

PLAP 3500: American Political Development

Nicholas Jacobs

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Gibson S195

Office Hours: By Appointment

Summer 2017: July 10 – August 2

Mon-Fri, 10:00 – 12:45 p.m.

Gibson Hall 241 (South Lawn)

<https://collab.itc.virginia.edu/>

Overview and Aims

This is a course about change and continuity in American politics. As such, we will examine the deep historical roots of contemporary politics and policy problems in the United States. While it is impossible for just one seminar to consider all of American Political Development (APD), this course will emphasize how politics progresses through time, and how contemporary political processes and problems can be understood as a consequence of both deliberate *and* unintentional decisions made in the past. Those who wish to change our political system must account for this country's traditional political commitments and its past and that set of possibilities is structured by decisions, attitudes, and theories made in the past. Those seeking to practice politics must always make sense of what has come before them both in order to diagnose the present malady, and re-imagine a different political future. Our ultimate goal, therefore, is to address these issues of change and continuity, and make sense of the limits and possibilities of political development in the United States.

First, as an initial foray into studying APD, students will learn to think historically (or temporally) about politics and policy development. We will explore some of the leading contemporary works in the APD subfield and consider what an historical perspective adds to our study of American politics. Additionally, we will practice APD by reading some of the classical tracts of American politics that had an effect on the types of politics we witness today. Finally, we will consider the role that ideas, institutions, the economy, and *mores* had in producing new politics, and what that politics portends for the future.

Course Requirements and Grade Distribution

Note: Failure to complete or submit any of the following will result in a grade of "F" for the course:

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|---|-----|
| - Attendance and Participation in Class | 25% |
| - Discussion Leader Role (2x) | 25% |
| - Short Paper (Monday, July 24 th) | 15% |
| - Final Paper (Saturday, August 5 th) | 35% |

There are four components to the final grade. First, as we meet every day for three and a half weeks, attendance and participation is absolutely necessary at every class meeting. Your final grade is a reflection of this commitment to have completed all the readings for the class meetings and to participate willingly in class discussion.

At least three times during the term, students will act as "discussion leader" for that day's class. As discussion leader, students will have prepared a short introduction (1-2 pages) to that day's reading that

- summarizes, in part, the major arguments of the reading
- introduces some form of criticism or praise (an argument: what you liked/didn't like)
- raises 2-3 substantive questions that will begin the day's discussion

By the middle of the semester, students will write one short paper (no more than 5 pages), on a topic of their choosing. Ideally, this will help students prepare to write their final paper, and they might choose to select a similar topic so that they can receive feedback on their work. Anything written for this paper may be used for the final paper. Ideally, you will use this first paper to motivate/draft the final assignment.

Finally, students will write *one* of three final papers (no more than 15 pages), which we will discuss during the first class meeting. Students must inform me of which option they are writing no later than July 20th.

- 1) Research Design – considers a major political issue of the student’s choosing; briefly reviews the relevant literature; outlines a hypothesis and a detailed plan for addressing those hypotheses; and explains the study’s significance.
- 2) Critical Review – selects a major theme or argument presented in class and traces its presentation throughout at least three works. Must make an argument as to what we learn from an historical perspective in addressing this conceptual problem.
- 3) Extended Response – takes one of the discussion questions from the class and develops an extended response that incorporates new “data.” May add to, refute, or slightly adjust the argument presented in the text or an answer we worked out in class.

Readings, Absences, and Participation

Scholars of APD tend to present their research in book-length form. We will consider several of these shorter texts in addition to several book chapters. I encourage you to purchase or rent copies of the following texts, all of which are available at the UVa bookstore:

Meg Jacobs, William J. Novak, and Julian E. Zelizer (eds.). 2003. *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
[ISBN: 978-0691113777](#)

Martha Derthick. 2001. *Keeping the Compound Republic: Essays on American Federalism*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press.
[ISBN: 978-0815702030](#)

Ira Katznelson. 2005. *When Affirmative Action was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth Century America*. New York, NY: Norton.
[ISBN: 978-0393328516](#)

Suzanne Mettler. 2011. *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
[ISBN: 978-0226521657](#)

All other readings are posted on Collab for you to download. *NB: The syllabus available online and available for download is “clickable” and will direct you to PDF copies of each week’s non-textbook readings.* The syllabus also denotes a set of recommended readings for each week, which will help those focusing on that temporal or methodological topic in the final papers.

