

School of Interdisciplinary Global Studies

Doctorate in Politics and International Affairs Readings Lists for Comprehensive Examination Preparation

Updated January 2022

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International Relations

All students taking a comprehensive exam in International Relations should familiarize themselves with leading debates within and among the three leading paradigms: realism, liberalism, and constructivism. Readings listed under core texts are touchstones in these debates. Articles and review essays listed under secondary texts situate core texts within scholarly debates. Books need not be read in their entirety. What is important is to learn each work's core argument and how it fits within broader debates. Students should also learn what unites each paradigm, including core assumptions regarding the nature of the international system, the actors and forces which animate it, and possibilities of progress in international affairs.

Students majoring in IR should familiarize themselves with one or more of the critical paradigms listed below: critical international theory, poststructuralism, feminism, and/or postcolonialism. All exam takers will declare a subfield specialization among international political economy; international security; American foreign policy; human rights; or international ethics. Students should rely on syllabi from seminars taken in those areas to guide their exam preparation, as well as emerging academic literatures.

Realism

Classical Realism

Core Texts

- Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (Penguin, 1972)
- Nicolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* (Cambridge University Press, 1991)
- Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Cambridge University Press, 1976)
- E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939* (Harper & Row, 1964)
- Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Seventh Edition (McGraw Hill, 2005)

Secondary Texts

- John Herz, *Political Realism and Political Idealism* (University of Chicago Press, 1947).
- George Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (University of Chicago Press, 1951)
- Ronald Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (Scribner, 1932), 83-112.
- Jack Donnelly, *Realism* (Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- Michael C. Williams (ed.), *Realism Reconsidered: The Legacy of Hans Morgenthau in International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Jonathan Monten, "Thucydides and Modern Realism," *International Studies Quarterly* 50/1 (March 2006)
- Charles Jones, *E.H. Carr and International Relations: A Duty to Lie* (Cambridge University, 1998)
- William E. Scheuerman, *Hans Morgenthau: Realism and Beyond* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press), 2009
- Duncan Bell (ed.) *Political Thought and International Relations: Variations on a Realist Theme* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

- Annette Freberg-Inan, Ewan Harrison, and Patrick James (eds) *Rethinking Realism in International Relations: Between Tradition and Innovation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009)
- Geoffrey Blaney, *The Causes of War*, Third Edition (Free Press, 1988, 1973)
- Richard Ned Lebow, *The Tragic Vision of Politics: Ethics, Interests, and Orders* (Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Richard Ned Lebow, "Classical Realism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds) *International Relations Theories* (Oxford University Press, 2013)

Structural Realism / Neorealism

Core Texts

- Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (McGraw Hill, 1979)
- Stephen G. Brooks, "Dueling Realisms," *International Organization* 51/3 (Summer 1997): 445-77
- David Baldwin (ed.) *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (Columbia University Press, 1993)
- Randall Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bring the Revisionist State Back In," *International Security* 19/1: 72-107
- Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge UP, 1981)
- R. Harrison Wagner, *War and the State: The Theory of International Politics* (University of Michigan Press, 2007)
- James D. Fearon, "Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Relations," *American Review of Political Science* 1(1998): 289-313
- Kenneth Waltz, "International Politics in not Foreign Policy," *Security Studies* 6/1(1998): 54-57

Secondary Texts

- Stacie Goddard and Daniel H. Nexon, "Paradigm Lost? Structural Realism and Structural Functionalism," *European Journal of International Relations* 11/1 (2005): 9-61
- Keith Shimko, "Realism, Neorealism, and American Liberalism," *Review of Politics* 54 (Spring 1992): 281-301
- John Lewis Gaddis, "International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War," *International Security*, 17/3 (Winter 1992/93): 249-277
- Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion" Why Great Powers Will Rise," *International Security*, 17/4(Spring 1993): 5-51
- Robert Jervis, "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?" *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 3/1 (Winter 2001): 36-60

Defensive Realism

Core Texts

- Charles L. Glaser, "The Security Dilemma Revisited," *World Politics* 50: 1 (1997), 171-201
- Stephen Van Evera, *The Causes of War* (Cornell University Press, 1999)

- Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Cornell University Press, 1991)
- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30/2 (January 1978): 167- 214.
- Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Cornell University Press, 1987)
- Robert Jervis, "Realism, Game Theory, and Cooperation," *World Politics* 40 (April 1988)

Secondary texts

- Thomas Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity," *International Organization* 44: 2 (1990), 137-168
- Charles L. Glaser, "Political Consequences or Military Strategy: Expanding and Refining the Spiral and Deterrence Models," *World Politics*, 44/4 (July 1992): 497-538
- Robert Pape, "Soft Balancing Against the United States," *International Security*, 30/1 (Summer 2005): pp. 5-49
- Stephen van Evera, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," *International Security* 22: 4 (1998), 5-43.
- Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "Security Seeking under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Revisited," *International Security* 25: 3 (2000), 128-161.
- Shipping Tang, "The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis," *Security Studies* 18: 3 (2009), 587-623.
 - Thomas J. Christensen, "Fostering Stability or Creating a Monster? The Rise of China and US Foreign Policy Toward East Asia," *International Security* 31: 1 (2006), 81-126.

Offensive Realism

Core Texts

- John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (W.W. Norton, 2001)
- Colin Elman "Extending Offensive Realism: The Louisiana Purchase and America's Rise to Regional Hegemony," *American Political Science Review* 98/4 (November 2004): 563-576
- Christopher Layne, *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present* (Cornell University Press, 2006)
- Eric J. Labs, "Beyond Victory: Offensive Realism and the Expansion of War Aims." *Security Studies* 6.4 (1997): 1-49.

Secondary Texts

- M. Taylor Fravel, "International Relations Theory and China's Rise: Assessing China's Potential for Territorial Expansion," *International Studies Review*, 12 (2010):505-532
- Aaron L. Friedberg, "The Future of US-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" *International Security* 50: 2 (2005), 7-45.

Neoclassical Realism

Core Texts

- Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role* (Princeton University Press, 1993).

- Colin Elman, "Horses for Courses: Why Not Neorealist Theories of International Relations?," *Security Studies* 6/1: 7-53.
- Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and the Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics* 51: 1 (1998), 144-172.
- Randall L. Schweller, "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing," *International Security* 29: 2 (2004), 159-201.
- Randall L. Schweller, *Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest* (Columbia University Press, 1998).
- Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, eds., *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge University Press 2009).
- Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton University Press, 1996).
- Nicholas Kitchen, "Systemic Pressures and Domestic Ideas: A Neoclassical Realist Model of Grand Strategy Formation," *Review of International Studies* 36: 1 (2010), 117-143.

Liberalism

Neoliberal Institutionalism

Core Texts

- Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Politics Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984)
- Robert O Keohane (ed), *Neorealism and its Critics* (Columbia University Press, 1986), chapters 7 and 10
- Kenneth A. Oye, "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies, " in - Kenneth Oye (ed.), *Cooperation Under Anarchy* (Princeton University Press 1986)
- Stephen Krasner (ed.) *International Regimes* (Cornell University Press, 1983)
- Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53.4 (1999): 699-732.

