read the assigned texts closely and come to class prepared to discuss them. That said, from my own experience I know that encountering APD for the first time can be an overwhelming and/or baffling experience, and that inevitably many students will be unfamiliar with relevant historical facts and scholarly debates. The session-specific overviews in the course schedule below should help orient you, but there is no evading the difficulty of many of the readings, and if despite a good-faith effort you are having trouble, I will be understanding. If you need primer on the basic facts of a particular period, I would suggest perusing the corresponding volume of the *The Oxford History of the United States*.

## Assignments

Attendance and participation in class discussions constitute 20% of your grade. For the remaining 80%, you have a choice between two options:

- A. For **six** class meetings of your choice, write a short response paper (about 800–1000 words) engaging with a selection of that session’s assigned readings. The response paper should be submitted on the course Canvas site 24 hours before class (i.e., Monday at 11am). Potential frames include but are not limited to:
- “The readings raised the following new question for me. . . .”
  - “Here is where this literature ought to go. . . .”
  - “One way to synthesize the arguments in these different articles is. . . .”

Each paper is worth 10% of your course grade. A take-home final exam constitutes the remaining 20%.

- B. Complete a stand-alone research paper that addresses a topic in American political development. Permission from the instructor is required to undertake this option (this permission should be sought by week 4). A detailed outline (worth 10% of course grade) is due by week 9; the paper itself (40%) is due at the end of the semester. Students taking this option must also complete **three** of the short response papers (10% each) described in option A but do not have to take the final exam.

## Semester Overview

1 February 1: What Is American Political Development?

2 February 8: The American Political Tradition

3 February 15: The Early American State

February 22: NO CLASS (President's Day)

4 March 1: Antebellum Democratization

5 March 8: Race, Slavery, and Settler Republicanism

6 March 15: Civil War, Reconstruction, and Redemption

March 22: NO CLASS (Spring Break)

7 March 29: Gilded-Age Political Economy

8 April 5: Progressive State-Building and Reform

9 April 12: Development of the Welfare State

10 April 19: Civil Rights and the Second Reconstruction

11 April 26: The New Deal Constitutional Revolution and its Aftermath

12 May 3: Cities, States, and Intergovernmental Relations

13 May 10: Political Economy since the New Deal

# Course Schedule

## 1 February 1: What Is American Political Development?

In this first session, we explore the definition of “American political development,” both as a subject of study and as a subfield of political science. Issues examined by the readings include the intellectual origins of the APD subfield, its distinctive theoretical and substantive concerns, its relationships with the fields of comparative and (contemporary) American politics, and its compatibility with various methodological approaches. Several of the readings are drawn from *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development* and from a special issue of the journal *Public Choice* titled “Causal Inference and American Political Development,” both of which are worth perusing in full.

### Required Readings (152 pages)

- **WEB** Suzanne Mettler and Richard Valelly. 2016. “Introduction: The Distinctiveness and Necessity of American Political Development.” In *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*, edited by Richard Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, and Robert C. Lieberman. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199697915.013.21>
- **PDF** Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek. 2002. “The Study of American Political Development.” In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, edited by Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, 722–754. New York: Norton
- **PDF** Robert C. Lieberman. 2002. “Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change.” *American Political Science Review* 96 (4): 697–712
- **WEB** Theda Skocpol. 2016. “Analyzing American Political Development as It Happens.” In *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*, edited by Richard Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, and Robert C. Lieberman. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199697915.013.22>
- **WEB** Kimberly J. Morgan. 2016. “Comparative Politics and American Political Development.” In *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*, edited by Richard Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, and Robert C. Lieberman. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199697915.013.25>
- **PDF** Sanford C. Gordon and Hannah K. Simpson. 2020. “Causes, Theories, and the Past in Political Science.” In “Causal Inference and American Political Development,” edited by Jeffery A. Jenkins, Nolan McCarty, and Charles Stewart III. Special issue, *Public Choice* 185 (3–4): 315–333

- [PDF](#) Daniel J. Galvin. 2020. “Let’s Not Conflate APD with Political History, and Other Reflections on ‘Causal Inference and American Political Development.’” In “Causal Inference and American Political Development,” edited by Jeffery A. Jenkins, Nolan McCarty, and Charles Stewart III. Special issue, *Public Choice*, nos. 3–4, 485–500

## Suggested Readings

- John Gerring. 2003. “APD from a Methodological Point of View.” *Studies in American Political Development* 17 (1): 82–102
- Brian J. Glenn. 2004. “The Two Schools of American Political Development.” *Political Studies Review* 2 (2): 153–165
- Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek. 2004. *The Search for American Political Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Paul Pierson. 2004. *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Adam Sheingate. 2014. “Institutional Dynamics and American Political Development.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 17:461–477
- James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, eds. 2015. *Advances in Comparative-Historical Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Richard Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, and Robert C. Lieberman, eds. 2016. *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199697915.001.0001>
- Jeffery A. Jenkins, Nolan McCarty, and Charles Stewart III, eds. 2020. “Causal Inference and American Political Development.” Special issue, *Public Choice* 185 (3–4)

## 2 February 8: The American Political Tradition

Much APD work can be categorized into one of two major “schools,” which I’ll label *cultural* and *institutional*. This week focuses on the cultural school, which emphasizes how ideas, norms, and values shape American politics. Much of the work in this vein is a direct or indirect reaction to Louis Hartz’s controversial but unavoidable 1955 book *The Liberal Tradition in America*. Building on Alexis de Tocqueville, Hartz argued that Lockean (i.e., classical) liberalism dominates American political culture, to the exclusion of alternative ideologies on both the left and the right. Other scholars, such as the historian Gordon Wood and the political scientists Rogers Smith and James Morone, have called attention

to the importance of other ideological traditions, such as civic republicanism, ascriptive hierarchy, and puritanical moralism. Carol Nackenoff offers a more qualified critique of Hartz, while Stephen Skowronek emphasizes the creative recombination of seemingly incongruous elements of the American political tradition. All, however, take seriously the causal power of ideas and other aspects of political culture.

