

HISTORY 477
MODERN AMERICAN POLICY HISTORY
Fall, 2009

Initial Version: To be revised in accord with student interest

Professor David Hammack
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Class meetings: Tuesdays, 4:15 – 6:45 p.m.

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Office Hrs: Thurs., 4:30-5:30

& by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND REQUIREMENTS

This seminar will examine U.S. policy since the late nineteenth century in the context of the growth of the national economy and the rise of the national state. We will emphasize social policy, but individual students may focus on policy in other fields as well. We will examine histories of particular social institutions and policies concerned with particular social phenomena, and will put these in the context of selected works dealing with the general history of social change, economic development, and policy-making institutions in the U.S. since the end of the nineteenth century. Because social scientists have played and continue to play key roles in the making of American social policy, each student will also gain some familiarity with the most influential social science debates about these questions.

We will develop specific assignments for weekly discussions course on the basis of student interest. We will use this syllabus as the basis for discussion at the first class meeting, then refine it to specify readings and assignments for the weekly classes.

The basic framework will be this:

We will examine topics in the history of policy-making, especially the making of policy regarding health, education, welfare, race, gender, and cultural activity but also including other areas of policy making as well.

We will take the past 100 years or so as our time period; we will devote some attention to possible major “turning-points” in the development of the policies we study, especially the New Deal, the Great Society, and the possibility of a movement against the Great Society in the 1980s or later.

For the most part, we will frankly allow our interest in the present to shape our review of studies of the past.

We will emphasize changes in specific policies, but we will also consider the changing roles of policy-making institutions in the U.S. – state and federal and local legislatures, executives, regulatory agencies, and courts; nonprofit and profit-seeking corporations; nonprofit regulators; social movements.

We will also pay some attention to the economic context.

Each student will contribute to our exploration of these matters each week.

Each student will write, as the major assignments for the course, two papers of ten or a dozen pages each, each paper reviewing half a dozen or so books on the history of policy in a particular field of interest to the student. These papers will

emphasize important debates among historians (and social scientists) as they learn from and revise one another over time, and

identify each book's major thesis, discuss its sources and the methods it applies to its sources, consider its significance in relation to other books in the field, and evaluate its success in advancing its argument.

The first paper will deal with the period before 1960; the second paper will emphasize the history of institutions and policies since that date. Each student will also be expected to provide the class with a list of books relevant to each paper, and to make a short oral presentation on each paper.

Exact definitions of policy areas, institutional groups, periods, and literature appropriate for review will be determined in discussions with the instructor.

As an alternative, a student may write two review essays on major works that deal with the development of policy and policy-making in the United States since the late nineteenth century. The first of these papers should focus on the period before the 1960s and may focus on a shorter period ending as early as 1914. The second paper should deal with the period from the 1960s to the present, and may focus on a shorter period within these years.

Grades in this course will be based on the papers and on preparation for and participation in the seminar discussions.

CORE READINGS:

- Stephen Skowronek, *Building A New American State* (Cambridge, 1982).
 Ballard C. Campbell, *The Growth of American Government: Governance from the Cleveland Era to the Present* (Indiana U.P., 1995).
 Jeremy Atack and Peter Passell, *A New Economic View of American History*, second edition (Norton, 1994) (may be between printings; check web sources).
- Linda Gordon, *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare* (Harvard U. Press, 1994).
 Jacob S. Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
 David C. Hammack, *Power and Society: Greater New York at the Turn of the Century* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1982; Columbia, 1987). (Paperback currently out of print; seek used copies or in library).
 Christopher Howard, *The Hidden Welfare State: Tax Expenditures and Social Policy in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
 J. Morgan Kousser, *Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).
 Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).
 James T. Patterson, *America's Struggle Against Poverty, 1900-1994* (Harvard, 1995).
 William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (Vintage: 1997).
 Donald G. Mathews and Jane Sherron DeHart, *Sex, Gender, and the Politics of ERA* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). (Between printings; to be discussed.)
 Theodore Marmor, *America's Misunderstood Welfare State* (Basic Books, 1992).