Secondary Texts

- Arthur A. Stein. "Neoliberal Institutionalism." In Reus-Smit and Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, (Oxford University Press, 2008): 201-221.
- Lisa L. Martin and Beth A. Simmons. "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions." *International Organization* 52.4 (1998): 729-757.
- Beth A. Simmons and Lisa L. Martin. "International Organizations and Institutions." In Carlsnaes, Risse, and Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations*. Second Edition. (Sage, 2013): 326-351.
- Michael J. Gilligan and Leslie Johns. "Formal Models of International Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (2012): 221-243.
- Erik Voeten. "Making Sense of the Design of International Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (2019): 147-163.
- Robert O. Keohane, "Understanding Multilateral Institutions in Easy and Hard Times." *Annual Review of*

Political Science 23 (2020): 1-18.

- Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence*. Second Edition (Columbia University, 1977)
- Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "Neoliberalism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith (eds) *International Relations Theories* (Oxford University Press, 2013)

Analytical Liberalism

Core Texts

- Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics." *International Organization* 51.4 (1997): 513-553.
- Andrew Moravcsik, "Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 31.4 (1993): 473-524.
- Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: the logic of two-level games." *International Organization*. 42.3 (1988): 427-460.
- Helen V. Milner, *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations*. Princeton University Press, 1997.

Secondary Texts

- Andrew Moravcsik, 2008. "The New Liberalism." In Reus-Smit and Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, (Oxford University Press, 2008): 255-266.
- Helen V. Milner, "Rationalizing Politics: The Emerging Synthesis of International, American, and Comparative Politics." *International Organization* 52.4 (1998): 759-786.
- Stephen Chaudoin, Helen V. Milner, and Xun Pang. "International Systems and Domestic Politics: Linking Complex Interactions with Empirical Models in International Relations." *International Organization* 69.2 (2015): 275-309.

Democratic Peace Theory

Core Texts

- Michael W. Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs," in Michael Brown et al (eds) *Debating the Democratic Peace* (MIT Press, 1996), pp. 3-57.
- Bruce Russett, "Why the Democratic Peace," in Michael E. Brown, et al (eds) *Debating the Democratic Peace* (MIT Press, 1996), pp. 82-115
- Christopher Layne, "Kant or Cant, The Myth of Democratic Peace," in Michael E. Brown, et al (eds) *Debating the Democratic Peace* (MIT Press, 1996), pp. 157-201
- Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," in Michael E. Brown et al (eds) *Debating the Democratic Peace* (MIT Press, 1996), pp. 301-336.
- Roland Paris, "Bringing the Leviathan Back in: Classical vs. Contemporary Conceptions of the Liberal Peace," *International Studies Review* 8/3(September 2006): 425-440.
- Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton University Press, 1993)
- Bruce Russett and John R. Oneal, "The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, and

Conflict, 1950-1985," *International Studies Quarterly* 41/2 (1997): 267-294

Secondary Texts

- Beate Jahn, "Kant, Mill, and Illiberal Legacies in International Affairs," *International Organization* 59/1 (Winter 2005): 177-208
- Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* 97/4 (November 2003): 585-602
- Seung-Whan Choi, "Re-Evaluating Capitalist and Democratic Peace Models," *International Studies Quarterly*, 55 (2011):759-769
- Jameson Lee Ungerer. Assessing the Progress of the Democratic Peace Research Program. *International Studies Review* 14/1 (March 2012):1-31.
- James Lee Ray, "Does Democracy Cause Peace?" *American Review of Political Science* 1 (1998): 27-46
- Azar Gat, "The Democratic Peace Theory Reframed: The Impact of Modernity," *World Politics* 58/1 (2005): 73-100
- Kenneth Schultz, "Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform?" *International Organization* 53/2 (Spring 1999) 233-266
- John M. Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War* (Cornell University Press, 1997)
- Bruce Bueno-Mesquita et al "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 93/4 (December 1999): 791-807
- Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey (eds.) *Democracy, Liberalism, and War* (Lynne Rienner, 2001)
- Michael D. Ward and Kristian S. Gleditsch, "Democratizing for Peace," *American Political Science Review* 92/1 (1998): 51-61

Liberal IR Theories

Core Texts

- Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (Norton, 1997).
- Andreas Osiander, "Re-reading Early Twentieth Century IR Theory: Idealism Revisited," *International Studies Quarterly* (September 1998): 409-432
- Christian Reus-Smit, "The Strange Death of Liberal International Relations Theory," *European Journal of International Relations* 12(3) (2001): 573-593

Secondary texts

- James L. Richardson, "Contending Liberalisms-Past and Present," *European Journal of International Relations* 3/1 (March 1997): 5-34.
- Bruce Russett, "Liberalism" in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith (eds.) *International Relations Theories* (Oxford University Press, 2013)

Liberal International Order

Core Texts

- G.J. Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major*

Wars (Princeton University Press, 2000)

- Kenneth Abbott, Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Duncan Snidal (2000) "The Concept of Legalization" *International Organization*, 54/3: 401-419.
- Anne Marie Slaughter, *A New World Order* (Princeton University Press, 2004).
- Ian Clark, "Legitimacy in a Global Order," *Review of International Studies* 29 (December 2003), pp. 75-95
- Ian Hurd, "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics," *International Organization* 53/2 (Spring 1999): 379-408
- Anne Marie Slaughter, "International Law in a World of Liberal States," *European Journal of International Law* 6/4 (1995): 503-539.
- John G. Ikenberry. "The End of the Liberal International Order?" *International Affairs* 94, no. 1 (January 2017) 7–23.

Secondary Texts

- Edward Mansfield, *Power, Trade, and War* (Princeton University Press, 1994)
- Peter M. Haas, "Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," *International Organization* 46/1 (Winter 1992): 1-35
- Robert Latham, *The Liberal Moment: Modernity, Security, and the Making of the Postwar International Order* (Columbia University Press, 1997).
- Charles L. Glaser, "A Flawed Framework: Why the Liberal International Order Concept is Misguided." *International Security* 43.4 (2019): 51-87.

Constructivism

Constructivism as a Middle Ground in IR Theory

Core Texts

- Emanuel Adler, "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics," *European Journal of International Relations* 3/3 (1997): 319-363.
- Emanuel Adler, *Communitarian International Relations* (Routledge, 2005)
- John Gerard Ruggie, *Constructing the World Polity* (Routledge, 1998).
- Nicholas Onuf, *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations* (University of South Carolina Press, 1989)
- Jeffrey Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics* 50/2 (January 1998): 324-348.
- Ted Hopf, *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies* (Cornell University Press, 2004)

Secondary Texts

- Ian Hurd. "Constructivism," In Reus-Smit and Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, (Oxford University Press, 2008): 298-316.
- Emanuel Adler, "Constructivism in International Relations: Sources, Contributions, and Debates." In

Carlsnaes, Risse, and Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations*. Second Edition. (Sage, 2013): 112-144.