### Required Readings (215 pages)

- [PDF](#) Louis Hartz. 1955. *The Liberal Tradition in America*. New York: Harcourt-Brace, 3–32 (chap. 1)
- [PDF](#) Gordon S. Wood. 1984. “The Intellectual Origins of the American Constitution.” *National Forum*, no. 64, 5–8, 13
- [PDF](#) Rogers M. Smith. 1993. “Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America.” *American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 549–566
- [PDF](#) James A. Morone. 2003. *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1–116 (Introduction and chap. 1–3)
- [PDF](#) Carol Nackenoff. 2010. “The Case against Arrested Development: Hartz’s Liberal Tradition in America Revisited.” Chap. 8 in *The American Liberal Tradition Reconsidered: The Contested Legacy of Louis Hartz*, edited by Mark Hulliung, 237–265. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas
- [PDF](#) Stephen Skowronek. 2006. “The Reassociation of Ideas and Purposes: Racism, Liberalism, and the American Political Tradition.” *American Political Science Review* 100 (3): 385–401

### Suggested Readings

- Alexis de Tocqueville. 1999. *Democracy in America*. Translated by Henry Reeve. Project Gutenberg
- Daniel T. Rodgers. 1992. “Republicanism: The Career of a Concept.” *Journal of American History* 79 (1): 11–38
- Michael Kazin. 1998. *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. Revised edition. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press
- James T. Kloppenberg. 2010. “Requiescat in Pacem: The Liberal Tradition of Louis Hartz.” Chap. 3 in *The American Liberal Tradition Reconsidered: The Contested Legacy of Louis Hartz*, edited by Mark Hulliung, 90–124. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas

- Mary Fainsod Katzenstein, Leila Mohsen Ibrahim, and Katherine D. Rubin. 2010. “The Dark Side of American Liberalism and Felony Disenfranchisement.” *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (4): 1035–1054
- Elisabeth S. Clemens. 2020. *Civic Gifts: Voluntarism and the Making of the American Nation-State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

### 3 February 15: The Early American State

Perhaps the quintessential concern of APD is the distinctive structure and development of the American state. Earlier scholars of political development, such as Samuel Huntington, stressed the American state’s weakness and “antiqueness” relative to both the Weberian ideal type and actual modern European states. Martin Shefter, one of the subfield’s intellectual grandparents, attributed the United States’ lack of an autonomous bureaucracy to the relative timing of democratization and state-building, a classic example of the sort of sequencing-based argument characteristic of historical institutionalism. Stephen Skowronek’s *Building a New American State*, arguably APD’s ur-work, provides a much more detailed account of the transformation of the American state between the late-19th and early-20th centuries. The chapters assigned this session sketch his argument and describe the 19th-century “state of courts and parties”; the rest of the narrative is covered in a later session. Karen Orren, another founder of the subfield, focuses on the courts side of the 19th-century state in her account of the persistence of “feudal” labor law in the putatively liberal United States. The legal historian William Novak reviews the rich literature in recent decades that rebuts the weakness of the 19th-century American state. Finally, Jonathan Obert highlights the co-evolution of state and non-state violence in 19th-century America.

#### Required Readings (290 pages)

- [PDF](#) Samuel P. Huntington. 1966. “Political Modernization: America vs. Europe.” *World Politics* 18 (3): 378–414
- [PDF](#) Martin Shefter. 1994. “Party, Bureaucracy, and Political Change in the United States.” Chap. 3 in *Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience*, 61–81. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Reprint of “Party, Bureaucracy, and Political Change in the United States.” *Sage Electoral Studies Yearbook* 4 (1978): 211–266
- [PDF](#) Stephen Skowronek. 1982. *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 3–35 (chap. 1–2).

- [PDF](#) Karen Orren. 1991. *Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development in the United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1–28 (chap. 1) and 68–117 (chap. 3)
- [PDF](#) William J. Novak. 2008. “The Myth of the ‘Weak’ American State.” *American Historical Review* 113 (3): 752–772
- [PDF](#) Jonathan Obert. 2018. *The Six-Shooter State: Public and Private Violence in American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1–62 (chap. 1–2) and 100–137 (chap. 4)

### Suggested Readings

- William J. Novak. 1996. *The People’s Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press
- Ira Katzneson. 2002. “Flexible Capacity: The Military and Early American State-building.” In *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development*, edited by Ira Katzneson and Martin Shefter. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Brian Balogh. 2009. *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth-Century America*. Cambridge University Press
- Gary Gerstle. 2015. *Liberty and Coercion: The Paradox of American Government from the Founding to the Present*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Max M. Edling. 2018. “Peace Pact and Nation: An International Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States.” *Past & Present* 240 (1): 267–303

## February 22: NO CLASS (President’s Day)

### 4 March 1: Antebellum Democratization

Over its first half-century of existence, the United States became much more democratic in many respects. Walter Dean Burnham, in the course of articulating his sweeping “realignment synthesis” of American politics, describes the halting emergence of a stable system of two mass-based parties—a development that provoked much contestation and consternation, as Joanne Freeman chronicles in her analysis of the election of 1800. Over roughly the same period, property qualifications for suffrage were mostly abolished, extending the vote to nearly all white men. Amy Bridges argues that the conjunction of these developments led to the development of the distinctively American phenomenon of urban political machines. David Bateman problematizes this narrative of democratization by showing the



close connection between franchise expansion for some citizens and the political exclusion of others, such as free Blacks. Maggie Blackhawk et al. argue, however, that voting was not the only means of political voice, and that petitioning provided a mechanism by which women, Native Americans, and other disenfranchised group could press their interests.

