

# **POL433/USA403: TOPICS IN U.S. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
WINTER 2020

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**Schedule:** Monday 10:00am-12:00pm

**Location:** BL 113

**Office Hours:** Mon. & Tues. 12:00-2:00 pm, Larkin 215

## **Course Description**

This course explores the substance, nature, and study of American political development. It will begin by examining the methodology, mechanisms, and patterns of American political development from the founding to the present. Emphasis will be placed on divergent perspectives on the nature of political development, particularly narratives of continuity and discontinuity. Taking an institution-based approach, the course will then examine the central institutions of American politics and how they have developed over the course of American political history. Relevant to these institutional developments are a host of topics that students will have the opportunity to explore further in various written assignments. This include, but are not limited to, the following: the Constitution and the founding; political economy, trade, and industrialization; bureaucracy and administration; citizenship and inclusion; race and civil rights; law and legal development; and political parties.

## **Course Objectives**

This course is intended to:

- provide students with an understanding of key themes in and approaches to American political development;
- expose students to multiple methods of political analysis, with an emphasis on the relationship and tensions between qualitative and quantitative methods; and
- develop written and oral communication skills through regular classroom discussions and a range of writing assignments.

## **Course Texts**

- *The Search for American Political Development*, Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek (Yale University Press, 2004)
- *The Legacies of Losing*, Nicole Mellow and Jeffrey Tulis (University of Chicago Press, 2018)

All other readings will be available on the course website.

### **Academic Integrity**

The University of Toronto treats cases of plagiarism very seriously. The *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the procedures for addressing academic offenses. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes appropriate academic behaviour or research and citation methods, you should seek information from your instructor or other university resources. (See <http://www.utoronto.ca/academicintegrity/resourcesforstudents.html>.)

### **Accessibility**

The University provides academic accommodations for students with disabilities in accordance with the terms of the Ontario Human Rights Code. For information on services and resources, see <http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as>. If relevant to you, please visit Accessibility Services as early in the term as possible. Official written notice prior to the first assignment deadline is necessary for any academic accommodations.

### **Late Penalty Policy**

For assignments submitted after the due date, a penalty of 5% per day of lateness will be assessed. For assignments due over the course of the term (e.g., discussion questions), it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the minimum number are submitted before the conclusion of the term.

### **Re-Marking Policy**

If you believe an assignment has been incorrectly graded, there is the opportunity for re-marking. To initiate this process, you must submit a brief written statement outlining why you believe you deserve a higher mark. This statement should be submitted no sooner than 2 but no more than 7 days after the assignment or exam is returned. Your assignment or exam will then be remarked in full and the new mark, whether higher or lower than the original, will be final.

### **TurnItIn Statement**

This course utilizes [Turnitin.com](http://Turnitin.com) for the submission of assignments. Submission of coursework to [Turnitin.com](http://Turnitin.com) is requested for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the [Turnitin.com](http://Turnitin.com) reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the [Turnitin.com](http://Turnitin.com) service are described on the [Turnitin.com](http://Turnitin.com) web site. If you cannot or do not wish to use Turnitin, you may submit paper copies of your work with supporting notes BUT must notify us of this in advance of assignment deadlines.

## Marking Scheme

- Participation: 20%
- Discussion Questions: 10% (graded credit/no credit)
  - 8 times over the course of weeks 2-12. Due by 12 AM the Sunday before class.
- Book Review: 15%
  - You are to select a book to review related to the topic(s) for one week between Week 7-12. This can be from the list of recommended readings included with each week or of your own choosing. If opting for the latter, your selection must be approved by me prior to submission. The review is due by 12 AM the Sunday before the week you select. (E.g., a review of a book on the presidency would be due Sunday, March 10.)
- Papers:
  - Paper 1: 25% (1,500 words; due **Feb. 16**)
  - Paper 2: 30% (2,500 words; due **April 3**)