- K.M Fierke, "Constructivism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds) *International Relations Theories* (Oxford University Press, 2013)
- John Kurt Jacobsen, "Dueling Constructivisms: A Post-Mortem on the Ideas Debate in Mainstream IR/IPE," *Review of International Studies* 29/1 (January 2003): 39-60
- Nicholas Onuf, "Constructivism: A User's Manuel," in Vendulka Kubalkova, Nicholas Onuf and - Paul Kowert (eds.), *International Relations in a Constructed World* (M.E. Sharpe, 1998)
- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics," *American Review of Political Science* 4 (2001): 391-416
- Richard Price, "Moral Limit and Possibility in World Politics," *International Organization* 62/2 (Spring 2008): 191-220
- Ian Hacking, *The Social Construction of What?* (Harvard University Press, 1999)

Systemic-Level Constructivism: Wendt's Social Theory and its Critics

Core Texts

- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46.2 (1992): 391-425.
- Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999),
- Friedrich Kratochwil, "Constructing a New Orthodoxy? Wendt's Social Theory of International Politics and the Constructivist Challenge," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29/1 (2000): 73-101
- Jack Snyder, "Anarchy and Culture," *International Organization* 56/1 (Winter 2002): 7-46
- Stefano Guzzini and Anna Leander (eds) *Constructivism and International Relations: Alexander Wendt and his Critics* (Routledge, 2006).
- Forum on Wendt's Social Theory of International Politics, In Special issue of *Review of International Studies* (January 2002) (Refer to comments by Doty, Alker, and Smith)
- Jonathan Mercer, "Anarchy and Identity," *International Organization* 49/2 (1995): 229-252

Norms and Identity

Core Texts

- Friedrich Kratochwil, *Rules, Norms, and Decisions* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52:4 (Autumn 1998): 887-917
- Jeffrey W. Legro, "Which Norms Matter? Revisiting the 'Failure of Internationalism'," *International Organization* 51/1 (1997): 31-63
- Alexander Wendt, "The State as Person in International Theory," *Review of International Studies* 30/2 (April 2004): 289-316
- Iver Neuman, "Self and Other in International relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 2/2 (June 1996): 139-174

Secondary Texts

- Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (Cornell University Press, 1998)
- Jeffrey Legro *Cooperation Under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint During World War II* (Cornell University Press, 1005)
- Peter Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (Columbia University Press, 1996)
- Christoph O. Meyer, "Convergence Towards a European Strategic Culture? A Constructivist Framework for Explaining Changing Norms," *European Journal of International Relations* 11/4 (2005): 523-549
- Audie Klotz, *Norms in International Relations: The Struggle Against Apartheid* (Cornell University Press, 1995)
- Lars-Erik Cederman and Christopher Daase, "Endogenizing Corporate Identities: The Next Step in Constructivist IR Theory," *European Journal of International Relations* 9/1 (2003): 5-35
- Rodney Bruce Hall, *National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems* (Columbia University Press, 1999)

The Agent-Structure Debate

Core Texts

- Alexander Wendt, "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," *International Organization* 41/3: (1987): 236-270.
- Colin Wight, "State Agency: Social Action Without Human Activity," *Review of International Studies* 30/2 (April 2004): 229-316.
- Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, "Two Stories About Structure and Agency," *Review of International Studies* 20 (July 1994): 241-251

Secondary Texts

- Colin Wight, *Agents, Structures, and International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- David Dessler, "What's at Stake in the Agent-Structure Debate?" *International Organization* (Summer 1989): 441-473
- Roxanne Lyne Doty, "Aporia: A Critical Exploration of the Agent-Structure Problematique in IR Theory," *European Journal of International Relations* 3/3 (1997): 365-392
- Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (University of California Press, 1979), chapters 2-6
- Patrick Thaddeus Jackson and Daniel H. Nexon, "Relations Before States: Substance, Process, the Study of World Politics," *European Journal of International Relations* 5/3 (1999): 291-332

Critical International Theory

Political Economy: Marxist and Neo-Gramscian Approaches

Core Texts

- Robert W. Cox, "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory,"

Millennium 10/2 (Summer 1981): 213-236

- Randall Germain and Michael Kenny, "Engaging Gramsci: International Relations Theory and the New Gramscians," *Review of International Studies* (January 1998): 3-23
- Adam David Morton, "Historicizing Gramsci: Situating Ideas in and Beyond Their Context," *Review of International Political Economy* (Feb 2003): 118-146
- Germain and M. Kenny (eds.) *The Idea of Global Civil Society: Politics and Ethics in a Globalizing Era* (Routledge (2005), pp. 35-46
- Stephen Gill, "Globalization, Market Civilization, and Disciplinary Neo-liberalism," *Millennium* (Summer 1995)
- Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebook*, edited by Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Smith (International Publishers, 1971)
- Ann Showstack Sassoon, *Gramsci and Contemporary Politics: Beyond Pessimism of the Intellect* (Routledge 2000)
- Mark Rupert, *Producing Hegemony* (Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Mark Rupert and M. Scott Solomon, *Globalization and International Political Economy: The Politics of Alternative Futures* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2005)

Secondary Texts

- Peter Ives and Nicola Short, "On Gramsci and the International: A Textual Analysis," *Review of International Studies*, 39/3(July 2013): 621-642
- Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton (eds.) *Images of Gramsci: Connections and Contentions in Political Theory and International Relations* ((Routledge 2006)
- Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton *Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis* (Cambridge, 2018)
- David Armstrong, Theo Farrell and Bice Maiguashca (eds.) *Governance and Resistance in World Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Mark Rupert, "Marxism", in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, *International Relations Theories*. Third Edition (Oxford University Press, 2013)

Historical Materialism and the State

Core Texts

- Justin Rosenberg, *The Empire of Civil Society* (Verso Press, 1990), chapters 1 and 2
- Benno Teschke, *The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics and the Making of Modern IR* (Verso Press, 2003), chapters 1 and 2
- Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Inter-state Structure of the Modern World-System," In Steven Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Laweski (eds.) *International Theory: Postpositivism and Beyond* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 97-107
- Fred Halliday, "A Necessary Encounter: Historical Materialism and International Relations," In Andrew Linklater, *International Relations: Critical Concepts in Political Science* (Routledge, 1990), 1149-59.
- Justin Rosenberg, "Why is there no Historical Sociology in International Relations?" *European Journal of*

International Relations 12 (2006): 307-40

- Henrik Spruyt, "Historical Sociology and Systems Theory in International Relations," *Review of International Political Economy* 5 (1998): 340-53.
- Stephen Hobden and John M. Hobson (eds.), *Historical Sociology of International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- John Hobson and George Lawson, "What is History in International Relations." *Millennium*, 37/2 (2008): 415-35.

