

AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

SPRING 2020--POS 4931

Instructor: James Fahey, Ph.D. Candidate

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MWF, Period 3 (9:35-10:25), McCarthy Hall A Rm. 1142

Office Hours: MW (10:45-11:45), Anderson Hall 330.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

What makes the United States and its politics unique? In a comparative context, the United States stands out as a political system with relatively weak parties; a less well developed federal welfare state; and a disempowered labor movement, among other distinctions. What explains the “exceptionalism” of the American State? This central question is the driving force behind APD, and is the one that will guide our examination of key transformational periods in American history.

American Political Development is a subfield that developed recently within American Political Science, tracing to the mid 1980s with the foundation of the subfields flagship journal, *Studies in American Political Development*. APD straddles the line between history and political science--like historians, APD scholars look at the role of how forces such as political culture, ideology, governing structures, and linkage institutions (political parties and interest groups) have shaped the development of public policy and political outcomes. Like political scientists, APD scholars tend to use evidence from historical analysis to create far-reaching theories about America’s idiosyncrasies. APD scholars tend to consider the importance of “the state” as both a causal actor and an outcome of interest; and many works in APD seek to trace the development of various aspects of the state over time.

This course will serve as both an introduction to the field of American Political Development, as well as an in-depth historical analysis of critical periods in American history. The course begins with a brief survey of different theoretical perspectives on American political development, including those that emphasize the roles of race, culture, religion, and economics on state development. The majority of the course will be spent proceeding chronologically through critical periods in U.S history--the Founding, the Early Republic, the Jeffersonian/Jacksonian eras, the Civil War, Reconstruction, the Reform Era, the New Deal, and the cultural and political realignments of the 1960s and 1970s. The course ends with a series of thematic seminars on critical topics in APD, including the relative weakness of American labor; the success and failure of modern social movements; and the neglected role of gender analysis in state development. By the end of the course, students should have an understanding of the main eras in American

politics, and will have wrestled with the question of just how and in what ways American politics is truly “exceptional.”

REQUIRED TEXTS

In the interests of keeping this course accessible to all students, all required texts will either be available directly from the instructor or through E-Reserves at the University of Florida library, which can be accessed remotely from your home or dorm.

GRADING

As an upper division course, this class expects students to come to class each day having read the readings closely and be ready for discussion. Coming prepared to class is essentially not only for your own success, but also for the success of the class writ large. In order to encourage continued engagement with the course, the grading is broken up into five distinct categories.

First, to ensure both regular participation in discussion and continued engagement with the material, students will be given weekly, short quizzes (2-3 questions each) about the major themes of each week’s readings.

Second, students will complete two (2) response papers of 1500-2000 on the course readings, responding to the questions provided for each section (indicated by the bold on the left-hand side of the course breakdown). Students should aim to complete at least one response paper before the midterm, but otherwise may choose to respond to whichever two weeks most interest them. These papers should draw on both the mandatory readings assigned for that week, as well as at least one supplemental research article. Essays are due each week at 9 a.m on the last day of the section (so, for example, the response paper for the **Civil War** section is due at 9 a.m on February 12th). Essay due-dates are highlighted in red on the updated syllabus.

Third, a midterm examination will be given on the 26th of February, and will cover all material up until that point in the course. The instructor will emphasize the most important topics and themes that are likely to be covered in the midterm, and the exam will be a mix of multiple choice, short-answer, and one essay-style question. Additionally, a final exam will be given on April 22nd, and will cover the material from the midterm onwards.

Finally, in conjunction with the instructor, students will be assigned into groups of 4-5 students for a final presentation. The topic of the final presentation will be a historical “biography” of a major institution in American politics, with special attention to how that institution developed over time and with what consequences for our politics. Students will be given time in class to meet with the instructor to plan their presentation.

The breakdown of your grade is as follows:

WEEKLY QUIZZES (10, EACH WORTH 2%)=20%
RESPONSE PAPERS (2, EACH WORTH 15%)=30%
MIDTERM=20%
FINAL=20%
GROUP PRESENTATION=10%

GRADING SCALE

A 91%
A- 88%
B+ 85%
B 81%
B- 78%
C+ 75%
C 71%
C- 68%
D+ 65%
D 61%
D- 58%
F Below 58%

ACADEMIC HONESTY

All work submitted must be the students own, and will be submitted through TurnItIn software to ensure no plagiarism has occurred. Academic dishonesty is a serious violation of the student honor and conduct code and will lead to failing the assignment immediately. Honor code violations often occur when students feel rushed and overwhelmed--if this happens, do not panic, and instead reach out to me so we can address the situation together. It is far better to take a late penalty than to commit academic dishonesty. For more information, see:

