

AS.191.310
Fall 2012
Maryland 309
Th 3-5:50 PM

William D. Adler
Office: AMR II basement room 6
Hours: Th 1-2 pm & by appointment
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American Political Development

American political development (APD) is the study of how political institutions and the body politic in the U.S. have changed over time. In this advanced seminar, we will explore this subfield of political science. The course is concerned with attempting to identify historical patterns within American politics as well as the disjunctures that have reshaped the nation's trajectory. Students will engage with the APD literature and in the process learn how scholars identify the evidence they use to support their analytical claims. The course is divided into five sections. First, we will survey the subfield's rise and discuss how (or if) APD differs from other ways of studying American politics. Next, we turn to a discussion of political culture and the Constitution as a stabilizing influence within a changing political environment. This will lead directly into an examination of how the major institutions of government have developed. From there we shift to the study of discontinuities through a careful examination of state-building as well as the impact of anti-statism. Finally, the course concludes with an analysis of associational life within the American state, paying particular attention to the issue of race.

Required Texts

The following books are required:

- David Brian Robertson, *The Constitution and America's Destiny* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Keith Whittington, *Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy: The Presidency, the Supreme Court, and Constitutional Leadership in U.S. History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
- Suzanne Mettler, *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
- Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).
- Desmond King and Rogers Smith, *Still a House Divided: Race and Politics in Obama's America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

Other texts we are reading will be available through e-reserve.

Course Learning Objectives

This is a demanding course that requires substantial reading, writing, and intensive class discussions. Students are expected not only to learn the substantive material, but also to apply concepts they learn across multiple periods of history. By the end of the semester, students should be able to critique theories presented by scholars, write concisely on a topic relating to

American political development, and generate their own informed perspectives on many of the important questions we are considering.

Course Requirements

- 1) Complete all readings on schedule. If you miss a class, email me for the next reading assignment, as the schedule may change. Bring the assigned readings with you to class.
- 2) Take pop quizzes. This ensures that everyone is completing the assigned reading and participating in discussions.
- 3) Attend on time and actively participate in class discussions. Those who arrive more than 5 minutes late, or who leave in the middle of class, will be marked for half of an absence. Each student is allowed only **one** unexcused absence. Your participation grade will be reduced by one-third of a letter for each unexcused absence over one. Not being active during class discussions will also result in a lowering of your participation grade. During weeks 5 and 9 of the semester I will update you as to your current participation grade, so that you will have an opportunity for improvement. Use of electronic devices such as phones, blackberries, or music players during class is prohibited. Laptops/tablets are permitted for note-taking only.
- 4) Keep up with the news. We will frequently discuss current events as they relate to the concepts we are discussing in class. This way, we will be able to connect what can be abstract ideas to real-world outcomes. Read a newspaper, visit cnn.com, or do anything that helps makes you an informed citizen.
- 5) Submit all required writing assignments (see below for details). **Late papers will not be accepted under any circumstances** (barring serious emergencies, which must be documented). For the purposes of this course, “late” is defined as submitted to turnitin.com after the class starting time on the due date of the assignment. If you are having technical difficulties with turnitin.com at the beginning of the semester, please let me know immediately. Do not wait to the last moment to submit assignments.
- 6) Take the final exam. It will consist of essay questions and be in take-home form.

Writing Assignments

- 1) Write 7 short papers summarizing the day’s assigned readings. Papers should be 2-3 pages in length. For each class you may write only one short paper, and you may not submit more than 7 in total.
- 2) Write a review essay on a book in the field of APD. This assignment involves synthesizing the material we discuss in-class and engaging with scholarship at a high level. Below the required readings I have also listed recommended titles that continue the scholarly conversation, broken down into specific areas of interest. Choose one of the recommended books and write an 8-10 page paper that includes a summary of the book’s argument, analyzes its methodology and use of evidence, situates the book within the broader APD literature, and provides praise or

critique as warranted. The paper is due on **November 29th**. You must clear your choice with me **before** reading the book. (We will discuss this assignment more as the semester progresses.)

All written assignments must be typed in a 12 point font, double spaced, with one-inch margins, and have page numbers. Papers not meeting these criteria will be penalized. All papers must be submitted to www.turnitin.com (note that I **will not** accept papers not submitted to turnitin.com):

Class ID - 5215189
password – adlerAPD

Grading

Work conducted towards the end of the semester will be more heavily weighted in my mind when dispensing final grades; in other words, *improvement counts*.

Attendance/Participation: 20%
Quizzes: 10%
Summaries: 20%
Review Essay: 20%
Final: 30%

Incompletes will only be given for valid, documented emergencies.

NOTE ON PLAGIARISM: Any student found plagiarizing work will receive a grade of **zero** for that assignment and an **F** for the course. **It is your responsibility to avoid plagiarism; if you are uncertain about what constitutes plagiarism, please ask!**

Accessibility

If you are a student with a disability or believe you might have a disability that requires accommodations, please contact Dr. Brent Mosser, in Student Disability Services, 385 Garland, (410) 516-4720, studentdisabilityservices@jhu.edu.

Schedule of Classes and Exams

September 6th – Introduction

September 13th – What is American Political Development?

Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, *The Search for American Political Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 120-132.

Paul Pierson, “Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics,” *American Political Science Review* 94:2 (June 2000): 251-67.

Brian Glenn, "The Two Schools of American Political Development," *Political Studies Review* 2:2 (April 2004): 153-165.