Normative Approaches

Core Texts

- Andrew Linklater, *The Transformation of Political Community* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998).
- Michael Diez and Jill Steans, "A Useful Dialogue? Habermas and International Relations," *Review of International Studies*, 31/1 (January 2005)
- David Levine, *Recovering International Relations Theory: The Promise of Sustainable Critique* (Oxford University Press, 2012)
- Richard Devetak, *Critical International Theory: An Intellectual History* (Oxford University Press, 2018).
- Richard K. Ashley, "The Geopolitics of Geopolitical Space: Toward a Critical Social Theory of International Politics," *Alternatives* 12/4 (1987): 403-434.
- Martin Weber, "Critical Theory and Contemporary World Politics," *International Studies Review*, 12(2010):444-450.
- Shannon Brincat, "On the Methods of Critical Theory: Advancing the Project of Emancipation Beyond the Early Frankfurt School," *International Relations* 26(2)(June 2012): 218-245

Secondary Texts

- Mark Hoffman, "Critical Theory and the Inter-paradigm Debate," *Millennium* 23/1 (1987): 109-18
- Andrew Linklater, *Beyond Realism and Marxism* (Macmillan, 1990)
- Axel Honneth, *The Struggle for Recognition* (MIT Press, 1995)
- Steven C. Roach, "Critical Theory," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds) *International Relations Theories*. Third Edition (Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Steven C, Roach, *Critical Theory of International Politics: Complementarity, Justice, and Governance* (Routledge, 2010).
- Richard Wyn Jones, "Introduction: Locating Critical International Relations Theory," in Richard Wyn Jones (ed.) *Critical Theory and World Politics* (Lynne Rienner, 2001), 1-19
- Nicholas Rengger, *International Relations, Political Theory, and the Problem of Order? Beyond International Relations Theory* (Routledge, 2000)
- Mark Neufeld, *The Restructuring of International Relations Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Richard Shapcott, *Justice, Community, and Dialogue* (Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Discursive Ethics

Core Texts

- Thomas Risse, "Let's Argue!": Communicative Action in International Relations, " *International Organization* 54/1 (Winter 2000): 1-40
- Jennifer Mitzen, "Reading Habermas in Anarchy: Multilateral Diplomacy and Global Public Spheres," *American Political Science Review* (2005)
- Richard Price and Christian Reus-Smit, "Dangerous Liasons? Critical International Theory and Constructivism," *European Journal of International Relations*, 4 (1998)
- Nicole Deitelhoff and Harald Muller, "Theoretical Paradise-Empirically Lost? Arguing with Habermas," *Review of International Studies* 31/1 (January 2005): 167-180
- Jürgen Habermas, *Communicative Action Theory*, Volume I. (Beacon Press 1984)
- Roger E. Payne, "Persuasion, Frames, and Norm Construction," *European Journal of International Relations*, 7/1 (March 2001): 37-61
- Janice Bally Mattern, "The Power Politics of Identity," *European Journal of International Relations* 10/3 (September 2001): 349-397
- Stacie E. Goddard, "Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimization," *International Organization*, 60/1 (2006): 35-68
- Michael Diez and Jill Steans, "Forum on Habermas and IR," *Review of International Studies*, 31/1 (January 2005): 127-209

Poststructuralism

Core Texts

- Jens Bartelson, *A Genealogy of Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- James Der Derian, *Critical Practices in International Theory: Selected Essays* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
- Richard K. Ashley and R.B.J Walker, "Reading Dissidence/Writing the Discipline: Crisis and the Question of Sovereignty in International Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* 34/3(1990): 367-416.
- R.B.J Walker, *Inside/Outside* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Jenny Edkins, *Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bring the Political in* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995).

Secondary Texts

- David Campbell, "Poststructuralism", in Dunne et al *International Relations Theories*, ch 11.
- Richard Devetak, "Post-Structuralism," in Burchill et al *Theories of International Relations*
- Anna M. Agathangelou and L.H.M. Ling, *Transforming World Politics: From Empire to Multiple Worlds* (New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison* (Pantheon, 1977).
- Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*.

Colin Gordon (ed.) (Pantheon Books, 1980).

- Richard Ashley, “The Poverty of Neorealism,” *International Organization* 38/2 (Spring 1984): 225-286.
- Richard K. Ashley, “Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique,” *Millennium* 17/2 (Summer 1998): 227-262.
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- Kuran, Timur. *Private Truths, Public Lies*. Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Laitin, David D. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Taylor, Brian. *State Building in Putin's Russia: Policing and Coercion after Communism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011
- Treisman, Daniel. *After the Deluge: Regional Crises and Political Consolidation in Russia*. University of Michigan Press, 2001.
- Volkov, Vadim. *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism*. Cornell University Press, 2016.

American Government

All students taking the comprehensive exam in American Politics should familiarize themselves with the core literatures “Foundations of American Political Thought and Theory” and “Models of the American Political Process” below. Books and articles need not be read in their entirety. What is important is to learn each work’s core arguments and how they fit into broader scholarly debates. Beyond studying the American core, all students should also acquaint themselves with one specialization area among: 1) Political Institutions, 2) Political Culture, 3) Behavioral Approaches to American Politics, and 4) Public Policy. Students majoring in American politics should also study two subareas in their area of specialization.

Core I. Foundations of American Political Thought and Theory

- Declaration of Independence.
- United States Constitution.
- James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers*.
- Herbert Storing, *The Complete Anti-Federalist*.
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*.
- Robert Dahl, 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. University of Chicago Press.
- Anthony Downs, 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper.
- Elmer E. Schattschneider, 1960. *The Semisovereign People: A Realist’s View of Democracy in America*. Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Theodore Lowi, 1979. *The End of Liberalism*. Second Edition. Norton.

Core II: Models of the American Political Process

Pluralism

- Arthur F. Bentley, 1908. *The Process of Government: A Study of Social Pressures*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- David Truman, 1951. *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*. Alfred A. Knopf.
- Robert Dahl, 1961. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech, 1998. *Basic Interests: The Importance of Groups in Politics and in Political Science*. Princeton University Press.
- Daniel Tichenor and Richard Harris, 2002-2003. “Organized Interests and American Political Development,” *Political Science Quarterly* 117, pp. 587-612.
- Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech, 2009. *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Elite Theory

- Charles Beard, 1913. *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*.
- C. Wright Mills, 1956. *The Power Elite*. Oxford University Press.

- G. William Domhoff, 2013. *Who Rules America: The Triumph of the Corporate Rich*. 7th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, 2010. "Winner-Take-All Politics: Public Policy, Political Organization, and the Precipitous Rise of Top Incomes in the United States." *Politics & Society* 38.2: 152-204.
- Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page, 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics* 12.3: 564-581.