### Required Readings (299 pages)

- [PDF](#) Walter Dean Burnham. 1967. “Party Systems and the Political Process.” In *The American Party Systems: Stages of Political Development*, edited by W. N. Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham, 277–307. New York: Oxford University Press
- [PDF](#) Joanne B. Freeman. 1999. “The Election of 1800: A Study in the Logic of Political Change.” *Yale Law Journal* 108:1959–1994
- [PDF](#) Alexander Keyssar. 2000. *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*. New York: Basic Books, 1–42 (chap. 1–2)
- [PDF](#) Amy Bridges. 1988. “Rethinking the Origins of Machine Politics.” In *Power, Culture and Place: Essays on New York City*, edited by John Hull Mollenkopf, 53–74. Russell Sage Foundation
- [PDF](#) David A. Bateman. 2018. *Disenfranchising Democracy: Constructing the Electorate in the United States, the United Kingdom, and France*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1–135 (chap. 1–3)
- [PDF](#) Maggie Blackhawk et al. 2021. “Congressional Representation by Petition: Assessing the Voices of the Voteless in a Comprehensive New Database, 1789–1949.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 46 (3): 817–849

### Suggested Readings

- Richard L. McCormick. 1988. *Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Sean Wilentz. 2005. *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln*. New York: W. W. Norton
- Daniel Carpenter. 2021. *Democracy by Petition: Popular Politics in Transformation, 1790–1870*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

## 5 March 8: Race, Slavery, and Settler Republicanism

As Desmond King and Rogers Smith argue, scholars of APD have often failed to take full account of the fundamental role of race in American politics. In this session we read several

accounts that do place race front and center, focusing particularly on the enslavement of Blacks and the subjugation and removal of American Indians. Anthony Marx compares the linked processes of race-making and state formation in the United States with parallel developments in Brazil and South Africa. The historian Robin Einhorn examines slavery's effect on the American tax system, and Paul Frymer considers the complex influences of racial hierarchy and state capacity on US territorial expansion.

### Required Readings (285 pages)

- [PDF](#) Desmond S. King and Rogers M. Smith. 2005. "Racial Orders in American Political Development." *American Political Science Review* 99 (1): 75–92
- [PDF](#) Anthony W. Marx. 1996. "Race-Making and the Nation-State." *World Politics* 48 (2): 180–208
- [PDF](#) Robin L. Einhorn. 2000. "Slavery and the Politics of Taxation in the Early United States." *Studies in American Political Development* 14 (2): 156–183
- [PDF](#) Paul Frymer. 2017. *Building an American Empire: The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1–219 (chap. 1–5)

### Suggested Readings

- Anthony W. Marx. 1998. *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Barry R. Weingast. 1998. "Political Stability and Civil War: Institutions, Commitment, and American Democracy." Chap. 4 in *Analytic Narratives*, edited by Robert H. Bates et al., 148–193. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Don E. Fehrenbacher. 2001. *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery*. Completed and edited by Ward M. McAfee. New York: Oxford University Press
- Robin L. Einhorn. 2006. *American Taxation, American Slavery*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Pekka Hämmäläinen. 2008. *The Comanche Empire*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Bethel Saler. 2015. *The Settlers' Empire: Colonialism and State Formation in America's Old Northwest*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press
- Matthew Karp. 2016. *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

- David F. Ericson. 2017. “The United States Military, State Development, and Slavery in the Early Republic.” *Studies in American Political Development* 31 (1): 130–148

## 6 March 15: Civil War, Reconstruction, and Redemption

This week covers the transformative period from the outbreak of the Civil War, through abolition and postwar efforts to “reconstruct” the South, and finally to conservative Southern whites’ successful campaign to reassert control over (“redeem”) the region. Richard Bensel contrasts state-building in the Union and Confederacy, emphasizing the Union’s fusion of state and (Republican) party and its close alliance with Northern financiers and industrialists. Richard Valelly compares the first (19th-century) Reconstruction with the second (20th-century) one, explaining the ultimate failure of the former with reference to the challenges posed by “crash” party building, economic crisis, Democratic violence, and judicial resistance. Luke Keele et al. document the aftermath of the end of Reconstruction with a quantitative case study of disenfranchisement in Louisiana. Finally, Avidit Acharya et al. examine the long-run legacies of slavery and Reconstruction on contemporary racial attitudes, an analysis critiqued by David Bateman and Eric Schickler.

### Required Readings (229 pages)

- [PDF](#) Richard Bensel. 1990. *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859–1877*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1–17 (chap. 1)
- [PDF](#) Richard M. Valelly. 2004. *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1–148 (chap. 1–6)
- [PDF](#) Luke Keele, William Cubbinson, and Ismail White. 2021. “Suppressing Black Votes: A Historical Case Study of Voting Restrictions in Louisiana.” *American Political Science Review* 115 (2): 694–700
- [PDF](#) Avidit Acharya, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. 2016. “The Political Legacy of American Slavery.” *Journal of Politics* 78 (3): 621–641. <https://doi.org/10.1086/686631>
- [PDF](#) David Bateman and Eric Schickler. 2021. “Deeper Roots: Historical Causal Inference and the Political Legacy of Slavery.” Unpublished manuscript, June 1, 2021

### Suggested Readings

- Jeffery A. Jenkins. 1999. “Why No Parties?: Investigating the Disappearance of Democrat-Whig Divisions in the Confederacy.” *Studies in American Political Development* 13 (2): 245–262

- Richard Bense. 2000. “Rejoinder to ‘Why No Parties?: Investigating the Disappearance of Democrat-Whig Divisions in the Confederacy’.” *Studies in American Political Development* 13 (2): 263–278
- J. Morgan Kousser. 1974. *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Eric Foner. 2015. *A Short History of Reconstruction*. Updated edition. New York: Harper Perennial
- Gregory P. Downs. 2012. “The Mexicanization of American Politics: The United States’ Transnational Path from Civil War to Stabilization.” *The American Historical Review* 117 (2): 387–409
- Edward L. Gibson. 2012. *Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Federal Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 35–71 (chap. 3)
- David Bateman, Ira Katznelson, and John Lapinski. 2018. *Southern Nation: Congress and White Supremacy After Reconstruction*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Avidit Acharya, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. 2018. *Deep Roots: How Slavery Still Shapes Southern Politics*. 2018: Princeton University Press
- Michael Weaver. 2019. “‘Judge Lynch’ in the Court of Public Opinion: Publicity and the De-legitimation of Lynching.” *American Political Science Review* 113 (2): 293–310

