

Updated on 8.27.19

Govt 2030: Political Science and Policy History in the United States

Fall 2019, Tuesday and Thursday, 2:50-4:15 PM

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Course Description

How have the institutions of government crafted by the American founders shaped the basic contours of the policy process? How has the policy process changed as the structure of the American political system itself has changed over time? This course addresses these questions, introducing students to concepts and tools that political scientists use as they try to untangle complex patterns of policy development. Assigned readings will trace the historical lineage of policies affecting health care, retirement, immigration, and other critical areas of public concern. Through our analysis of these substantive policy matters, we will examine how and to what extent policy choices made in the past have shaped the horizon of options available to policymakers today.

Course Requirements

All exams and assignments must be completed to receive a passing grade.

1. Class Participation (10%)

- “Classroom citizenship”
- Attendance. You are required to attend all class sessions. Of course, people do get sick, have doctor’s appointments, etc. Nevertheless, I will grant excused absences sparingly.

2. Unannounced Quizzes (10%)

3. Two Response Papers (4-6 pages) (20% each)

4. Midterm Exam (20%) I will provide guidance to help you study as the exam approaches.

5. Final Exam (20%)

Writing Requirements

All written assignments must meet the specifications listed below. Failure to do so may result in a deduction of *at least* one-third of one grade (e.g. A- to B+, B+ to a B, B to B-):

- Stapled, Double-Spaced, with Pages Numbered
- Endnotes or footnotes required for all writing. If you have any concerns or questions about how to cite work appropriately, *please do not be afraid to ask*.
- Electronic (email) submissions will not be accepted.

- Please save a copy of your work and keep it until I return the submitted copy to you with a grade.

Late Papers: Paper extensions will be granted only with a doctor or a dean's note. Late papers will be penalized by two-thirds of a grade per day (weekday or weekend day) late. The letter grade scale is A, A-, B+, B, B-, C+, C, C-, D+, and so on. A reduction of two-thirds of a grade would, for example, downgrade an A to a B+ or a B+ to a B-. Keep in mind: if you will be unable to submit a quality paper on time, it may make sense to take an extra day (and a one-day late penalty) to give yourself enough time to write a good paper. *You must inform me at least 24 hours in advance*, however, if you do plan to take a late day penalty. Failure to do so may result in an additional penalty.

Required Readings

I asked the Library to purchase the following as an ebook (so no need to buy it): Dennis Johnson, *The Laws That Shaped America*

You must come prepared to discuss/write about all the reading for each day. Since many of the articles are posted on Blackboard or are on E-Reserve, it is your responsibility to find and read these articles.

Some Fineprint

This syllabus is subject to change, and *probably will* change during the semester. Once we begin, I will get a better sense of the pace of our progress and of the reading preferences of the class. I will notify you of any changes that I make, as soon as I make them. The most up-to-date version of the syllabus will *always* be available on Blackboard—please note the “Updated on . . .” date printed on the upper left-hand corner of page 1.

Session 1—Introduction

Part I: The Constitutional ‘Arena’; Tariffs, Trade, and Income Tax Politics

Session 2—A ‘quick and dirty’ overview of US policy history

- Chapters from *The Personal President*
- The U.S. Constitution, Commerce Clause, others mentioned in these chapters.

Session 3—The legacy of the Constitution: a giant sieve?

- Robertson and Judd, *The Development of American Public Policy*, Chapters 1 and 2 [on e-reserve]

Recommended reading (or re-reading): Federalist Papers # 10 and 51 (Madison) [see link to the Federalist Papers on BB]

Session 4—Direct versus indirect taxes . . . from import duties to tariffs

- Selections from the Federalist—Hamilton on indirect taxes
- Selections from Einhorn SAPD

Session 5—Political science as policy science: distributive policy, regulatory policy, and redistributive policy

- Lowi's review essay on business and power

Session 6—Delinking tax and trade policy: the rise of income taxation and class based (rather than sectional) redistribution

- Chapter from Bense (on sectional redistribution)
- Goldstein chapter in *Shaped by War and Trade?*

***nontariff trade barriers—discriminatory regulatory policy

Session 7—Income Taxes

- Find an article—Brownlee, Witte, on the origins and subsequent development of income tax politics, and in comparative perspective, Morgan/Prasad?***

Part II: Early Regulatory Successes, Failures, and Half-measures

Session 8—Prohibiting substandard goods: food and drugs

- Ilyse Barkan, “Industry Invites Regulation: The Passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906,” *American Journal of Public Health* 75 (1985): 18-26.
- Marc Law and Gary Libecap, “The Determinants of Progressive Era Reform: The Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906,” in *Corruption and Reform: Lessons from America’s Economic History*, ed. Edward Glaeser and Claudia Goldin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006): pages TBA. [ebook]

Session 9—Regulating (prohibiting?) child labor

- Marjorie Sarbaugh-Thompson and Mayer Zald, “Child Labor Laws: A Historical Case of Public Policy Implementation,” *Administration & Society* 27 (May 1995): 32-42.
- Selections from *Hammer v. Dagenhart* (1918); *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture* (1922)***