Voter Sovereignty and Rational Choice Theory

- V.O. Key, 1966. *The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting, 1936–1960*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Mancur Olson, 1968. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Schocken Books.
- Morris P. Fiorina, 1978. "Economic Retrospective Voting in American National Elections: A Micro-Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science*: 426-443.
- John Ferejohn, 1986. "Incumbent Performance and Electoral Control." *Public Choice* 50.1: 5-25.
- Andrew Healy and Neil Malhotra, 2013. "Retrospective Voting Reconsidered." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 285-306.
- Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 2002. *The Macro Polity*. Cambridge University Press.
- Christopher H. Achen and Larry M. Bartels, 2016. *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections do Not Produce Responsive Government*. Princeton University Press.

Partisan Realignment Theory and Partisan Regimes

- V.O. Key, 1955. "A Theory of Critical Elections." *The Journal of Politics* 17.1: 3-18.
- Walter Dean Burnham, 1970. *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*. New York: Norton.
- David Mayhew, 2000. "Electoral Realignments." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3.1: 449-474.
- Andrew J. Polsky, 2012. "Partisan Regimes in American Politics." *Polity* 44.1: 51-80.

Specialization Areas: Students majoring in American politics should select one specialization area among (1) political institutions, (2) political culture, (3) behavioral approaches to American politics, and (4) public policy, and acquaint themselves with that area's core literature as well as two subareas (listed below). Students taking the minor exam in American politics should select one specialization area and study its core literature.

Specialization I. American Political Institutions

Institutions Core

- Paul Pierson, 2004. *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis*. Princeton University Press.
- Woodrow Wilson, 1885. *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics*. Houghton, Mifflin.
- Charles O. Jones, 2005. *The Presidency in a Separated System*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Louis Fisher, 1998. *The Politics of Shared Power: Congress and the Executive*. Texas A&M University Press.
- Stephen Skowronek, 1982. *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Jeffrey K. Tulis, 1987. *The Rhetorical Presidency*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stephen Skowronek, 1997. *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*. Second Edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- David R. Mayhew, 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Eric Schickler, 2000. *Disjointed Pluralism*, Princeton University Press.
- David B. Robertson, 2013. *The Original Compromise: What the Constitution's Framers Were Really Thinking*. Oxford University Press.
- Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, 2004. *The Search for American Political Development*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jonathan Rodden, 2019. *Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of the Urban-Rural Political Divide*. Basic Books.

Subarea: The Presidency

- James David Barber, 1972. *The Presidential Character; Predicting Performance in the White House*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Theodore J. Lowi, 1985. *The Personal President: Power Invested, Promise Unfulfilled*. Cornell University Press.
- Richard E. Neustadt, 1991. *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents: The Politics of Leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*. Simon and Schuster.
- Samuel Kernell, 2006. *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*. CQ Press.
- Sidney M. Milkis, 1993. *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System since the New Deal*. Oxford University Press.
- Charles M. Cameron, 2000. *Veto Bargaining: Presidents and the Politics of Negative Power*. Cambridge University Press.
- George C. Edwards III, 2008. *On Deaf Ears*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- William G. Howell, 2003. *Power Without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action*. Princeton University Press.
- Brandice Canes-Wrone, 2005. *Who Leads Whom? Presidents, Policy, and the Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Andrew Rudalevige, 2006. *The New Imperial Presidency: Renewing Presidential Power after Watergate*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Daniel Galvin, 2009. *Presidential Party Building: Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W. Bush*. Princeton University Press.
- David E. Lewis, 2010. *The Politics of Presidential Appointments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- William G. Howell and Terry M. Moe, 2016. *Relic: How Our Constitution Undermines Effective Government--and Why We Need a More Powerful Presidency*. Basic Books.
- Aaron Wildavsky. "The Two Presidencies." In *Perspectives on the Presidency, 1963-1969*, 448-61. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Brandice Canes-Wrone, William G. Howell, and David E. Lewis. 2008. "Toward a Broader Understanding of Presidential Power: A Reevaluation of the Two Presidencies Thesis." *The Journal of Politics* 70:1 (2008): 1-16.

Subarea: Congress

- Nelson W. Polsby, 1968. "The Institutionalization of the US House of Representatives." *American Political Science Review* 62.1: 144-168.
- Richard F. Fenno, 1978. *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts*. Foresman & Co.

- Gary C. Jacobson, 1983. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Matthew D. McCubbins and Thomas Schwartz, 1984. "Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols Versus Fire Alarms," *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Barry R. Weingast and William J. Marshall, 1988. "The Industrial Organization of Congress: Or, Why Legislatures, Like Firms, Are Not Organized as Markets," *Journal of Political Economy*.
- David R. Mayhew, 2005. *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking and Investigations, 1946-2002*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, 1993. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. University of California Press.
- Keith Krehbiel, 1998. *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking*. University of Chicago Press.
- Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal, 2017. *Ideology & Congress: A Political Economic History of Roll Call Voting*. Routledge.
- David R. Mayhew, 2011. *Partisan Balance*. Princeton University Press.
- Sarah A. Binder, 2004. *Stalemate: Causes and Consequences of Legislative Gridlock*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Nelson W. Polsby, 2004. *How Congress Evolves: Social Bases of Institutional Change*. Oxford University Press.
- John S. Lapinski, 2013. *The Substance of Representation*. Princeton University Press.
- James M. Curry, 2015. *Legislating in the Dark: Information and Power in the House of Representatives*. University of Chicago Press.
- Frances E. Lee, 2016. *Insecure Majorities: Congress and the Perpetual Campaign*. University of Chicago Press.
- Hannah Pitkin. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. University of California Press.

Subarea: The Law, Courts, and Constitutional Development

- Robert A. Dahl, 1957. "Decision-Making in a Democracy: The Supreme Court as a National Policy-Maker." *Journal of Public Law* 6: 279-295. Robert Kagan, 1991. "Adversarial Legalism and American Government," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 10:369-406.
- Karen Orren, *Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development in the United States*. Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Bruce Ackerman 2000. *We the People, Volume II: Transformations*. Harvard University Press.
- Mark Graber, 1993. "The Nonmajoritarian Difficulty: Legislative Deference to the Judiciary." *Studies in American Political Development*, 7: 35-73.
- Keith E. Whittington, 2001. "Presidential Challenges to Judicial Supremacy and the Politics of Constitutional Meaning." *Polity* 33.3: 365-395.
- Steven M. Teles, 2012. *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement: The Battle for Control of the Law*. Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Thomas Keck, 2014. *Judicial Politics in Polarized Times*. University of Chicago Press.
- Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, 2018. *The Policy State: An American Dilemma*. Harvard University Press.
- Alexander Bickel. 1962 (or a reissue). *The Least Dangerous Branch: The Supreme Court at the Bar of Politics*. Yale University Press.
- John Hart Ely. 1980. *Democracy and Distrust: A Theory of Judicial Review*. Harvard University Press.
- David O'Brien. 2017 (or earlier edition) *Storm Center: The Supreme Court and American Politics*. Norton.
- Jeffrey Segal and Harold Spaeth. 2002. *The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model Revisited*. Cambridge University Press.