## March 22: NO CLASS (Spring Break)

### 7 March 29: Gilded-Age Political Economy

As Richard Bense notes, the process of industrialization has been traumatic in all societies, and the United States is unusual for having passed through this transition while (arguably) remaining an electoral democracy. How was this achieved, and what role did the American state play in the process? We begin by with another selection from Skowronek’s *Building a New American State*, in which he summarizes the “state building as patchwork” that occurred over the last quarter of the 19th century. We then read Charles Stewart and Barry Weingast’s rational-choice institutionalist account of statehood politics in the late 19th century, which enabled the Republican Party to hold on to a share of power for almost the entire period. Bense’s *Political Economy of American Industrialization* continues where *Yankee Leviathan* left off, explaining how the Republican-dominated federal government managed the industrial transition. Elizabeth Sanders’s *Roots of Reform* focuses more on the Democratic Party and especially on agrarian movements’ key role in spurring reforms

to regulate industrial capitalism. (The selections assigned here cover through 1896; we'll cover the following two decades new week.) Sanders also lays out the sectional framework that underlies her and Bensel's approach to political economy. We close with Dan Carpenter's unpublished summary and critique of Bensel's political economy "trilogy" (the first installment of which was Bensel's 1984 book *Sectionalism and American Political Development*).

### Required Readings (257 pages)

- [PDF](#) Stephen Skowronek. 1982. *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 39–46 (introduction to Part II).
- [PDF](#) Charles Stewart III and Barry R. Weingast. 1992. "Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation: Republican Rotten Boroughs, Statehood Politics, and American Political Development." *Studies in American Political Development* 6 (Fall): 223–271
- [PDF](#) Elizabeth Sanders. 1999. *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877–1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1–27 (chap. 1–2) and 101–72 (chap. 4–5)
- [PDF](#) Richard Franklin Bensel. 2000. *The Political Economy of American Industrialization, 1877–1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1–18 (chap. 1) and 289–354 (chap. 5)
- [PDF](#) Daniel Carpenter. n.d. "Lesson, Portraiture, Method, Myth: Richard Bensel's *The Political Economy of American Industrialization, 1877–1900*"

### Suggested Readings

- Richard Bensel. 1984. *Sectionalism and American Political Development: 1880–1980*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press
- William Cronon. 1991. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: Norton
- Charles Postel. 2007. *The Populist Vision*. New York: Oxford University Press

## 8 April 5: Progressive State-Building and Reform

This session focuses on the first two decades of the 20th century, roughly corresponding to the so-called Progressive Era. We begin with Skowronek's and Sanders's overviews of these years, followed by Kimberley Johnson's analysis of the role of cooperative federalism

in Progressive-Era state building. We then turn to historian Margot Canaday’s account of how federal bureaucrats, drawing on evolving scientific understandings and expertise, came to “see” homosexuality as a status requiring policing. The last three readings focus on social movements pushing for reform. Using the example of turn-of-the-19th-century women’s organizations, the sociologist Elisabeth Clemens offers an influential analysis of the “organizational repertoires” of social movements representing marginalized groups. Corrine McConnaughy analyzes the coalitional politics of the woman suffrage movement, and Ruth Bloch Rubin documents the institutional foundations of Progressive Republicans’ challenge to their party’s leadership in Congress.

### Required Readings (233 pages)

- [PDF](#) Stephen Skowronek. 1982. *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 165–76 (introduction to Part III)
- [PDF](#) Elizabeth Sanders. 1999. *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877–1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 173–77 (introduction to Part II)
- [WEB](#) Kimberley S. Johnson. 2009. “The First New Federalism and the Development of the Modern American State: Patchwork, Reconstitution, or Transition?” In *The Unsustainable American State*, edited by Lawrence Jacobs and Desmond King, 88–116. New York: Oxford University Press
- [PDF](#) Margot Canaday. 2009. *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1–54 (Introduction and chap. 1)
- [PDF](#) Elisabeth S. Clemens. 1993. “Organizational Repertoires and Institutional Change: Women’s Groups and the Transformation of U.S. Politics.” *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (4): 755–798
- [PDF](#) Corrine M. McConnaughy. 2013. *The Woman Suffrage Movement in America: A Reassessment*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1–18 (Introduction) and 91–136 (chap. 3)
- [PDF](#) Ruth Bloch Rubin. 2013. “Organizing for Insurgency: Intraparty Organization and the Development of the House Insurgency, 1908–1910.” *Studies in American Political Development* 27 (2): 86–110

## Suggested Readings

- Peter G. Filene. 1970. “An Obituary for ‘The Progressive Movement’.” *American Quarterly* 22 (1): 20–34
- Louis Galambos. 1970. “The Emerging Organizational Synthesis in Modern American History.” *Business History Review* 44 (3): 279–290
- Daniel T. Rodgers. 1983. “In Search of Progressivism.” *Reviews in American History* 10 (4): 113–132
- Daniel T. Rodgers. 1998. *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson. 2000. “A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States.” *American Political Science Review* 94 (3): 527–546
- Daniel P. Carpenter. 2001. *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862–1928*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Kimberley S. Johnson. 2007. *Governing the American State: Congress and the New Federalism, 1877–1929*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

## 9 April 12: Development of the Welfare State

Another classic concern of APD is the distinctiveness of the American welfare state. Theda Skocpol summarizes various perspectives on this subject before describing her own “polity-centered” approach. Suzanne Mettler and Andrew Milstein provide a different sort of overview (or “underview”) with a bottom-up perspective on the government’s evolving presence in ordinary people’s lives since the late 1800s. Most of the remaining readings focus on the New Deal and its aftermath. Ira Katznelson et al. emphasize the pivotal role of Southern Democrats in constructing and then limiting the New Deal. Robert Lieberman focuses specifically on the design of the programs created by the 1935 Social Security Act, emphasizing the crucial role of Southern racism. Taking more of a comparative perspective, Gareth Davies and Martha Derthick dispute this interpretation, giving more emphasis to non-racial factors. Eric Schickler and Devin Caughey take another bottom-up view, using early public opinion polls to chart support for New Deal liberalism over time. Jacob Hacker compares the development of the US health care system with Canada and the United Kingdom, stressing the importance of timing, sequencing, and policy feedback in explaining the three nations’ divergent outcomes. Finally, using a comparison of the United States and Sweden, Peter Swenson advances the provocative thesis that variation

in welfare-state development, over time and across countries, can be attributed largely to differences in capitalists's preferences rather than in their power.