Session 10—A corporatist approach to industrial policy: The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933

- Johnson, *The Laws That Shaped America*, Chapter 5 (The National Labor Relations Act of 1935), selected pages
- Selections from *Schechter Poultry Corp. v. U.S.* (1935)

Session 11—Contentious politics in the workplace and some liberal solutions: The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938

- Katznelson, etc. on the FLSA
- *NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.* (1937), and *Wickard v. Filburn* (1942)

Part III: The Origins and Development of the Welfare State

Session 12—The “third rail”: The Social Security Act

- Johnson, *The Laws That Shaped America*, Chapter 6 (The Social Security Act of 1935)

Session 13—The Social Security Act, cont’d

- Reading TBA
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Session 14—Midterm Exam

Session 15—The Social Construction of Target Populations

- Helen Ingram and Anne Schneider, “The Social Construction of Target Populations,” *American Political Science Review* 87 (1993): 334-347.

Session 16—

- Robert Lieberman, “Race, Institutions, and the Administration of Social Policy,” *Social Science History* 19 (Winter, 1995): 511-542.

Session 17—

- Lieberman, “Race, Institutions, and the Administration of Social Policy,” cont’d
- Additional reading TBA

Part III: The Regulation of American Citizenship: Immigration Policy

A piece on the long history—path dependence for Europeans, a different logic for all others
Path Dependency, Party Politics, and Immigration During the “Long” 19th Century

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Migration patterns and unintended consequences of immigration policymaking

- Douglas Massey and Karen Pren, “Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Policy: Explaining the Post-1965 Surge from Latin America,” *Population and Development Review* 38 (March 2012): 1-8 and 17-24.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA)

- Journal article on the “contradictions” of the IRCA

Immigration policy and the challenge of building a successful legislative coalition

- Daniel Tichenor, “Splitting the Coalition: The Political Perils and Opportunities of Immigration Reform”

Apr 2, Session 18—

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- Tichenor, *Dividing Lines*, pp. 3-5, 46-60, and Chapter 4 (on Chinese exclusion)

Apr 7, Session 19—Shaping the Racial Composition of the Republic

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- Tichenor, *Dividing Lines*, pp. 114-116 and 128-149

Apr 9, Session 20—The Intersection of Civil Rights and Immigration Policy: Dismantling the Racial Quota System

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- Tichenor, *Dividing Lines*, pp. 176-181, 207-218, and 249-274

Apr 14, Session 21—A Historical Approach to Immigration Policy Deadlock

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Part IV: “Completing” the Welfare State? The Health Care Reform Rollercoaster

- Robertson and Judd, *The Development of American Public Policy*, Chapter 3 [on e-reserve]
 - Johnson, *The Laws that Shaped America*, Chapter 11 (The Medicare and Medicaid Act of 1965)
 - Jacob Hacker, “Learning from Defeat? Political Analysis and the Failure of Health Care Reform in the United States,” *British Journal of Political Science* 30 (2001): 61-94.
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- Daniel Beland and Jacob Hacker, “Ideas, Private Institutions, and American Welfare State ‘Exceptionalism’: The Case of Health and Old-Age Insurance, 1915-1965,” *International Journal of Social Welfare* 13 (2004): 42-54.

Understanding the Affordable Care Act (“Obamacare”)

- Summary of the Affordable Care Act, The Kaiser Family Foundation [see link on BB]
- Jacob Hacker, “The Road to Somewhere: Why Health Reform Happened,” *Perspectives on Politics* 8: 3 (2010): 861-876.

*Required viewing: PBS’s *Frontline*, “Obama’s Deal”

--KFF explainer of Medicaid
--Jamila Michener on Medicaid

Apr 16, Session 22—American Exceptionalism and the Politics of Healthcare Reform

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Apr 21, Session 23—Clintoncare’s Demise

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Apr 23, Session 24—Obamacare: What It Is and How It Passed

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Apr 28, Session 25—Public Opinion and the ACA

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Apr 30, Session 26—Debating HC Policy: Enhancing the ACA, Medicare-For-All, or Catastrophic-Care-For-All

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- Niskanen Center

Session 27—

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Final Exam:

- Selected pages from Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, “Business Power and Social Policy: Employers and the Formation of the American Welfare State,” *Politics & Society* 30 (June 2002): 277-325.

Child Labor resources:

Short doc from Vox:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ddiOJLuu2mo>

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/qa-americas-invisible-child-labor-problem/>

<https://abcnews.go.com/Nightline/Business/story?id=853149&page=1>

Show Jon Oliver clip on automation, worker rights at Amazon . . . Minimum wage and max hours, debate over the “living wage,” the EITC, OSHA

Public Policy in the United States

Jeffrey S. Selinger

Visiting Associate Professor

Summer 2018

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Fri (Building 7, Room 419), 13:00-14:30

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Office Hours: Tuesdays, 15:00-16:30 and *by appointment*

Course Description

How is public policy in the United States shaped by the political process? How do public policy and state-building efforts define the contours of American politics? This course addresses these and related questions, introducing students to patterns of policy development that, according to some, make the U.S. distinct from other western democracies. Readings explore a number of the most controversial areas of policy today, including immigration, gun control, health care, and the development of the welfare state. No prior knowledge about U.S. politics, government, or history is required or expected.