<https://sccr.dso.ufl.edu/policies/student-honor-code-student-conduct-code/>

DISABILITIES RESOURCES

In compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), the instructor will endeavor to make the course as accessible as possible. Students requiring accommodations should meet with the instructor during the first week of class to ensure adequate arrangements. Students must be registered with the Disabilities Resource Center (DRC); more information can be found here:

<https://disability.ufl.edu/>

COUNSELING/WELLNESS

College can be a stressful and difficult time, and your health and wellbeing are paramount. The Counseling and Wellness Center (<https://counseling.ufl.edu/>) is available for group, individual, and immediate emergency crisis counseling for UF students. For immediate help, please call either the CWC (352-392-1575) or the Alachua County Crisis Services (352-264-6789).

COURSE OUTLINE

This course schedule is tentative, and may be subject to change as needed. At times during the semester we may be ahead/behind schedule, and so readings may be adjusted, dropped, or added to as necessary. I will notify you of all changes via email, and an updated syllabus will be provided if any changes occur.

Readings should be completed *before* the date indicated on the syllabus. For instance, on January 10th, students should have read Rogers Smith's article "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, & Hartz" before class starts, as it will form the basis of lecture/discussion.

Section	Dates	Readings
<i>Overview of the Course</i>	1/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none">This syllabus!
Introduction & Perspectives on American Political Development: What Makes Us Different?	1/8	<u>Introduction to American Political Development</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Suzanne Mettler and Richard Valelly, "Introduction: The Distinctiveness and Necessity of American Political Development," in <i>The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development</i>, ed. Richard M. Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, and Robert C. Lieberman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1-23.
	1/10	<u>Cultural Perspectives on APD</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Rogers M. Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America," <i>American Political Science Review</i> 87, no. 3 (September 1993): 549-566.

	1/13	<p><u>Cultural Perspectives on APD (cont.)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> James Morone, <i>Hellfire Nation</i> (Yale University Press, 2002), 1-28. <p><u>Economic Perspectives on APD</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Thomas Ferguson, <i>Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Politics</i>, (University of Chicago, 1995), 17-38.
<p>Patterns and Temporalities in APD: History Doesn't Repeat, But it Does Rhyme</p>	1/15	<p><u>Critical Junctures and Path Dependence</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," <i>The American Political Science Review</i>, 94(2), 251-267 (2000).
	1/17	<p><u>Critical Elections</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> David R. Mayhew, "Patterns in American Elections," in R. Valley, S. Mettler, & R. Lieberman eds., <i>The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development</i> (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016) pp. 425-445. Walter Dean Burnham, <i>Critical Elections & The Mainsprings of American Politics</i>, (Norton: 1970), Ch. 1: "Toward a Definition of Critical Realignment," pp. 1-10.
	1/20	<p><i>No Class-Holiday</i></p>
	1/22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> David R. Mayhew, "Patterns in American Elections," in R. Valley, S. Mettler, & R. Lieberman eds., <i>The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development</i> (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016) pp. 425-445. Walter Dean Burnham, <i>Critical Elections & The Mainsprings of American Politics</i>, (Norton: 1970), Ch. 1: "Toward a Definition of Critical Realignment," pp. 1-10.

	1/24	<u>Presidential Patterns</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stephen Skowronek, <i>The Politics Presidents Make</i> (Belknap: Harvard UP, 1997), pp. 17-58. • David Barber, <i>The Presidential Character</i>, (Prentice-Hall, 1985), pp. 1-7
State Making and the Founding	1/27	<u>The Incipient State</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charles Tilly, “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime,” in P. Evans, D. Rueschmeyer, & T. Skocpol, Eds., <i>Bringing the State Back In</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985). <u>Perspectives on the Constitution</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Max Edling, <i>A Revolution in Favor of a Government</i>, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), Introduction.
	1/29	<u>Perspectives on the Constitution (Cont.)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • David Brian Robertson, <i>The Original Compromise: What the Constitution’s Framers Were Really Thinking</i>, “Introduction” (pp. 1-22) & “Selecting U.S. Senators” (pp. 94-105).
The Jeffersonian & Jacksonian Eras: Democracy for White Men	1/31	<i>No Class--Instructor Travel</i>
	2/3	<u>The Jeffersonian Period</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stephen Skowronek, <i>The Politics Presidents Make</i>, pp. 61-85. • John Gerring, <i>Party Ideologies in America</i>, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), pp. 161-186.
	2/5	<u>Jacksonian Period</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • James Morone, <i>The Democratic Wish</i> (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998), Introduction & pp. 74-96.
The Civil War: A New Birth of Freedom	2/7	<u>And the War Came: Causes of the Civil War</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kenneth Stampp, ed., <i>The Causes of the Civil War</i> (Prentice Hall: 1974). (Note: this is a collection of essays about the causes of the civil war, <i>pay attention to who is making each argument!</i>)