### Required Readings (253 pages)

- [PDF](#) Theda Skocpol. 1995b. "State Formation and Social Policy in the United States." Chap. 1 in *Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective*, 11–36. Princeton University Press
- [PDF](#) Suzanne Mettler and Andrew Milstein. 2007. "American Political Development from Citizens' Perspective: Tracking Federal Government's Presence in Individual Lives over Time." *Studies in American Political Development* 21 (1): 110–130
- [PDF](#) Ira Katznelson, Kim Geiger, and Daniel Kryder. 1993. "Limiting Liberalism: The Southern Veto in Congress, 1933–1950." *Political Science Quarterly* 108 (2): 283–306
- [PDF](#) Robert C. Lieberman. 1995. "Race, Institutions, and the Administration of Social Policy." *Social Science History* 19 (4): 511–542
- [PDF](#) Gareth Davies and Martha Derthick. 1997. "Race and Social Welfare Policy: The Social Security Act of 1935." *Political Science Quarterly* 112 (2): 217–235
- [PDF](#) Eric Schickler and Devin Caughey. 2011. "Public Opinion, Organized Labor, and the Limits of New Deal Liberalism, 1936–1945." *Studies in American Political Development* 25 (2): 1–28. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0898588X11000101>
- [PDF](#) Jacob S. Hacker. 1998. "The Historical Logic of National Health Insurance: Structure and Sequence in the Development of British, Canadian, and U.S. Medical Policy." *Studies in American Political Development* 12 (1): 57–130
- [PDF](#) Peter A. Swenson. 2004. "Varieties of Capitalist Interests: Power, Institutions, and the Regulatory Welfare State in the United States and Sweden." *Studies in American Political Development* 18 (Spring): 1–29

### Suggested Readings

- Jill Quadagno. 1988. "From Old-Age Assistance to Supplemental Security Income: The Political Economy of Relief in the South, 1935–1972." In *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*, edited by Margaret Weir, Ann Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Theda Skocpol. 1995a. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press



- Suzanne Mettler. 1998. “Dividing Social Citizenship by Gender: The Implementation of Unemployment Insurance and Aid to Dependent Children, 1935–1950.” *Studies in American Political Development* 12 (2): 303–342
- Anthony J. Badger. 2002. *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933–1940*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee
- Jacob S. Hacker. 2002. *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Sean Farhang and Ira Katznelson. 2005. “The Southern Imposition: Congress and Labor in the New Deal and Fair Deal.” *Studies in American Political Development* 19 (Spring): 1–30
- Ira Katznelson. 2013. *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time*. New York: Liveright
- Cybelle Fox. 2010. “Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and Public and Private Social Welfare Spending in American Cities, 1929.” *American Journal of Sociology* 116 (2): 453–502
- Alan Jacobs. 2010. “Policymaking as Political Constraint: Institutional Development in the U.S. Social Security Program.” In *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*, edited by James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, 94–131. Cambridge University Press
- David E. Broockman. 2012. “The ‘Problem of Preferences’: Medicare and Business Support for the Welfare State.” *Studies in American Political Development* 26 (2): 83–106
- Devin Caughey. 2018. *The Unsolid South: Mass Politics and National Representation in a One-Party Enclave*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

## 10 April 19: Civil Rights and the Second Reconstruction

This week, our focus returns to the South and the struggle for Black civil rights. Robert Mickey frames the Jim Crow South as an “authoritarian enclave” analogous to those found in many nationally democratic countries and the second Reconstruction as a democratic transition for the region (and the nation). Megan Francis describes the early history of the NAACP and its experimentation with various advocacy strategies before settling on a litigation-based one. Eric Schickler shows how racial liberalism came to be aligned with economic liberalism and the Democratic Party, emphasizing the role of meso-level coalitional actors such as industrial unions. Finally, Chloe Thurston examines the burgeoning

civil rights movement’s interaction with the racially discriminatory, public–private welfare state that emerged from the New Deal.

### Required Readings (403 pages)

- [PDF](#) Robert W. Mickey. 2015. *Paths Out of Dixie: The Democratization of Authoritarian Enclaves in America’s Deep South*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 3–63 (chap. 1–2), 95–130 (chap. 4), and 259–280 (chap. 9)
- [PDF](#) Megan Ming Francis. 2014. *Civil Rights and the Making of the Modern American State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1–97 (chap. 1–3) and 127–164 (chap. 5)
- [PDF](#) Eric Schickler. 2016. *Racial Realignment: The Transformation of American Liberalism, 1932–1965*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1–26 (chap. 1), 45–97 (chap. 3–4), 150–175 (chap. 7), and 211–236 (chap. 9).
- [PDF](#) Chloe N. Thurston. 2015. “Policy Feedback in the Public–Private Welfare State: Advocacy Groups and Access to Government Homeownership Programs, 1934–1954.” *Studies in American Political Development* 29 (2): 250–267

### Suggested Readings

- Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Stephen Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder Jr. 2008. *The End of Inequality: One Person, One Vote and the Transformation of American Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton
- Richard M. Valelly. 2004. *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Anthony S. Chen. 2009. *The Fifth Freedom: Jobs, Politics, and Civil Rights in the United States, 1941–1972*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