## Marking Rubric

Percentage	Letter	Grade Description
90-100	A+	<b>Excellent:</b> Strong evidence of original thinking; good organization; capacity to analyze and synthesize; superior grasp of subject matter with sound critical evaluations; evidence of extensive knowledge base.
85-89	A	
80-84	A-	
77-79	B+	<b>Good:</b> Evidence of grasp of subject matter; some evidence of critical capacity and analytic ability; reasonable understanding of relevant issues; evidence of familiarity with literature.
73-76	B	
70-72	B-	
67-69	C+	<b>Adequate:</b> Student who is profiting from his/her university experience; understanding of the subject matter; ability to develop solutions to simple problems in the material.
63-66	C	
60-62	C-	
57-59	D+	<b>Marginal:</b> Some evidence of familiarity with subject matter and some evidence that critical and analytic skills have been developed.
53-56	D	
50-52	D-	
0-49	F	<b>Inadequate:</b> Little evidence of even superficial understanding of subject matter; weakness in critical and analytic skills; with limited or irrelevant use of literature.

For further information on grading, please see the University of Toronto Faculty of Arts & Sciences [Grading Policies](#).

## RESOURCES

The University of Toronto has many resources to help you succeed in your academic pursuits.

If you are feeling overwhelmed or distressed, help is available. Please contact or visit your college registrar's office. To find your college registrar, go here <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/newstudents/nextsteps/contact>.

You may not know about the wide range of excellent **writing** resources on campus. These include:

- **College writing centres:** <http://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/arts-and-science/>. The teaching approach of the college writing centres is described at <http://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/learning/>.
- **Writing at the University of Toronto:** <http://writing.utoronto.ca>.
- More than 60 advice files on all aspects of academic writing are available at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca>. A complete list of printable PDF versions are listed at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/student-pdfs/>.
- You may also wish to refer to “**How Not to Plagiarize**” and other resources on documentation format and methods of integrating sources; these are listed in the section at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources/>.
- The University of Toronto also has an excellent **Writing Plus** workshop series, described at <http://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-plus/>.
- Information about the **English Language Learning** program (ELL) is available at <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/current/advising/ell>. One of ELL's programs is the **Communication Café**, which meets weekly at five different times and locations for the first seven weeks of each term for practice with oral skills like class discussion and presentations. ELL also sponsors an online program called **Reading eWriting**, which helps students engage course readings more effectively.

As a student of a Trinity College course, you are welcome and encouraged to use the John W. Graham Library and its extensive resources. There is library staff available to assist you with using the collections and conducting research. The home page of the Graham library is here: [https://www.trinity.utoronto.ca/Library\\_Archives/](https://www.trinity.utoronto.ca/Library_Archives/)

You are encouraged to meet with one of the librarians to devise a research topic and develop your final paper. The librarians can also assist you with locating primary sources and constructing a proper bibliography.

Courtney Lundrigan, Instructional and Reader Services Librarian  
416-978-2522 x5216  
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For a primer on sources and citation, see <https://guides.library.utoronto.ca/citing>

# COURSE CALENDAR

## Introduction: What is Political Development?

### **Week 1 (Jan. 6): Introduction**

- Robert Lieberman, Suzanne Mettler, Thomas B. Pepinsky, Kenneth M. Roberts, and Richard Valelly, “Trumpism and American Democracy: History, Comparison, and the Predicament of Liberal Democracy in the United States”
- Suzanne Mettler and Richard Valelly, “Introduction: The Distinctiveness and Necessity of American Political Development,” in *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development* (pp. 1-23)

### **Week 2 (Jan. 13): (American) Politics in Time**

- Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, *The Search for American Political Development*, chap. 1-2 (pp. 1-77)
- Primary sources:
  - ♦ Declaration of Independence
  - ♦ U.S. Constitution
  - ♦ Constitution of the Confederate States of America