- Lee Epstein and Jack Knight. 1997. *The Choices Justices Make*. CQ Press.
- Stuart Sheingold. 1974. *The Politics of Rights*. University of Michigan Press.
- Marc Galanter. 1974. "Why the "Haves" Come Out Ahead: Speculations on the Limits of Legal Change," *Law & Society Review* 9:95-160.

Subarea: Political Parties

- Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler, 2008. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. Yale University Press.
- David W. Rohde, 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*. University of Chicago Press.
- David Karol. *Party Position Change in American Politics: Coalition Management*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- John H. Aldrich, 2011. *Why Parties? A Second Look*. University of Chicago Press.
- John Gerring, 1998. *Party Ideologies in America, 1828-1996*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hans Noel, 2014. *Political Ideologies and Political Parties in America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Daniel Schlozman, 2015. *When Movements Anchor Parties: Electoral Alignments in American History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- David A. Hopkins and Matt Grossman, 2016. *Asymmetric Politics: Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- David A. Hopkins. *Red Fighting Blue: How Geography and Electoral Rules Polarize American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Eric Schickler, 2016. *Racial Realignment: The Transformation of American Liberalism, 1932–1965*. Princeton University Press.
- Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. 2016. *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches*. MIT Press.
- Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson, 2016. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*. Oxford University Press.
- Morris P. Fiorina, 2017. *Unstable Majorities: Polarization, Party Sorting, and Political Stalemate*. Hoover Press.
- Lilliana Mason, 2018. *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became our Identity*. University of Chicago Press.
- **Subarea: Federalism**
- David Brian Robertson, 2011. *Federalism and the Making of America*. Routledge.
- William H. Riker, 1987. *The Development of American Federalism*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Samuel Beer, 1993. *To Make a Nation: The Rediscovery of American Federalism*. Harvard University Press.
- Paul E. Peterson, 1995. *The Price of Federalism*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Martha Derthick, 2004. *Keeping the Compound Republic: Essays on American Federalism*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Kimberley S. Johnson, 2007. *Governing the American State: Congress and the New Federalism, 1877-1929*. Princeton University Press.
- Margaret Weir, 2005. "States, Race, and the Decline of New Deal Liberalism." *Studies in American Political Development* 19.2: 157-172.
- Andrew Karch and Shanna Rose, 2019. *Responsive States: Federalism and American Public Policy*. Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Ben Merriman, 2019. *Conservative Innovators: How States are Challenging Federal Power*. University of Chicago Press.

- Daniel Elazar. 1966. *American Federalism: A View From the States*. Thomas A. Crowell Co.
- Martin Grodzins. 1966. *The American System: A New View of the Government of the United States*. Rand McNally.

Specialization II. American Political Culture

Core.

- Louis Hartz, 1955. *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution*. Harcourt, Brace.
- Samuel P. Huntington, 1982. "American Ideals versus American Institutions." *Political Science Quarterly* 97.1: 1-37.
- James A. Morone, 1991. *The Democratic Wish*. Yale University Press.
- Richard J. Ellis, 1993. *American Political Cultures*. Oxford University Press.
- Rogers M. Smith, 1993. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America." *American Political Science Review* 87.3: 549-566.
- Michael J. Sandel, 1998. *Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Elvin T. Lim, 2014. *The Lovers' Quarrel: The Two Foundings and American Political Development*. Oxford University Press.
- Katherine J. Cramer, 2016. *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker*. University of Chicago Press.

Subarea: Liberalism

- Joyce Appleby, 1976. "Liberalism and the American Revolution." *New England Quarterly*: 3-26.
- J. David Greenstone, 1986. "Political Culture and American Political Development: Liberty, Union, and the Liberal Bipolarity." *Studies in American Political Development* 1: 1-49.
- Rogers M. Smith, 1988. "The "American Creed" and American Identity: The Limits of Liberal Citizenship in the United States." *Western Political Quarterly* 41.2: 225-251.
- Gary Gerstle, 1994. "The Protean Character of American Liberalism." *The American Historical Review* 99.4: 1043-1073.
- James A. Morone, 2005. "Storybook Truths about America." *Studies in American Political Development* 19.2: 216-226.
- David F. Ericson, 2000. *The Debate over Slavery: Antislavery and Proslavery Liberalism in Antebellum America*. New York University Press.
- Philip Abbott, 2005. "Still Louis Hartz After all These Years: A Defense of the Liberal Society Thesis." *Perspectives on Politics* 3.1: 93-109.
- Patrick J. Deneen, *Why Liberalism Failed*. Yale University Press, 2019.

Subarea: Republicanism

- Bernard Bailyn, 1969. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*. Harvard University Press.
- Philip Pettit, 2012. *On the People's Terms: A Republican Theory and Model of Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Eric MacGilvray, 2011. *The Invention of Market Freedom*. Cambridge University Press.
- Alex Gourevitch, 2014. *From Slavery to the Cooperative Commonwealth: Labor and Republican Liberty in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press.
- Frank Lovett and Philip Pettit, 2009. "Neorepublicanism: A Normative and Institutional Research Program." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 11-29.

Subarea: Conservatism

- Michael Rogin, 1988. *Ronald Reagan the Movie*. University of California Press.
- James Morone, 2003. *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Joseph E. Lowndes, 2008. *From the New Deal to the New Right: Race and the Southern Origins of Modern Conservatism*. Yale University Press.
- Corey Robin, 2017. *The Reactionary Mind: Conservatism from Edmund Burke to Donald Trump*. Oxford University Press.
- Jeffrey K. Tulis and Nicole Mellow, 2018. *Legacies of Losing in American Politics*. University of Chicago Press.
- Daniel Martinez HoSang and Joseph E. Lowndes, 2019. *Producers, Parasites, Patriots: Race and the New Right-Wing Politics of Precarity*. University of Minnesota Press.

Subarea: Ascriptive Traditions and Exclusion

- Judith N. Shklar, 1991. *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion*. Harvard University Press.
- Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in US History*. Yale University Press, 1997.
- Desmond S. King, 2002. *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy*. Harvard University Press.
- Carol A. Horton, 2005. *Race and the Making of American Liberalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Victoria Hattam, 2007. *In the Shadow of Race: Jews, Latinos, and Immigrant Politics in the United States*. University of Chicago Press.
- Gretchen Ritter, 2006. *The Constitution as Social Design: Gender and Civic Membership in the American Constitutional Order*. Stanford University Press.
- Stephen Skowronek, 2006. "The Reassociation of Ideas and Purposes: Racism, Liberalism, and the American Political Tradition," *American Political Science Review* 100: 385-401.
- Marc Stears, 2007. "The Liberal Tradition and the Politics of Exclusion." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 85-101.
- Desmond S. King and Rogers M. Smith, 2005. "Racial Orders in American Political Development." *American Political Science Review* 99.1: 75-92.