## 11 April 26: The New Deal Constitutional Revolution and its Aftermath

The New Deal was not merely a burst of policy innovation, but also a constitutional break-point that signaled a vast expansion in Congress’s authority over matters related (even tangentially) to economics. This session explores the precursors, dimensions, and ramifications of the New Deal constitutional revolution, while also exploring more generally the

role of the judiciary in American political development. We begin with Keith Whittington's synoptic analysis of the political foundations of judicial review, which emphasizes the often-cooperative relationship between the Supreme Court and the president (building on Stephen Skowronek's *The Politics Presidents Make*). Chapter 2, "The Construction of Constitutional Regimes," examines "reconstructive" presidents, including Franklin Roosevelt during the New Deal. We then read the chapters of Karen Orren's *Belated Feudalism* that describe the breakdown and legal dismantlement of "feudal" labor law between the 1870s and 1930s. Howard Gillman focuses more squarely on the constitutional regime displaced by the New Deal, presenting a more sympathetic portrayal of the "Lochner Era" than many scholars at the time or since. Julie Novkov offers another take on the Lochner-to-New-Deal transition, emphasizing the gendered dimensions of American labor law. The liberal jurisprudential regime that emerged from in 1930s–60s sparked a conservative reaction, which Steven Teles analyzes in a piece based on his book *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement*. Calvin TerBeek offers an alternative interpretation of this reaction that emphasizes the centrality of race to the conservative legal movement.

### Required Readings (276 pages)

- [PDF](#) Keith E. Whittington. 2007. *Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy: The President, the Supreme Court, and Constitutional Leadership in U.S. History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1–81 (chap. 1–2)
- [PDF](#) Karen Orren. 1991. *Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development in the United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 160–230 (chap. 5–6)
- [PDF](#) Howard Gillman. 1993. *The Constitution Besieged: The Rise and Demise of Lochner Era Police Powers Jurisprudence*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1–18 (introduction)
- [PDF](#) Julie Novkov. 2001. *Constituting Workers, Protecting Women: Gender, Law and Labor in the Progressive Era and New Deal Years*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1–36 (chap. 1)
- [PDF](#) Steven M. Teles. 2007. "Conservative Mobilization against Entrenched Liberalism." Chap. 7 in *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism*, edited by Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol, 160–188. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- [PDF](#) Calvin TerBeek. 2021. "'Clocks Must Always Be Turned Back': *Brown v. Board of Education* and the Racial Origins of Constitutional Originalism." *American Political Science Review* 115 (3): 821–834

## Suggested Readings

- Robert A. Dahl. 1957. “Decision-Making in a Democracy: The Supreme Court as a National Policy-Maker.” *Journal of Public Law* 6 (2): 279–295
- Stephen Skowronek. 1997. *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*. Rev. ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Charles R. Epp. 1998. *The Rights Revolution: Lawyers, Activists, and Supreme Courts in Comparative Perspective*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1–80 (chap. 1–4)
- Bruce Ackerman. 2000. *We The People: Transformations*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Paul Frymer. 2003. “Acting When Elected Officials Won’t: Federal Courts and Civil Rights Enforcement in U.S. Labor Unions, 1935–85.” *American Political Science Review* 97 (3): 483–499
- Mark Tushnet. 2005. “The Supreme Court and the National Political Order: Collaboration and Confrontation.” Chap. 3 in *The Supreme Court and American Political Development*, edited by Ronald Kahn and Ken I. Kersch, 117–137. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas
- Steven M. Teles. 2008. *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement: The Battle for Control of the Law*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

## 12 May 3: Cities, States, and Intergovernmental Relations

This session examines the role of cities, states, and intergovernmental relations in 20th-century American political development. The first two texts, by Amy Bridges and Emily Zackin respectively, offer contrasting perspectives on subnational reform movements in the early 20th century. Bridges, focusing on municipal reform in Southwestern states, emphasizes its demobilizing and democracy-infirming effects. Zackin, by contrast, locates state constitutions as sites of positive democratic rights-making. We then read Martha Derthick’s survey of the evolution of American federalism since the New Deal. Taking cues from Derthick, the legal historian Karen Tani provides a detailed look at post–New intergovernmental relations, focusing on the ways that federal administrators used the language of rights to prod states to modernize and centralize control over hitherto localistic welfare programs. Adolph Reed analyzes the first generation of Black leaders of major American cities, and Margaret Weir considering the legacy of Progressive reforms on states’ capacity to respond to the “urban crisis” of the 1960s. Clayton Nall examines the political legacies of the creation of the interstate highway system, and Thomas Orgorzalek considers why urban political machines, though often racially conservative at the local level, nevertheless spearheaded action on civil rights at the national level.

## Required Readings (212 pages)

- [PDF](#) Amy Bridges. 1997b. “Textbook Municipal Reform.” *Urban Affairs Review* 33 (1): 97–119
- [PDF](#) Emily Zackin. 2010. “‘To Change the Fundamental Law of the State’: Protective Labor Provisions in U.S. Constitutions.” *Studies in American Political Development* 24 (1): 1–23
- [PDF](#) Martha Derthick. 2001a. “How Many Communities?” Chap. 1 in *Keeping the Compound Republic: Essays on American Federalism*, 9–21. Washington, DC: Brookings
- [PDF](#) Karen M. Tani. 2012. “Welfare and Rights Before the Movement: Rights as a Language of the State.” *Yale Law Journal* 122:314–383
- [PDF](#) Adolph Reed Jr. 1999. “The Black Urban Regime: Structural Origins and Constraints.” In *Stirrings in the Jug: Black Politics in the Post-Segregation Era*, 79–116. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Reprint of “The Black Urban Regime: Structural Origins and Constraints.” *Comparative Urban Research* 12 (1988): 140–187
- [PDF](#) Margaret Weir. 2005. “States, Race, and the Decline of New Deal Liberalism.” *Studies in American Political Development* 19 (2): 157–172
- [PDF](#) Clayton Nall. 2015. “The Political Consequences of Spatial Policies: How Interstate Highways Facilitated Geographic Polarization.” *Journal of Politics* 77 (2): 394–406
- [PDF](#) Thomas Ogorzalek. 2020. “Contested Conceptions of Pluralism Between Cities and Congress over National Civil Rights Legislation.” Chap. 7 in *How Ideas Shape Urban Political Development*, edited by Richardson Dilworth and Timothy P. R. Weaver, 91–106. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