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barrington Moore, <i>Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy</i> (Penguin: London, 1967), pp. 111-154.
	2/10	<u>Causes of the Civil War (Cont).</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • James Morone, <i>Hellfire Nation</i> (2002), pp. 123-183.
	2/12	<u>Primary Sources</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Gettysburg Address (https://rnc.library.cornell.edu/gettysburg/good_cause/transcript.htm) • Lincoln's 1st Inaugural https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/lincoln1.asp • Lincoln's 2nd Inaugural https://www.battlefields.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/Lincoln%20Second%20Inaugural%20Address.pdf
Reconstruction: A Brief Moment in the Sun	2/14	<i>Documentary Film in Class--PBS' Reconstruction</i>
	2/17 (due at 9 p.m)	<u>The Second Founding</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rogers Smith, <i>Civic Ideals</i> (1997), Ch. 10. <u>An Unfinished Revolution</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eric Foner, <i>The Second Founding</i> (2019), Introduction. <u>Primary Sources:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13th-15th Amendments (XIII-XV), http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/education/all_amendments_usconst.htm.
The Populist & Progressive Eras	2/19	<u>The People's Party</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Richard Hofstadter, <i>Age of Reform</i> (Knopf 1955), Ch. 2 ("The Folklore of Populism.") • Primary Source: William Jennings Bryan, <i>Cross of Gold</i> speech (http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5354/)
	2/21	<u>The Progressive Era</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • James Morone, <i>The Democratic Wish</i> (1998), pp. 97-128.
	2/24	<u>EXAM REVIEW CLASS</u> Come with your <i>own</i> questions prepared about things you need clarification on.

MIDTERM EXAMINATION--FEBRUARY 26th

SPRING BREAK--FEBRUARY 29TH-MARCH 8TH

Social Policy I: A Weak State?	3/9	<u>Theoretical Perspectives on Social Policy</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Peter Baldwin, "Beyond Weak and Strong: Rethinking the State in Comparative Policy History," <i>Journal of Policy History</i>, Vol. 17:1, 12-33 (2005). https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/S0898030600001226
	3/11	<u>Theoretical Perspectives Continued</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Theda Skocpol, <i>Protecting Soldiers & Mothers</i>, (1992), Ch. 2: "Benefits for Veterans of the Civil War," pp. 102-151.
Social Policy II: The Great Depression and the New Deal	3/13	<u>The New Deal: Part I</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> David Kennedy (2009). "What the New Deal Did," <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>, 124(2), 251-268.
	3/16	<u>The New Deal Part II: Demagogues of the Depression</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alan Brinkley, <i>Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin & the Great Depression</i>, Introduction, New York: Vintage Books (1983).
The 1960s: The Fire Next Time	3/18	<u>Social Movements & Civil Rights</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Introduction: Opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes--toward a synthetic, comparative perspective on social movements," & "The framing function of movement tactics in the American Civil Rights Movement" in D. McAdam, J.D. McCarthy, & M.N. Zald, Eds., <i>Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), pp. 1-7 & pp. 338-355.
	3/20	<u>The Great Society</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ira Katznelson, "Was the Great Society a Lost Opportunity?," in Steve Fraser & Gary Gerstle, Eds., <i>Rise and Fall of the New Deal</i>