### *Additional & Recommended Reading:*

- Stuart Chinn, *Recalibrating Reform: The Limits of Political Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)
- Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968)
- James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, “The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life,” *American Political Science Review* 78: 734–749 (1984)
- Eric M. Patashnik, *Reforms at Risk: What Happens after Major Policy Changes Are Enacted* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008)
- David Brian Robertson, *The Original Compromise: What the Constitution’s Framers Were Really Thinking* (Oxford, 2013)
- David Brian Robertson, *The Constitution and America’s Destiny* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Paul Pierson, *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis* (Princeton University Press, 2004)
- Ian Shapiro and Sonu Bedi, *Political Contingency: Studying the Unexpected, the Accidental, and the Unforeseen* (New York: New York University Press, 2007)
- Gregory J. Wawro and Ira Katznelson, “Designing Historical Social Scientific Inquiry: How Parameter Heterogeneity Can Bridge the Methodological Divide between

Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches,” *American Journal of Political Science* 58: 526– 546 (2013)

### **Week 3 (Jan. 20): Explaining Political Change**

- Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, *The Search for American Political Development*, chap. 4 (pp. 120-171)
- George Thomas, “What is Political Development? A Constitutional Perspective,” *Review of Politics* 73(2): 275-294

#### *Additional & Recommended Reading:*

- James W. Ceaser, “Foundational Concepts and American Political Development,” in *Nature and History in American Political Development* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2006), pp. 1-90
- Randall Collins, “Turning Points, Bottlenecks, and the Fallacies of Counterfactual History,” *Sociological Forum* 22: 247–269 (2007)
- Jeffrey Haydu, “Making Use of the Past: Time Periods as Cases to Compare and as Sequences of Problem Solving,” *American Journal of Sociology* 104: 339–371 (1998)
- Robert C. Lieberman, “Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change,” *American Political Science Review* 96(4): 697-712 (2002)
- Ian S. Lustick, “History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias,” *American Political Science Review* 90: 605– 618 (1996)
- Paul Pierson, “Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics,” *American Political Science Review* 94: 251–267 (2000)
- Paul Pierson, “When Effect Becomes Cause: Policy Feedback and Political Change,” *World Politics* 45: 595–628 (1993)
- Adam D. Sheingate, “Institutional Dynamics and American Political Development,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 461–477 (2014)
- Adam S. Sheingate, “Political Entrepreneurship, Institutional Change, and American Political Development,” *Studies in American Political Development* 1: 185–203 (2003)

## **Narratives of American Political Development**

### **Week 4 (Jan. 27): American (II) Liberalism**

- Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1955), chap. 1, “The Concept of a Liberal Society”
- Rogers M. Smith, “Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America,” *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 549-566 (1993)

*Additional & Recommended Reading:*

- Eric Foner, "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" *History Workshop Journal* 7: 57-80 (1984)
- Desmond King and Rogers M. Smith, "Racial Orders in American Political Development," *American Political Science Review* 99(1): 75-92 (2005)
- James T. Kloppenberg, "In Retrospect: Louis Hartz's *The Liberal Tradition in America*," *Reviews in American History* 29(3): 460-476 (2001)
- Stephen Skowronek, "The Reassociation of Ideas and Purposes: Racism, Liberalism, and the American Political Tradition," *American Political Science Review* 100(3) (2006)
- Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997)

**Week 5 (Feb. 3): Discontinuity**

- Walter Dean Burnham, "Constitutional Moments and Punctuated Equilibria: A Political Scientist Confronts Bruce Ackerman's *We the People*"
- Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, *The Policy State: An American Predicament* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), Introduction and chap. 1

*Additional & Recommended Reading:*

- Bruce A. Ackerman, *We The People: Foundations (Vol. 1)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991)
- Bruce. A. Ackerman, *We the People: Transformations (Vol. 2)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000)
- Walter Dean Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1970)
- Ken I. Kersch, *Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Theodore Lowi, *The End of Liberalism: The Second Republic of the United States* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2009 [1969])
- David R. Mayhew, *Electoral Realignments: A Critique of an American Genre* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002)
- Hillel D. Soifer, "The Causal Logic of Critical Junctures," *Comparative Political Studies* 45: 1572–1597 (2012)
- Richard M. Valelly, *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004)