Specialization III. Behavioral Approaches to American Politics

Core:

- Heinz Eulau. 1968. "The Behavioral Moment in Political Science." *Social Research* 35:1-29.
- Heinz Eulau. 1969. *Behavioralism in Political Science*. Transaction.
- Samuel J. Eldersveld, Alexander Heard, Samuel P. Huntington, Morris Janowitz, Avery Leiserson, Dayton D. McKean and David B. Truman. 1952. Research in Political Behavior. *American Political Science Review* 46:1003-1045.
- David Easton. 1953. *The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science*. Knopf.
- Christopher Achen. 1986. *The Statistical Analysis of Quasi-Experiments*. University of California Press.
- Gary King. 1989 (or later edition). *Unifying Political Methodology: The Likelihood Theory of Statistical Inference*. University of Michigan Press.

Subarea: Citizen Participation

- John Zaller. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge University Press.

- Zoltan Hajnal. 2020. *Dangerously Divided: How Race and Class Shape Winning and Losing in American Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Richard G. Niemi, Herbert F. Weisberg, and David Kimball. 2010. *Controversies in Voting Behavior, 5th edition*. Sage.
- Hanes Walton. 1985. *Invisible Politics: Black Political Behavior*. SUNY
- Richard Lau and David Redlawsk. 2001. “Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making.” *American Journal of Political Science* 45:951-971
- Raymond Wolfinger and Steven Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* Yale University Press.
- Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, Donald Stokes. 1960 (or 1980 edition). *The American Voter*. University of Chicago Press.
- Warren Miller and J. Merrill Shanks. 1996. *The New American Voter*. Harvard University Press.
- Michael Lewis-Beck, William Jacoby, Helmut Norpoth, and Herbert Weisberg. 2008. *The American Voter Revisited*. University of Michigan Press.
- Edward Carmines and James Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton University Press.
- Morris Fiorina. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American Politics*. Yale University Press.
- Paul Sniderman, Richard A. Brody, and Philip Tetlock. 1991. *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Robert Huckfeldt and John Sprague. 1995. *Citizens, Politics, and Social Communication: Information and Influence in an Election Campaign*. Cambridge University Press.
- Robert S. Erikson, Gerald C. Wright, and John P. McIver. 1994. *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States*. Cambridge University Press.

Subarea: Legislative Behavior

- Gary C. Jacobson. 1983. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- David W. Rohde. 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*. University of Chicago Press.
- Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. University of California Press.
- Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal. 2017. *Ideology & Congress: A Political Economic History of Roll Call Voting*. Routledge.
- Christian Grose. 2011. *Congress in Black and White: Race and Representation in Congress and at Home*. Cambridge University Press.
- Warren E. Miller and Donald Stokes. 1963. “Constituency Influence in Congress.” *American Political Science Review* 657:45-56.
- Sean M. Theriault. 2008. *Party Polarization in Congress*. Cambridge University Press.
- C. Lawrence Evans. 2018. *The Whips: Building Party Coalitions in Congress*. University of Michigan Press.
- Morris Fiorina. 1977 (or revised edition). *Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment*. Yale University Press.
- Frances Lee. 2009. *Beyond Ideology: Politics, Principles, and Partisanship in the US Senate*. University of Chicago Press.
- Damon Cann. 2008. *Sharing the Wealth: Member Contributions and the Exchange Theory of Party Influence in the U.S. House of Representatives*. SUNY.
- Linda Powell. 2012. *The Influence of Campaign Contributions in State Legislatures*. University of Michigan Press.

Subarea: Judicial Behavior

- Jeffrey Segal and Harold Spaeth. 2002. *The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model Revisited*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lee Epstein and Jack Knight. 1997. *The Choices Justices Make*. CQ Press.
- Chris Bonneau and Melinda Gann Hall. 2009. *In Defense of Judicial Elections*. Routledge
- C. Herman Pritchett. 1948 (or any reissue). *The Roosevelt Court: A Study in Judicial Politics and Values, 1937-1947*. Macmillan.
- Glendon Schubert. 1965. *The Judicial Mind: Attitudes and Ideologies of Supreme Court Justices*. Northwestern University Press.
- Nancy Maveety, ed. 2003. *Pioneers of Judicial Behavior*. University of Michigan Press.
- C.K. Rowland and Robert L. Carp. 1996. *Politics and Judgement in Federal District Courts*. University Press of Kansas.
- Donald R. Songer, Reginald S. Sheehan, and Susan Haire. 2000. *Continuity and Change on the United States Courts of Appeals*. University of Michigan Press.
- Ryan Black and Ryan Owens. 2016. "Courting the President: How Circuit Court Judges Alter Their Behavior for Promotion to the Supreme Court," *American Journal of Political Science* 60:30-45
- Lee Epstein, Andrew Martin, Jeffrey Segal, and Chad Westerland. 2007. The Judicial; Common Space. *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 23:303-335.
- Gregory Caldeira, John Wright, and Christopher Zorn. 1999. "Sophisticated Voting and Gate-Keeping in the Supreme Court." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 15:549-572.
- Tracey George & Lee Epstein. 1992. "On the Nature of Supreme Court Decision Making," *American Political Science Review* 86:323-337.
- Paul Collins. 2004. "Friends of the Court: Examining the Influence of Amicus Curiae Participation in US Supreme Court Litigation." *Law & Society Review* 38:807-832

Specialization IV. Public Policy

Core:

- Charles E. Lindblom, 1959. "The Science of 'Muddling Through'." *Public Administration Review*: 79-88.
- Michael D. Cohen, James G. March, and Johan P. Olsen, 1972. "A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice." *Administrative Science Quarterly*: 1-25.
- Jonathan Bendor, Terry Moe, and Kenneth Shotts, 2001. "Recycling the Garbage Can: An Assessment of the Research Program." *American Political Science Review* 95.1: 169-190.
- Theodore J. Lowi, 1972. "Four Systems of Policy, Politics, and Choice." *Public Administration Review* 32.4: 298-310.
- Paul Sabatier and Daniel Mazmanian, 1980. "The Implementation of Public Policy: A Framework of Analysis." *Policy Studies Journal* 8.4: 538-560.
- John W. Kingdon, 1984. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones, 1993. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. University of Chicago Press.
- Paul A. Sabatier, 1988. "An Advocacy Coalition Framework of Policy Change and the Role of Policy-oriented Learning Therein." *Policy Sciences* 21.2: 129-168.
- Paul A. Sabatier, 1991. "Toward Better Theories of the Policy Process." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 24.2: 147-156.
- Deborah Stone, 1997. *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making*. New York: Basic Books.
- Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram, 1993. "Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy." *American Political Science Review* 87.2: 334-47.

- Peter A. Hall, 1993. "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain." *Comparative Politics*: 275-296.
- Paul Pierson, 2005. "The Study of Policy Development." *Journal of Policy History* 17.1: 34-51.
- Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, 2014. "After the "Master Theory": Downs, Schattschneider, and the Rebirth of Policy-Focused Analysis." *Perspectives on Politics* 12.3: 643-662.
- Suzanne Mettler and Joe Soss, 2004. "The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship: Bridging Policy Studies and Mass Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 2.1: 55-73.
- Michael Moran, Martin Rein, and Robert E. Goodin, eds., 2008. *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford University Press.
- Eduardo Araral, Scott Fritzen, Michael Howlett, M. Ramesh, and Xun Wu, eds., 2013. *Routledge Handbook of Public Policy*. London: Routledge.