		<p><i>Order</i> (Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 185-211.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NPR “All Things Considered,” Interviewing author Nick Kotz of <i>Judgment Days</i>. <u>President Johnson, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Civil Rights</u>.
The Rise of Modern Conservatism	3/23	<p><u>The Reagan Years: Revolution or Devolution</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jonathan Schoenwald, <i>A Time for Choosing</i> (Oxford University Press, 2001), “Introduction” pp. 1-13 & “A New Kind of Conservative: Ronald Reagan” pp. 190-220.
	3/25	<p><u>The Tea Party</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zachary Courser, “The ‘Tea Party’ as a Conservative Social Movement,” <i>Society</i>, Vol. (49:1), pp. 43-53 (2012). https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12115-011-9501-0
	3/27	<p><u>Trump</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diana Mutz, “Status Threat, Not Economic Hardship, Explains the 2016 Presidential Vote,” <i>PNAS</i>, Vol. 115(9), (2018). https://www.pnas.org/content/115/19/E4330
Group Presentations: Meetings and Workshops	3/30	<i>Meetings with Instructor in Class</i>
	4/1	<i>Meetings with Instructor in Class</i>
Political Parties	4/3	<p><u>The Development of Ideological Parties</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • John Gerring, <i>Party Ideologies in America, 1828-1996</i>, (New York: Cambridge UP, 1998), Ch. 1-2.
	4/6	<p><u>Unintended Consequences: Party Capture</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paul Frymer, <i>Uneasy Alliances: Race & Party Competition in America</i>, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1999). Ch. 1 (pp. 3-26).
Labor in APD: No Days Off	4/8	<p><u>The Weakness of Labor in the United States</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eric Foner, “Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?” <i>History Workshop</i> Vol. 17, Spring 1984, pp. 57-80.

	4/10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Elizabeth Clemens, <i>The People's Lobby</i> (University of Chicago: 1997), pp. 100-144.
Race in APD	4/13	<u>Constructing the Racial Order</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Desmond King & Rogers Smith, "Racial Orders in American Political Development," <i>American Political Science Review</i> 99(1), 2005, pp. 75-92.
	4/15	<u>Long Shadow of Institutions</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Acharya, M. Blackwell, & M. Sen. <i>Deep Roots: How Slavery Still Shapes Southern Politics</i>, Princeton: Princeton UP, 2018. Pp. 24-75.
Group Presentations & Final Examination	4/17	Group Presentations
	4/20	Group Presentations
<i>FINAL EXAMINATION--APRIL 22nd</i>		

RESPONSE ESSAY TOPICS

Students must complete two (2) response essays of 1500-2000 words answering the questions from each section below. Students should finish one essay before the midterm, but otherwise are free to choose whichever topic seems most interesting to them. Not all sections have a response paper topic; so students should make sure they have planned ahead to satisfy all requirements.

Essays should be in 12 pt., Times New Roman font, with a properly formatted bibliography. Response essays should draw on all mandatory readings for the week, as well as at least 1 additional scholarly source (book chapter or journal article) identified by the student. Proper selection of scholarly sources will be covered by the instructor in the first week of class, and students are also welcome to come to office hours or make an appointment if they are unsure of whether or not an article fits criteria. Some journals to search when looking for sources are *Studies in American Political Development*, the *American Political Science Review*, and the *Journal of Policy History*.

Also included on Canvas is a document called "How to Write a Response Paper," which will guide you through some of the finer points of writing an effective response paper.

<i>Section</i>	<i>Essay Topic</i>
State Making and the Founding	After reading the arguments by Edling and Robertson, what do you think were the main goals of the Framers in drafting the Constitution? How many different “camps” of delegates can you identify, and which were most successful in accomplishing their goals?
Jacksonian and Jeffersonian Eras	The Jeffersonian & Jacksonian eras are sometimes considered periods in which the United States become “more democratic.” Do you agree or disagree with this assessment? In your answer, be sure to consider the perspectives of different classes/groups of people.
The Civil War	What was the role of moral, economic, and political factors in explaining the outbreak of the Civil War? Which is most convincing to you, and why?
Reconstruction	Imagine that you are a Radical Republican in the 40th Congress (1867-1869). Which amendments will you try to pass in order to assure the best outcome for Reconstruction?
Social Policy I	What explains the emergence of new social policies in the United States? Are we exceptional, and if so, why?
The 1960s	Why do you think the Civil Rights movement was successful in the 1960s, while relatively unsuccessful in previous eras? In your response, make sure to utilize the political opportunity structure model.
The Rise of Modern Conservatism	To what degree do you think the election of Trump represents a break with conservative eras/movements, such as the Reagan Revolution and the Tea Party? To what extent does his election represent continuity with previous patterns?
Political Parties	Political parties in the United States are often criticized for being “non-ideological” and relatively weak. To what extent do you agree with this assessment?
Labor in APD	The United States is often considered to have a relatively weak labor movement, with less protection for workers and no strong socialist party. What do you think is the most convincing reason for this? Who is most “to blame” for the lack of a worker’s movement in U.S history?
Race in APD	Do you think the role of race in American political development is increasing, decreasing, or staying the same as time goes on? In what

	ways are the institutions of slavery and Jim Crow still relevant to modern political behavior?
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