**Week 6 (Feb. 10): Continuity**

- Nicole Mellow and Jeffrey Tulis, *Legacies of Losing in American Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), ch. 1-2

- Choose one of the following chapters from *Legacies of Losing*:
  - ♦ Ch. 3: “Reconstruction: Andrew Johnson’s Politics of Obstruction”
  - ♦ Ch. 4: “New Deal: Barry Goldwater’s Politics of Integrity”

*Additional & Recommended Reading:*

- Larry M. Bartels, “Electoral Continuity and Change, 1868-1996,” *Electoral Studies* 17: 301-326 (1998)
- Gordon Tullock, “Why So Much Stability,” *Public Choice* 37: 189–204 (1981)

**\*\*\* Paper One due Feb. 16 \*\*\***

**\*\*\* No Class Feb. 17 \*\*\***

## State Building

### **Week 7 (Feb. 24)**

- William J. Novak, “The Myth of the ‘Weak’ American State,” *American Historical Review* 113(3): 752-772 (2008)
- Stephen Skowronek, “Present at the Creation: The State in Early American Political History,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 38(1): 95-103 (2018)
- Theda Skocpol, “Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research” in Peter B. Evans et al., *Bringing the State Back In* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

*Additional & Recommended Reading:*

- Brian Balogh, *A Government out of Sight: The Mystery of National in Nineteenth-century America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Richard F. Biesel, *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Daniel Carpenter, *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862-1928* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)
- Samuel DeCanio, *Democracy and the Origins of the American Regulatory State* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016)
- Max Edling, *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Government and the Making of the American State* (Oxford University Press, 2003)



- Jerry Mashaw, *Creating the Administrative Constitution: The Lost One Hundred Years of American Administrative Law* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012)
- Suzanne Mettler, *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011)
- Suzanne Mettler and Andrew Milstein, “American Political Development from Citizens’ Perspective: Tracking Federal Government’s Presence in Individual Lives over Time,” *Studies in American Political Development* 21: 110–130 (2007)
- Colin Moore, “State Building Through Partnership: Delegation, Public-Private Partnerships, and the Political Development of American Imperialism, 1898–1916,” *Studies in American Political Development* 25: 27–55 (2011)
- Paul Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Sheldon D. Pollack, *War, Revenue, and State Building: Financing the Development of the American State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009)
- Stephen J. Rockwell, *Indian Affairs and the Administrative State in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)

### **Political Institutions**

#### **Week 8 (Mar. 2): Congress**

- Eric Schickler and Ruth Block Rubin, “Congress and American Political Development,” in *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development* (pp. 1-23)
- David R. Mayhew, “Congress as a Handler of Challenges: The Historical Record,” *Studies in American Political Development* 29(2): 185-212 (2015)

#### *Additional & Recommended Reading:*

- Sarah Binder, “The Dysfunctional Congress,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 85-101 (2015)
- Jeffrey A. Jenkins and Charles Stewart, *Fighting for the Speakership: The House and the Rise of Party Government* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012)
- David R. Mayhew, *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-1990* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991)
- David R. Mayhew, *America’s Congress: Actions in the Public Sphere, James Madison through Newt Gingrich* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002)
- Eric Schickler, *Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001)

- Elaine K. Swift, *The Making of an American Senate: Reconstitutive Change in Congress, 1787–1841* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996)

### **Week 9 (Mar. 9): The Presidency**

- Stephen Skowronek, “Notes on the Presidency in the Political Order,” *Studies in American Political Development* 1: 286-302 (1986)
- Jeffrey K. Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), chaps. 1, 3-5

#### *Additional & Recommended Reading:*

- Terri Bimes and Quinn Mulroy, “The Rise and Decline of Presidential Populism,” *Studies in American Political Development* 18(2): 136-159 (2004)
- David A. Crockett, *The Opposition Presidency: Leadership and the Constraints of History* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2002)
- Jack L. Goldsmith, *Power and Constraint: The Accountable Presidency after 9/11*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 2012)
- Elvin T. Lim, *The Anti-Intellectual Presidency: The Decline of Presidential Rhetoric from George Washington to George W. Bush* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1997)