## Suggested Readings

- Thomas J. Sugrue. 1997. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Amy Bridges. 1997a. *Morning Glories: Municipal Reform in the Southwest*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Martha Derthick. 2001b. *Keeping the Compound Republic: Essays on American Federalism*. Washington, DC: Brookings

- Jon C. Teaford. 2002. *The Rise of the States: Evolution of American State Government*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Jessica Trounstine. 2006. “Dominant Regimes and the Demise of Urban Democracy.” *Journal of Politics* 68 (4): 879–893
- Jessica Trounstine. 2018. *Segregation by Design: Local Politics and Inequality in American Cities*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Emily Zackin. 2013. *Looking for Rights in All the Wrong Places: Why State Constitutions Contain America’s Positive Rights*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Karen Tani. 2016. *States of Dependency: Welfare, Rights, and American Governance, 1935–1972*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Brent Cebul, Karen Tani, and Mason B. Williams. 2017. “Clio and the Compound Republic.” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 47 (2): 235–259
- Clayton Nall. 2018. *The Road to Inequality: How the Federal Highway Program Polarized America and Undermined Cities*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Thomas K. Ogorzalek. 2018. *The Cities on the Hill: How Urban Institutions Transformed National Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press

### 13 May 10: Political Economy since the New Deal

This final session returns to the theme of political economy, focusing now on the period since the New Deal. We begin with the historians Jefferson Cowie and Nick Salvatore’s argument for considering the period between the New Deal and the end of the 20th century a “long exception” sandwiched between two “gilded ages.” Next is Orren and Skowronek’s review of several books on the 1940s, which present various views on the political-economic order that consolidated in that decade. We then read a brief synopsis of historian Lizabeth Cohen’s work on the postwar politics of consumption. This is followed by a pair of readings on the political economy of race and civil rights, one by the economic historian Gavin Wright and the other by the political scientist Kirstine Taylor. We will read part of the sociologist Greta Krippner’s book on the post-1970 financialization of the US economy, and then close the course with Timothy Weaver’s recent article on neoliberalism and APD.

#### Required Readings (179 pages)

- [PDF](#) Jefferson Cowie and Nick Salvatore. 2008. “The Long Exception: Rethinking the Place of the New Deal in American History.” *International Labor and Working-Class History* 74 (Fall): 3–32

- [PDF](#) Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek. 1998. “Regimes and Regime Building in American Government: A Review of Literature on the 1940s.” *Political Science Quarterly* 113 (4): 689–702
- [PDF](#) Lizabeth Cohen. 2004. “A Consumers’ Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America.” *Journal of Consumer Research* 31:236–239
- [PDF](#) Gavin Wright. 1999. “The Civil Rights Revolution as Economic History.” *Journal of Economic History* 59 (2): 267–289
- [PDF](#) Kirstine Taylor. 2018. “Sunbelt Capitalism, Civil Rights, and the Development of Carceral Policy in North Carolina, 1954–1970.” *Studies in American Political Development* 32 (2): 292–322
- [PDF](#) Greta R. Krippner. 2012. *Capitalizing on Crisis: The Political Origins of the Rise of Finance*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1–26 (chap. 1) and 58–85 (chap. 3)
- [PDF](#) Timothy P. R. Weaver. 2021. “Market Privilege: The Place of Neoliberalism in American Political Development.” *Studies in American Political Development* 35 (1): 104–126

## Suggested Readings

- Nelson Lichtenstein. 1989. “From Corporatism to Collective Bargaining: Organized Labor and the Eclipse of Social Democracy in the Postwar Era.” Chap. 5 in *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930–1980*, edited by Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, 122–152. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Alan Brinkley. 1995. *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War*. New York: Vintage Books
- Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson. 2010. *Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer—and Turned Its Back on the Middle Class*. New York: Simon & Schuster
- Daniel T. Rodgers. 2011. *Age of Fracture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- James Feigenbaum, Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, and Vanessa Williamson. 2019. *From the Bargaining Table to the Ballot Box: Political Effects of Right to Work Laws*. Working paper 24259. National Bureau of Economic Research, January. <http://www.nber.org/papers/w24259>
- Alexander Hertel-Fernandez. 2021. “Collective Action, Law, and the Fragmented Development of the American Labor Movement.” Chap. 3 in *The American Political*

*Economy: Politics, Markets, and Power*, edited by Jacob S. Hacker et al., 103–129.  
New York: Cambridge University Press



# Additional Topics

## The Founding

### Suggested Readings

- Max M. Edling. 2003. *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Constitution and the Making of the American State*. Oxford University Press
- Michael J. Klarman. 2016. *The Framers' Coup: The Making of the Constitution*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Sean Gailmard. 2017. "Building a New Imperial State: The Strategic Foundations of Separation of Powers in America." *American Political Science Review* 111 (4): 668–685
- Sean Gailmard. 2019. "Imperial Politics, English Law, and the Strategic Foundations of Constitutional Review in America." *American Political Science Review* 113 (3): 778–795

## Congress

### Suggested Readings

- Joseph Cooper and David W. Brady. 1981. "Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn." *American Political Science Review* 75 (2): 411–425
- Barbara Sinclair. 1982. *Congressional Realignment: 1925–1978*. Austin: University of Texas Press
- David W. Rohde. 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Eric Schickler. 2001. *Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Nelson W. Polsby. 2004. *How Congress Evolves: Social Bases of Institutional Change*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Sean Gailmard and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2009. "Agency Problems, the 17th Amendment, and Representation in the Senate." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2): 324–342

- Gregory J. Wawro and Eric Schickler. 2006. *Filibuster: Obstruction and Lawmaking in the U.S. Senate*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

## The Presidency

### Suggested Readings

- Stephen Skowronek. 1997. *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*. Rev. ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Daniel J. Galvin. 2010. *Presidential Party Building: Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W. Bush*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