As mentioned, participation and attendance at every class meeting is expected. Consider “participation” broadly. Coming to each class and raising a question or two at the beginning is an effective way to start a discussion. I expect that most of this material is new to you, and for many of the texts, there are different ways of interpreting the argument. Of course, there are many readings which you might actually disagree with, and if so, we all benefit by hearing your criticism. Asking questions during presentations, or responding to a peer’s summary of the readings is also a good way to motivate the conversation. Reading each other’s work at the end of the semester and providing constructive comments is a must. In sum, showing up having read the material is probably not sufficient for most students; write down your questions, concerns, or points as you read. Prepare to talk.

Laptops and tablets in class are acceptable for accessing the readings and taking notes during class, but please note that I reserve the right to change this policy over the course of the semester.

Other Policies

Grading: Questions and concerns about a grade do arise. If this is the case, feel free to contact me, but no sooner than 24 hours after you receive a grade. After that time, we will schedule an appointment to meet in person that is convenient for both of us. I will ask you to bring the original assignment as well as a

typed explanation as to why your assignment should have received a better grade. I do this only to ensure that our conversation will be productive.

The final paper has a hard-submission deadline set, in part, by the University's requirements. No late papers will be accepted. If you need an extension on the first paper, just ask.

Academic Honesty: You are assumed to be familiar with the university's policies on cheating and plagiarism and the potential penalties involved (a link to those policies is on the section website or you can find it at <http://www.virginia.edu/honor/> under the "resources" tab). If, in the course of writing an assignment, you have any questions about whether you have violated an academic integrity standard just ask! There is no penalty for being cautious.

Your Well-Being: If you or someone you know is struggling with gender, sexual, domestic, or other forms of power-based personal violence, there are many community and University of Virginia resources available. The **Office of the Dean of Students:** 434-924-7133 (or after-hours and weekends: 434-924-7166 for the University Police Department, ask them to refer the issue to the Dean on Call). **Sexual Assault Resources Agency (SARA) hotline:** 434-977-7273 (24/7). **Shelter for Help in Emergency (SHE) hotline:** 434-293-8509 (24/7). And the **UVA Women's Center:** 435-982- 2361. If you prefer to speak anonymously and confidentially over the phone to UVa student volunteers, you may call **Madison House's HELP Line** (24/7): 434-295-8255. More information about reporting options and available resources can be found at www.virginia.edu/sexualviolence .

As an instructor and as a person, know that I care about you and your well-being and stand ready to provide support and resources as I can. As you instructor, I am a responsible employee, which means that I am required by University policy and federal law to report what you tell me about power-based personal violence to the University's Title IX Coordinator, who will ensure that you receive the resources and support you need, while also reviewing the information presented to determine whether further action is necessary to ensure survivor safety and the safety of the University community. More generally, if you are facing any other problem that affects your performance in class, informing me immediately can help us resolve potential problems before they interfere with your work. In addition, you should contact your Association Dean, who can help you balance your school work and whatever issues you may face throughout the semester.

Course Syllabus

Monday, July 10th

Topic: Introduction to American Political Development

Readings: Meg Jacobs and Julian Zelizer. 2003. "The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History," in *The Democratic Experiment*, Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer (eds.). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Tuesday, July 11th

Topic: Foundings and Anti-Foundings

Readings: James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist*.
No. 2, 10, 17, 39, 48-51, 55, 62

Herbert Storing (ed.), *The Anti-Federalist*
The Federal Farmer, Letter No. 1
Brutus, Letter No. 1

Recommended: James Ceaser. 2011. "Fame and *The Federalist*: The American Founders and the Recovery of Political Science," *Designing a Polity: America's Constitution in Theory and Practice*. New York, NY: Rowman and Littlefield.

Herbert Storing. 1981. *What the Anti-Federalists Were For: The Political Thought of the Opponents of the Constitution*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Robert Horwitz (ed.). 1986. *The Moral Foundations of the American Republic*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

John J. Dinan. 2006. *The American State Constitutional Tradition*. Lawrence, KN: University Press of Kansas, 2006.

Wednesday, July 12th

Topic: **Democratic Pathologies, Mores, and Equality**

Readings: Alexis de Tocqueville. 1835. *Democracy in America*, Henry Reeve (trans.), revised and corrected, 1899.

Author's Introduction

Volume I, Part 2, Chapter 7

Volume II, Part 2, Chapter 10

Volume II, Part 4, Chapter 6-7

Robert D. Putnam. 2015. "The American Dream: Myths and Realities," *Our Kids: The American Dream in Crisis*, New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2015.