Subarea: Social Policy

- Theda Skocpol, 1995. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*. Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Ira Katznelson, 2006. *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth Century America*. W.W. Norton & Company.
- Robert Lieberman, 1998. *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Robert C. Lieberman, 2011. *Shaping Race Policy: The United States in Comparative Perspective*. Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Phillip A. Klinkner and Rogers Smith, 1999. *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Daniel J. Tichenor, 2002. *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America*. Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Richard M. Valelly, 2004. *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement*. University of Chicago Press.
- Suzanne Mettler, 2005. *Soldiers to Citizens: The GI Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. Oxford University Press.
- Theda Skocpol and Gretchen Ritter, 1991. "Gender and the Origins of Modern social policies in Britain and the United States." *Studies in American Political Development* 5.1 (1991): 36-93.
- David A. Bateman, Ira Katznelson, and John S. Lapinski, 2018. *Southern Nation: Congress and White Supremacy after Reconstruction*. Princeton University Press.
- Christopher Howard, 1999. *The Hidden Welfare State*. Princeton University Press.
- Jacob S. Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Suzanne Mettler, 2011. *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy*. University of Chicago Press.
- Marie Gottschalk, 2008. "Hiding in Plain Sight: American Politics and the Carceral State." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 235-260.
- Vesla M. Weaver and Amy E. Lerman, 2010. "Political Consequences of the Carceral State." *American Political Science Review* 104.4: 817-833.

Subarea: Political Economy and Economic Policy

- Charles Lindblom, 1982. "The Market as Prison." *The Journal of Politics* 44.2: 324-336.
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- Gretchen Ritter, 1997. *Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance in America, 1865-1896*. Cambridge University Press.
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Subarea: Health Policy

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- Jacob S. Hacker, 1997. *The Road to Nowhere*. Princeton University Press.
- Sven Steinmo and Jon Watts, 1995. "It's the Institutions Stupid! Why Comprehensive Health Insurance Always Fails in America." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 20.2: 329-72.
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- Marie Gottschalk, 2000. "'It's the Health-Care Costs, Stupid!': Ideas, Institutions, and the Politics of Organized Labor and Health Policy in the United States", *Studies in American Political Development*, 14 (2), 234-52.
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- Jonathan Oberlander, 2003. *The Political Life of Medicare*. University of Chicago Press.
- Colin Gordon, 2003. *Dead on Arrival: The Politics of Health Care in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton University Press.
- Jill Quadagno, 2006. *One Nation, Uninsured: Why the US has No National Health Insurance*. Oxford University Press.
- Jacob S. Hacker, 2010. "The Road to Somewhere: Why Health Reform Happened: Or Why Political Scientists Who Write about Public Policy Shouldn't Assume They Know How to Shape It." *Perspectives on Politics* 8.3: 861-876.
- Daniel Sledge, 2017. *Health Divided: Public Health and Individual Medicine in the Making of the Modern American State*. University Press of Kansas.

Political Theory

Please see political theory faculty members for additional guidance on sections to emphasize in some of the works listed below.

5th & 4th Century BCE

Plato

- Apology
- Crito
- Republic

Aristotle

- Politics
- Nicomachean Ethics

16th & 17th Century CE

Machiavelli

- Prince
- Discourses

Hobbes

- Leviathan

Locke

- Second Treatise on Government
- Letter on Toleration

18th Century

Rousseau

- The Social Contract
- Second Discourse (Discourse on the Origins and Foundations of Inequality)

Kant

- “An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?”
- “Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Intent”
- “To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch”

Burke

- Reflections on the Revolution in France

Wollstonecraft

- A Vindication of the Rights of Women

19th Century

De Tocqueville

- Democracy in America

Mill, John Stuart

- On Liberty

Mill, Harriet Taylor

- The Enfranchisement of Women

Marx, selections from Robert Tucker, ed., The Marx-Engels Reader

- “Introduction: Section I” (for background on Hegel)
- “On the Jewish Question”
- “Economic and Political Manuscripts of 1844”
- “The German Ideology: Part I”
- “Wage Labour and Capital”
- “The Grundrisse, Section C: The Dynamics of Capitalism”
- “Manifesto of the Communist Party”

Nietzsche

- On the Genealogy of Morals

20th & 21st Century (in alphabetical order)

- Arendt, Hannah The Human Condition
- Berlin, Isaiah Two Concepts of Liberty
- Brown, Wendy, “At the Edge” Political Theory 30:4 (2002)
- Fanon, Frantz The Wretched of the Earth

Foucault, Michel

1. The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1
 2. Discipline and Punish
 3. Lectures One and Two in “Society Must Be Defended”: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976
 4. “What is Enlightenment?”
- Gabrielson, Teena, “Bodies, Environments, and Agency,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental Political Theory*, Hall, Gabrielson, Meyer, and Schlosberg, eds.
 - Gandhi, Mahatma, *Mahatma Gandhi: Selected Political Writings*, Dennis Dalton ed.
 - Godrej, Farah, “Culture and Difference: Non-Western Approaches to Defining Environmental Issues,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental Political Theory*

Habermas, Jurgen

1. Between Facts and Norms
 2. “Taking Aim at the Heart of the Present: On Foucault’s Lecture on Kant’s ‘What is Enlightenment?’” in *Critique and Power: Recasting the Foucault/Habermas Debate*, Michael Kelly, ed
- Hall, Cheryl, “‘Passions and Constraint’: The Marginalization of Passion in Liberal Political Theory,” *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 28:6 (2002)
 - Hawkesworth, Mary “From Constitutive Outside to the Politics of Extinction: Critical Race Theory, Feminist Theory, and Political Theory,” *Political Research Quarterly* 63:3 (2010)
 - Hirschmann, Nancy, *The Subject of Liberty: Toward a Feminist Theory of Freedom*
 - Lambacher, Jason, “Limits of Freedom and the Freedom of Limits,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental Political Theory*
 - Oakeshott, Michael, “Rationalism in Politics”
 - Patemen, Carole, and Charles Mills, *Contract and Domination*

Rawls, John

1. “Justice as Fairness”
 2. “A Well-Ordered Society”
 3. “Justice as Fairness: Political not Metaphysical”
- Smith, Andrea, “Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing” in *Color of Violence: The Incite! Anthology*
 - Spivak, Gayatri, “Can the Subaltern Speak?”
 - Tronto, Joan, “Care as a Basis for Radical Political Judgments,” *Hypatia* 10:2 (1995)
 - Young, Iris Marion, “The Ideal of Impartiality and the Civic Public,” in *Justice and the Politics of Difference*