OTHER READINGS

- Paula Baker, *The Moral Frameworks of Public Life: Gender, Politics, and the State in Rural New York, 1870-1930* (1991).
- Edward Berkowitz and Kim McQuaid, *Creating the Welfare State: The Political Economy of Twentieth-Century Reform*. Revised Edition (1988).
- Edward Berkowitz, *America's Welfare State, From FDR to Reagan* (the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).
- Walter Dean Burnham, *The Current Crisis in American Politics*.
- Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Harvard U.P., 1981).
- Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (1977).
- Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (Cambridge U. Press, 1990).
- Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).
- Sheldon Danziger and Peter Gottschalk, *America Unequal* (Harvard/Russell Sage Foundation, 1995).
- Sheldon Danziger et al., eds., *Confronting Poverty: Prescriptions for Change* (Russell Sage Foundation/Harvard, 1994).
- John Ehrenreich (1985). *The Altruistic Imagination: A History of Social Work and Social Policy in the United States*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
- Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order* (Princeton, 1989).
- Mary O. Furner, *Advocacy & Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905* (1975).
- Colin Gordon, *Dead on Arrival: The Politics of Health Care in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 2003).
- Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence: Boston, 1880-1960* (Viking, 1988).
- Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (Basic Books, 1986).
- James L. Sundquist, *Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years* (The Brookings Institution, 1968).
- Otis L. Graham, Jr., *Toward a Planned Society: From Roosevelt to Nixon*.
- Samuel Haber, *The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions, 1750-1900* (U of Chicago Press, 1991).
- 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).
- Joel F. Handler, *Social Citizenship And Workfare In The United States And Western Europe: The Paradox Of Inclusion*. (Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Thomas Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Johns Hopkins University Press; New Ed, 2000).
- Thomas Haskell, *Objectivity is Not Neutrality: Explanatory Schemes in History* (Johns Hopkins U.P., 1998).
- Christopher Howard, *The Hidden Welfare State: Tax Expenditures and Social Policy in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

- Barry D. Karl and Stanley N. Katz, "The American Private Foundation and the Public Sphere," *Minerva* 19 (1981), pp. 236-270.
- Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York: Basic Books, 1989).
- Michael B. Katz, ed., *The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
- Morton Keller, *Affairs of State*.
- Doris Kearns, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream* (1976).
- Keyssar, Alexander. *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).
- Kornbluh, Mark Lawrence. *Why America Stopped Voting: The Decline of Participatory Democracy and the Emergence of Modern American Politics* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
- J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics*.
- William E. Leuchtenberg, *FDR and the New Deal*.
- Allan J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America*.
- Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty*
- Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- Nelson W. Polsby, *The Consequences of Party Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).
- Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, *Implementation*, third ed. (U. of Cal., 1984).
- Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Harvard University Press, 1998).
- David Rosner, *A Once Charitable Enterprise: Hospitals and Health Care in Brooklyn and New York, 1885-1915* (Princeton University Press, 1982).
- Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- David J. Rothman and Stanton Wheeler, editors, *Social History and Social Policy* (Academic Press, 1981).
- William G. Roy, *Socializing Capital: The Rise of the Large Industrial Corporation in America* (Princeton U.P., 1997).
- John E. Schwartz, *America's Hidden Success: A Reassessment of Public Policy From Kennedy to Reagan* (Norton, revised edition, 1988).
- James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes To Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (Yale U. Press, 1998).
- Theda Skocpol, *Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective* (Princeton University Press, 1995).
- Rosemary Stevens, *In Sickness and in Wealth: American Hospitals in the Twentieth Century* (Basic Books, 1989).
- David B. Tyack, *The One Best System*.
- Richard Wilkinson, *Unhealthy Societies: The Afflictions of Inequality* (Routledge, 1997).
- William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (U. of Chicago Press, 1987).

Other books and articles assigned from week to week will, when possible, be made available in photocopy form in Room 203. Students may have to find some materials in libraries at CWRU and around Cleveland.

Each student is strongly encouraged to read the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* daily.

COURSE SCHEDULE -- Second Draft:

Aug. 25: Introduction

Overview
Class discussion.

Sept. 1: Approaches to Policy History; The “Rise of the State”

Core (all students):

Readings on American Political Development, on Blackboard.
Readings on the recent history of poverty, on Blackboard.

Additional Assignment:

Each student should identify some object of policy and post on the Blackboard Discussion Board a paragraph describing a key indicator that can be used to measure the effectiveness of policy related to that object. For example, rates of poverty, sickness, death, high school graduation, etc.