Recommended: Harvey C. Mansfield. 2010. *Tocqueville: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press,.

Roger Boesche. 1987. *The Strange Liberalism of Alexis de Tocqueville*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Rogers M. Smith. 1993. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America." *American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 549-566.

Thursday, July 13th

Topic: **Moral Crisis, Religion, and the Civil War**

Readings: James Morone. 2003. "The Abolitionist Crusade, 1800-1865" *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Stephen Skowronek. 1993. "Abraham Lincoln's Reconstruction," *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University.

Recommended: J. David Greenstone. 1993. *The Lincoln Persuasion: Remaking American Liberalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

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

Wilson Carey McWilliams. 1980. "Democracy and Citizen: Community, Dignity, and the Crisis of Contemporary Politics," in Robert A. Goldwin and William A.

Schambra (eds.), *How Democratic is the Constitution?* Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute.

Friday, July 14th

Topic: **Industrialization, the Economy, and Political Development**

Readings: Richard F. Bense, "Political Construction of the National Market," *The Political Economy of American Industrialization*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Martin Shefter, "Trade Unions and Political Machines," Ira Katznelson and Aristide Zolberg (eds.) *Working Class Formation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Recommended: Elizabeth Sanders. "Farmers, Workers, and the Administrative State," *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State: 1877-1917*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Karen Orren, *Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development in the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Elizabeth S. Clemens, *The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Marie Gottschalk, *The Shadow Welfare State: Labor, Business, and the Politics of Health Care in the United States*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.

WEEK TWO

Monday, July 15th

Topic: **The Progressive Critique**

Readings: Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1908, Chapters 1-3.

Martha Derthick and John Dinan, "Progressivism and Federalism," in *Keeping the Compound Republic*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press, 2001.

Recommended: Sidney Milkis, "Roosevelt, Progressive Democracy, and the Progressive Movement" *Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive Party, and the Transformation of American Democracy*. Lawrence, KN: University of Kansas Press, 2009.

Sidney Milkis and Jerome Mileur (eds.), *Progressivism and the New Democracy*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.

Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Tuesday, July 16th

Topic: **Progressive Institutionalism**

Readings: Michael Willrich. 2003. "The Case for Courts: Law and Political Development in the Progressive Era." in *The Democratic Experiment*, Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer (eds.). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sidney M. Milkis. 2002. "Roosevelt and the New Politics of Presidential Leadership," in Sidney Milkis and Jerome Mileur (eds.) *The New Deal and the Triumph of Liberalism*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Recommended: James Ceaser, *Presidential Selection: Theory and Development*, Princeton University Press, 1979, Introduction.

Brian Balogh, *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth Century America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Daniel Carpenter, *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862-1928*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Wednesday, July 17th

Topic: **The New Deal and its Legacies**

Readings: Marc Landy. 2002. "Presidential Party Leadership and Party Realignment: FDR and the Making of the New Deal Democratic Party," in Sidney Milkis and Jerome Mileur (eds.) *The New Deal and the Triumph of Liberalism*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action was White*, New York, NY: Norton Press, 2005, Preface-Chapter 3.

Recommended: Sheldon D. Pollock, *War, Revenue, and State Building: Financing the Development of the American State*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009.

Ira Katznelson, *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time*. New York, NY: Liveright, 2014.

Sidney Milkis, *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System Since the New Deal*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Thursday, July 18th

Topic: **When Affirmative Action was White**

Readings: Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action was White*, New York, NY: Norton Press, 2005, Chapter 4-6.

Recommended: Suzanne Mettler, *Soldiers to Citizens: The GI Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Friday, July 19th

Topic: **The Vital Center Comes Apart**

Readings: Martha Derthick, "Crossing Thresholds: Federalism in the 1960s" in *Keeping the Compound Republic*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press, 2001.

Sidney M. Milkis and Daniel Tichenor. 2018. "Joining the Revolution: Lyndon Johnson and the Civil Rights Movement," *Rivalry and Reform*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Recommended: Julian E. Zelizer, *Taxing America: Wilber D. Mills, Congress and the State, 1945-1975*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Sidney Milkis and Jerome Mileur (eds.), *The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

Gerald N. Rosenberg, *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.