## Political Parties

### Suggested Readings

- John Gerring. 1998. *Party Ideologies in America, 1828–1996*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Karol David. 2009. *Party Position Change in American Politics: Coalition Management*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Hans Noel. 2014. *Political Ideologies and Political Parties in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Daniel Schlozman. 2015. *When Movements Anchor Parties: Electoral Alignments in American History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Devin Caughey. 2018. *The Unsolid South: Mass Politics and National Representation in a One-Party Enclave*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Boris Heersink and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2020. *Republican Party Politics and the American South, 1865–1968*. New York: Cambridge University Press

## The Modern American State

### Suggested Readings

- Suzanne Mettler. 2011. *The Submerged State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Andrea Louise Campbell and Kimberly J. Morgan. 2011. *The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets, and the Governance of American Social Policy*. Oxford University Press

## Democratic Backsliding and Resilience

- Zachary Callen and Philip Rocco, eds. 2020. *American Political Development and the Trump Presidency*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press
- Suzanne Mettler and Robert C. Lieberman. 2020. *Four Threats: The Recurring Crises of American Democracy*. New York: St. Martin's Press

## Military and International Influences on APD

- Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter, eds. 2002. *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press
- Colin D. Moore. 2017. *American Imperialism and the State, 1893–1921*. New York: Cambridge University Press

This syllabus was last modified on May 4, 2022.

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- Ackerman, Bruce. 2000. *We The People: Transformations*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and James M. Snyder Jr. 2008. *The End of Inequality: One Person, One Vote and the Transformation of American Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Badger, Anthony J. 2002. *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933–1940*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
- Balogh, Brian. 2009. *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth-Century America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bateman, David, Ira Katznelson, and John Lapinski. 2018. *Southern Nation: Congress and White Supremacy After Reconstruction*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bateman, David, and Eric Schickler. 2021. "Deeper Roots: Historical Causal Inference and the Political Legacy of Slavery." Unpublished manuscript, June 1, 2021.
- Bateman, David A. 2018. *Disenfranchising Democracy: Constructing the Electorate in the United States, the United Kingdom, and France*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bensel, Richard. 1984. *Sectionalism and American Political Development: 1880–1980*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- . 1990. *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859–1877*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2000. "Rejoinder to 'Why No Parties?: Investigating the Disappearance of Democrat-Whig Divisions in the Confederacy'." *Studies in American Political Development* 13 (2): 263–278.
- Bensel, Richard Franklin. 2000. *The Political Economy of American Industrialization, 1877–1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Blackhawk, Maggie, Daniel Carpenter, Tobias Resch, and Benjamin Schneer. 2021. "Congressional Representation by Petition: Assessing the Voices of the Voteless in a Comprehensive New Database, 1789–1949." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 46 (3): 817–849.

- Bloch Rubin, Ruth. 2013. "Organizing for Insurgency: Intraparty Organization and the Development of the House Insurgency, 1908–1910." *Studies in American Political Development* 27 (2): 86–110.
- Bridges, Amy. 1988. "Rethinking the Origins of Machine Politics." In *Power, Culture and Place: Essays on New York City*, edited by John Hull Mollenkopf, 53–74. Russell Sage Foundation.
- . 1997a. *Morning Glories: Municipal Reform in the Southwest*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
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- Burnham, Walter Dean. 1967. "Party Systems and the Political Process." In *The American Party Systems: Stages of Political Development*, edited by W. N. Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham, 277–307. New York: Oxford University Press.
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- Carmines, Edward G., and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Carpenter, Daniel. 2021. *Democracy by Petition: Popular Politics in Transformation, 1790–1870*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . n.d. "Lesson, Portraiture, Method, Myth: Richard Bense's *The Political Economy of American Industrialization, 1877–1900*."
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- Caughey, Devin. 2018. *The Unsolid South: Mass Politics and National Representation in a One-Party Enclave*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Cebul, Brent, Karen Tani, and Mason B. Williams. 2017. "Clio and the Compound Republic." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 47 (2): 235–259.
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- . 2020. *Civic Gifts: Voluntarism and the Making of the American Nation-State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cohen, Lizabeth. 2004. "A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America." *Journal of Consumer Research* 31:236–239.
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- Downs, Gregory P. 2012. "The Mexicanization of American Politics: The United States' Transnational Path from Civil War to Stabilization." *The American Historical Review* 117 (2): 387–409.
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- . 2006. *American Taxation, American Slavery*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
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- Farhang, Sean, and Ira Katznelson. 2005. "The Southern Imposition: Congress and Labor in the New Deal and Fair Deal." *Studies in American Political Development* 19 (Spring): 1–30.
- Fehrenbacher, Don E. 2001. *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery*. Completed and edited by Ward M. McAfee. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Feigenbaum, James, Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, and Vanessa Williamson. 2019. *From the Bargaining Table to the Ballot Box: Political Effects of Right to Work Laws*. Working paper 24259. National Bureau of Economic Research, January. <http://www.nber.org/papers/w24259>.
- Filene, Peter G. 1970. "An Obituary for 'The Progressive Movement'." *American Quarterly* 22 (1): 20–34.
- Foner, Eric. 2015. *A Short History of Reconstruction*. Updated edition. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Fox, Cybelle. 2010. "Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and Public and Private Social Welfare Spending in American Cities, 1929." *American Journal of Sociology* 116 (2): 453–502.
- Francis, Megan Ming. 2014. *Civil Rights and the Making of the Modern American State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Freeman, Joanne B. 1999. "The Election of 1800: A Study in the Logic of Political Change." *Yale Law Journal* 108:1959–1994.
- Frymer, Paul. 2003. "Acting When Elected Officials Won't: Federal Courts and Civil Rights Enforcement in U.S. Labor Unions, 1935–85." *American Political Science Review* 97 (3): 483–499.

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- Gailmard, Sean. 2017. "Building a New Imperial State: The Strategic Foundations of Separation of Powers in America." *American Political Science Review* 111 (4): 668–685.
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