Additional Reading for discussion:

Skowronek, *Building A New American State*.
Campbell, *The Growth of American Government*, Intro, ch. 1-3.

James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State*.
Morton Keller, *Affairs of State*.

Sept. 8: Governing Ideas, The Professions, and Social Policy

Required:

Rosemary Stevens, *In Sickness and In Wealth*, ch. 5-8.

Recommended:

Linda Gordon, *Pitied But Not Entitled*, ch. 1-5.
Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, ch. 1-6.
Thomas Haskell, *Objectivity is Not Neutrality*, ch. 4, 5.
David C. Hammack, “A Road Not Taken: The Independent Research Institute,”
in Hammack and Stanton Wheeler, *Social Science in the Making: Essays
on the Russell Sage Foundation, 1907-1972*, ch. 2.
Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream*, ch. 2-6.
Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, Ch. 7.
Mary O. Furner, *Advocacy & Objectivity*, ch. 1, 2, 9, 10.
Samuel Haber, *The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American
Professions, 1750-1900*.

Sept. 15: Municipal and State Government

Required:

Hammack, *Power and Society*, chapters to be assigned.

Kousser, *Colorblind Injustice*, Ch. 3, "White Supremacy in Memphis."

Recommended:

Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives*.

Paula Baker, *The Moral Frameworks of Public Life*, Ch. 1, 6.

Sept. 22: The Federal State

Required:

James T. Patterson, *America's Struggle Against Poverty*, Prefaces, Ch. 1-5.

Ellis N. Hawley, "Herbert Hoover, the Commerce Department, and the Vision of an 'Associative State,'" *Journal of American History* (June, 1974), pp. 116-140.

Recommended:

Ballard C. Campbell, *Growth of American Government*, ch. 4, 5.

Theda Scocpol, *Social Policy in the United States*, Introduction, ch. 3, 4.

Sept. 29: The New Deal

Required:

Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Policy Making*.

Atack and Passell, *New Economic View*, ch. 21-23.

Recommended:

Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, ch. 6, Conclusion.

Rosemary Stevens, *In Sickness and In Wealth*, ch. 5-8.

William E. Leuchtenberg, *FDR and the New Deal*.

Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, ch. 8.

Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order*.

Atack & Passell, *New Economic View*, ch.1, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20.

Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, Introduction, ch. 9.

William G. Roy, *Socializing Capital*.

Oct. 6: To Be Determined

Oct. 13: Student Reports

First Paper Due

Oct. 20: Fall Break

Oct. 27: The Great Society

Required:

Campbell, *The Growth of American Government*, ch. 6-7.
Data on Federal Expenditures.

Recommended:

Patterson, *America's Struggle Against Poverty*, ch. 6-12.
Sundquist, *Politics and Policy*.
Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, *Implementation*.
Rosemary Stevens, *In Sickness and In Wealth*, ch. 10-12.
Allan J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America*.
Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*.
Otis L. Graham, Jr., *Toward a Planned Society: From Roosevelt to Nixon*.
Doris Kearns, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*.

Nov. 3: Civil Rights and the "Underclass"

Required:

William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears*.

Recommended:

Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*.
Michael B. Katz, ed., *The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History*.
J. Morgan Kousser, *Colorblind Injustice*, ch. 6-9.
TV production, "The Struggle for Integration in Shaker Heights."

Nov. 10 The Women's Movement and Social Policy

Required:

Donald G. Mathews and Jane Sherron DeHart, *Sex, Gender, and the Politics of ERA*.

Recommended: readings on the changing electorate and its impact
Nelson Polsby, *The Consequences of Party Reform*.

Nov. 17: "Welfare Reform," Medicare Politics, and the Future

Required:

Ballard Campbell, *The Growth of American Government*, ch. 8-10.
James T. Patterson, *America's Struggle Against Poverty*, ch. 13-15.
Current reading of *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*.

Recommended:

Theodore Marmor, *The Politics of Medicare*.
Sheldon Danziger and Peter Gottschalk, *America Unequal*.
Sheldon Danziger et al., eds., *Confronting Poverty: Prescriptions for Change*.
Theodore Marmor, et al., *America's Misunderstood Welfare State*.
John E. Schwartz, *America's Hidden Success*.
Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare*.

Nov. 24: To Be Determined

Dec. 1: Student Reports

Dec. 11: Final Paper Due