WEEK THREE

Monday, July 24th

*****Reading Day*****
****Papers Due at 5:00 p.m.****

Tuesday, July 25st

Topic: **Foreign Policy and American Political Development**

Readings: Theda Skocpol, Ziad Munson, Andrew Karch, and Bayliss Camp, "Patriotic Partnerships: Why Great Wars Nourished American Civic Volunteerism," in Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter (ed.) *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Aaron L. Friedberg, "American Antistatistism and the Founding of the Cold War State," in Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter (ed.) *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Recommended: Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

James Ceaser, "The Origins and Character of American Exceptionalism," *American Political Thought 1* (2012): 1-25.

Wednesday, July 26th

Topic: **Building the Administrative State**

Readings: Martha Derthick, "Income Support Programs and Intergovernmental Relations" in *Keeping the Compound Republic*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press, 2001.

R. Shep Melnick, "From Tax and Spend to Mandate and Sue: Liberalism after the Great Society," in Sidney Milkis and Jerome Mileur (ed.) *The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press 2005.

Recommended: Edward C. Banfield, "The Capacities of Local Government," *Here the People Rule: Selected Essays* (2nd Ed.). Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1991.

Andrew Louise Campbell, *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Jacob Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle Over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Thursday, July 27th

Topic: **Modern Policymaking and the Submerged State**

Readings: Suzanne Mettler. *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2011, Chapters 1-3.

Recommended: Jeffery A. Jenkins and Eric M. Patashnik (eds.), *Living Legislation: Durability, Change, and the Politics of American Lawmaking*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

David Mayhew, *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-1990*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991.

Friday, July 28th

Topic: **How Policy Makes Politics**

Readings: Suzanne Mettler. *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2011, Chapters 4-6.

Vesla Weaver, "The Significance of Policy Failures in Political Development: The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the Growth of the Carceral State," in Jeffery Jenkins and Eric Patashnik (ed.), *Living Legislation: Durability, Change, and the Politics of American Lawmaking*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Recommended: Martha Derthick, "Up-to-Date in Kansas City" in *Keeping the Compound Republic*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press, 2001.

Theodore Lowi, *The End of Liberalism: The Second Republic in the United States*, 2nd edition. New York, NY: Norton, 1979.

WEEK FOUR

Monday, July 31st

Topic: **Culture Wars**

Readings: Brian Balogh. 2003. "Mirrors of Desires": Interest Groups, Elections, and the Targeted Style in Twentieth-Century America." in *The Democratic Experiment*, Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer (eds.). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Julian E. Zelizer. 2003. "The Uneasy Relationship: Democracy, Taxation, and State Building since the New Deal." in *The Democratic Experiment*, Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer (eds.). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

E.J. Dionne, Jr. 2016. "In the Shadow of Goldwater," *Why the Right Went Wrong: Conservatism from Goldwater to the Tea Party and Beyond*. New York, NY: Simon and Shuster.

Recommended: Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson. 2015. "Confronting Asymmetric Polarization," in Nathaniel Persily (ed.). *Solutions to Political Polarization in America*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Morris P. Fiorina. 2011. *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America* (3rd ed.). Boston, MA: Longman Press, Chapters 3-4.

Tuesday, August 1st

Topic: **Modern Conservatism**

Readings: Daniel Dagan and Steven M. Teles, "Locked In? Conservative Reform and the Future of Mass Incarceration," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 65 (2013).

Vanessa Williamson, Theda Skocpol, and John Coggin, "The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism," *Perspectives on Politics* (March, 2011): 25-43.

Matthew D. Lassiter. 2003. "Suburban Strategies: The Volatile Center in Postwar American Politics," in *The Democratic Experiment*, Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer (eds.). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Recommended: Brian J. Glenn and Steven M. Teles, "Conclusion," *Conservatism and American Political Development*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Clinton Rossiter, *Conservatism in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Wednesday, August 2nd

Topic: **2016 and Political Reform**

Readings: James T. Kloppenberg. 2003. "From Hartz to Tocqueville: Shifting the Focus of Liberalism to Democracy in America," in *The Democratic Experiment*, Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer (eds.). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Samuel Huntington. 1983. *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, Chapter 5.

Recommended: Martha Derthick, "Up-to-Date in Kansas City" in *Keeping the Compound Republic*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press, 2001.

Jacob S. Hacker, "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* (September, 2010): 861-876.

Sean Farhang, *The Litigation State: Public Regulation and Private Lawsuits in the United States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010.

James W. Ceaser, Andrew E. Busch, and John J. Pitney, Jr. *Defying the Odds: The 2016 Elections and American Politics*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017.

Thursday, August 3rd

*****Optional Paper Workshop*****

*****FINAL PAPERS DUE SATURDAY, AUGUST 5th at 1:00 p.m.*****