Course Requirements

All exams and assignments must be completed to receive a passing grade for the course. Choose ONE of the following two “Course Tracks”:

Track One:

1. **Participation** (10%)—this includes several components:
 - In-class participation
 - Attendance. You are required to attend all class sessions. Of course, people do get sick, have doctor’s appointments, etc. Nevertheless, I will grant excused absences sparingly. If you should miss class, it is your responsibility to obtain lecture notes from one of your classmates and to make arrangements to make up any missed work.
2. **One argumentative essay** (30%)
 - The essay will be 4 double-spaced pages (give or take half a page). You will have approximately 10 days to complete the essay assignment. A question to guide your writing will be distributed in class.
3. **Midterm Exam** (30%)
4. **Final Exam** (30%), Friday, July 27th

Track Two:

1. Participation, 10%
2. Midterm, 45%
3. Final Exam, 45%, Friday, July 27th

Required Readings

You must come prepared to discuss the readings assigned for each day. Some of the assigned readings are posted on the CourseN@vi website, others are available through the Waseda Library web portal; it is your responsibility to find and/or print these articles off the web.

This syllabus is subject to change, and *probably will* change during the semester. Once we begin, I will get a better sense of the pace of our progress and of the reading preferences of the class. I will notify you of any changes I make as soon as I make them. The most up-to-date version of the syllabus will *always* be available on the CourseN@vi website.

Unless indicated otherwise, Links to ALL readings should be found either on CourseN@vi or through the Waseda Library website. If you are having trouble accessing a reading, *please do not hesitate to ask me for help* via email.

Session 1: Introduction

Session 2: Constitutional structure and public policy in the U.S.

- Robertson and Judd, *The Development of American Public Policy*, ch. 1 and 2 (read pp. 4-21; skim, 26-35; read pp. 35-53)

Session 3: Business influence and the design of the American welfare state

Session 4: A logic of policy development? The Social Security Act since its passage in 1935

- Robert Lieberman, "Race, Institutions, and the Administration of Social Policy," *Social Science History* 19 (Winter, 1995): 511-542.

Session 5: Comparing two trajectories of policy development

- Daniel Beland and Jacob Hacker, "Ideas, Private Institutions, and American Welfare State 'Exceptionalism': The Case of Health and Old-Age Insurance, 1915-1965," *International Journal of Social Welfare* 13 (2004): 42-54.
- Selected pages from Suzanne Mettler, "Reconstituting the Submerged State: The Challenge of Social Policy Reform in the Obama Era," *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (September 2010): 803-824.

Session 6: Understanding the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare")

- Jacob Hacker, "The Road to Somewhere: Why Health Reform Happened," *Perspectives on Politics* 8: 3 (2010): 861-876.
- PBS, *Obama's Deal* (Documentary on the Affordable Care Act) [CourseNavi]

Session 7: Obamacare in Trump's America: healthy or critical condition?

- Austin Frakt, "Medical Mystery: Something Happened to U.S. Health Spending After 1980," *The New York Times* [CourseNavi]
- The Economics of Healthcare, Youtube video [CourseNavi]

Session 8: Midterm Exam

Session 9: Debating the Second Amendment: a look at *D.C. v. Heller* (2008)

- David C. Williams, "Death to Tyrants: *District of Columbia v. Heller* and the Uses of Guns," *Ohio State Law Journal* (2008) [Link on CourseNavi]

Session 10: Guns and public opinion in the U.S.

- Pew Social Trends, "America's Complex Relationship with Guns" [Link on CourseNavi]

Session 11: Comparing gun control policy ideas. Do any have a promising political future?

- Policy Brief, "Permit-to-Purchase Licensing for Handguns" [CourseNavi]

Session 12: U.S. immigration policy in comparative perspective

- Quoc Trung Bui and Caitlin Dickerson, "What Can the U.S. Learn from How Other Countries Handle Immigration?" *The New York Times* [CourseNavi]
- Jane Junn, "From Coolie to Model Minority: U.S. Immigration Policy and the Construction of Racial Identity," *Du Bois Review* 4 (2007): 355-373.

Session 13: Migration patterns and unintended consequences of immigration policymaking

- Douglas Massey and Karen Pren, “Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Policy: Explaining the Post-1965 Surge from Latin America,” *Population and Development Review* 38 (March 2012): 1-8 and 17-24.

Session 14: Immigration policy and the challenge of building a successful legislative coalition

- Daniel Tichenor, “Splitting the Coalition: The Political Perils and Opportunities of Immigration Reform” [CourseNavi]

Session 15: Final Exam, Friday, July 27th