### **Week 10 (Mar. 16): Law & Courts**

- Justin Crowe, *Building the Judiciary: Law, Courts, and the Politics of Institutional Development* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012)
- Keith Whittington, “Law and Courts,” in *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development* (Oxford, 2014)

#### *Additional & Recommended Reading:*

- Pamela Brandwein, *Rethinking the Judicial Settlement of Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- Pamela Brandwein, *Reconstructing Reconstruction: The Supreme Court and the Production of Historical Truth* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999)
- Sean Farhang, *The Litigation State: Public Regulation and Private Lawsuits in the U.S.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010)
- Howard Gillman, “Party Politics and Constitutional Change: The Political Origins of Liberal Judicial Activism,” in Ronald Kahn and Ken Kersch, eds., *The Supreme Court and American Political Development*, (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2006)

- Howard Gillman, "How Political Parties Can Use the Courts to Advance Their Agendas: Federal Courts in the United States, 1875–1891," *American Political Science Review* 96: 511–524 (2002)
- Ken I. Kersch, *Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Thomas D. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619-1860* (Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina University Press, 1996)
- Keran Orren, *Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Howard Schweber, *The Creation of American Common Law, 1850-1880: Technology, Politics, and the Construction of Citizenship* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Sarah L. Staszak, *No Day in Court: Access to Justice and the Politics of Judicial Retrenchment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Steven M. Teles, *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement: The Battle for Control of the Law* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008)
- Keith Whittington, *The Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy: The Presidency, the Supreme Court, and Constitutional Leadership in U.S. History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007)
- Keith Whittington, *Repugnant Laws: Judicial Review of Acts of Congress from the Founding to the Present* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2019)
- H.W. Perry, Jr. and Lucas A. Powe, Jr., "The Political Battle for the Constitution," *Constitutional Commentary* 21: 641-696
- Emily Zackin, *Looking for Rights in All the Wrong Places: Why State Constitutions Contain America's Positive Rights* (Princeton University Press, 2013)

### **Citizenship, Inclusion, and Civil Rights**

#### **Week 11 (Mar. 23)**

- Megan Ming Francis, *Civil Rights and the Making of the Modern American State* (ch. 1)
- Kimberley S. Johnson, "The Color Line and the State: Race and American Political Development," in *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*
- Gerald L. Neuman, "Citizenship," in *The Oxford Handbook of the U.S. Constitution*

#### **Week 12 (March 30)**

- Julie Novkov, "Equality," in *The Oxford Handbook of the U.S. Constitution*

- Leslie F. Goldstein, "Gender, Sex, and the U.S. Constitution," *The Oxford Handbook of the U.S. Constitution*
- Stephen M. Engel, "Seeing Sexuality: State Development and the Fragmented Status of LGBTQ Citizenship," *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*

*Additional & Recommended Reading:*

- Paul Frymer, *Black and Blue: African Americans, the Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007)
- Robert C. Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001)
- Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2000)
- Desmond S. King, *Separate and Unequal: African-Americans and the US Federal Government* (rev. ed.) (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Desmond S. King and Rogers M. Smith, *Still A House Divided: Race and Politics in Obama's America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011)
- Taeku Lee, *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002)
- Robert Mickey, *Paths Out of Dixie: The Democratization of Authoritarian Enclaves in America's Deep Sout, 1944-1972* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015)
- Christopher S. Parker, *Fighting for Democracy: Black Veterans and the Struggle against White Supremacy in the Postwar South* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)
- Gretchen Ritter, *The Constitution as Social Design: Gender and Civic Membership in the American Constitutional Order* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006)
- Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997)
- Debra Thompson, *The Schematic State: Race, Transnationalism, and the Politics of the Census* (Cambridge University Press, 2016)
- Richard M. Valelly, "Slavery, Emancipation, and the Civil War Transformation of the U.S. State," *Perspectives on Politics* 12: 145–152 (2014)