September 20th – Political Culture: Continuity and Change

Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (1955), chapter 1.

Rogers M. Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America," *American Political Science Review* 87:3 (September 1993): 549-66.

Desmond S. King and Rogers M. Smith, "Racial Orders in American Political Development," *American Political Science Review* 99:1 (February 2005): 75-92.

James A. Morone, *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), Introduction ("A Nation with the Soul of a Church") pp. 1-28.

September 27th – The Constitution as a Stabilizing Force

David Brian Robertson, *The Constitution and America's Destiny* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), chapters 1, 3, 5-8.

October 4th – The Development of Political Institutions: The President and Congress

Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1997), pp. 3-58.

Andrew J. Polsky, "Partisan Regimes in American Politics," *Polity* 44:1 (January 2012): 51-80.

Eric Schickler, *Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 3-26.

October 11th – The Development of Political Institutions: The Judiciary

Keith Whittington, *Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy: The Presidency, the Supreme Court, and Constitutional Leadership in U.S. History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), chapters 1-2, 5-6.

October 18th – Discontinuities: State-building in Early America

Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 3-35.

William D. Adler and Andrew J. Polsky, "Building the New American Nation: Economic Development, Public Goods, and the Early U.S. Army," *Political Science Quarterly* 125:1 (Spring 2010): 87-110.

Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), chapter 2 ("The Communications Revolution") pp. 25-63.

October 25th – Discontinuities: State-building from the Progressive Era to the Present

Daniel P. Carpenter, "State Building through Reputation Building: Coalitions of Esteem and Program Innovation in the National Postal System, 1883-1913," *Studies in American Political Development* 14:2 (Fall 2000): 121-55.

Jacob S. Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Part III ("The Politics of Public and Private Health Insurance") pp. 175-269.

November 1st – Conservatism and Anti-Statism

Julian E. Zelizer, "The Uneasy Relationship: Democracy, Taxation, and State Building since the New Deal," in Meg Jacobs, William J. Novak, and Julian E. Zelizer, eds., *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 276-300.

Aaron L. Friedberg, *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-Statism and Its Cold War Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), chapter 2.

Julian E. Zelizer, "How Conservatives Learned to Stop Worrying and Love Presidential Power," in Zelizer, *Governing America: The Revival of Political History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 290-306.

November 8th – The Invisible State

Suzanne Mettler, *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

November 15th – Associational Life in the U.S.: Membership

Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), chapters 1, 2, 4, 5, 7.

November 22nd – Thanksgiving – No classes

November 29th - Associational Life in the U.S.: Race

Richard M. Valelly, *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 2004), chapters 1-5, 10.

December 6th - Associational Life in the U.S.: Race (continued)

Desmond King and Rogers Smith, *Still a House Divided: Race and Politics in Obama's America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), chapters 1, 2, 3, 5, 9.

Recommended Books

State-building and the Modern Order

Marie Gottschalk, *The Prison and the Gallows: The Politics of Mass Incarceration in America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

James A. Morone, *The Democratic Wish: Popular Participation and the Limits of American Government* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

Sheldon Pollack, *War, Revenue, and State Building: Financing the Development of the American State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

Adam D. Sheingate, *The Rise of the Agricultural Welfare State: Institutions and Interest Group Power in the United States, France, and Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

The Welfare State

Edwin Amenta, *Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

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

Cybelle Fox, *Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and the American Welfare State from the Progressive Era to the New Deal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

Kimberly J. Morgan and Andrea Louise Campbell, *The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets, and the Governance of Social Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Foreign Policy, War, and the Military

Andrew Grossman, *Neither Dead Nor Red: Civil Defense and American Political Development During the Early Cold War* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

Daniel Kryder, *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State During World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Robert P. Saldin, *War, the American State, and Politics since 1898* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Bartholomew H. Sparrow, *From the Outside In: World War II and the American State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Political Parties, Voting, and Elections

Richard Franklin Bensel, *Passion and Preferences: William Jennings Bryan and the 1896 Democratic Convention* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Paul Frymer, *Black and Blue: African Americans, the Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

John Gerring, *Party Ideologies in America, 1828-1996* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

David Plotke, *Building a Democratic Political Order: Reshaping American Liberalism in the 1930s and 1940s* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Associational Life: Race and Gender

Anthony S. Chen, *The Fifth Freedom: Jobs, Politics, and Civil Rights in the United States, 1941-1972* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006).

Robert C. Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Eileen L. McDonagh, *The Motherless State: Women's Political Leadership and American Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Associational Life: Immigration and Citizenship

Rogers Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

Daniel Tichenor, *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Early American Governance

Brian Balogh, *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Max Edling, *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Constitution and the Making of the American State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

David F. Ericson, *Slavery in the American Republic: Developing the Federal Government, 1791–1861* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011).

Laura Jensen, *Patriots, Settlers, and the Origins of American Social Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

The Presidency, Congress, and the Judiciary

Peri E. Arnold, *Remaking the Presidency: Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, 1901-1916* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009).

Justin Crowe, *Building the Judiciary: Law, Courts, and the Politics of Institutional Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

Daniel J. Galvin, *Presidential Party Building: Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W. Bush* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Sidney M. Milkis, *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System since the New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Daniel Wirls and Stephen Wirls, *The Invention of the United States Senate* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

Anti-Statism and Conservatism

Joseph Lowndes, *From the New Deal to the New Right: Race and the Southern Origins of Modern Conservatism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson, *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Steven M. Teles, *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement: The Battle for Control of the Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).