

This course is about political change and the development of American government authority. What kind of state is the United States? America has been conceived in many ways: democratic republic, liberal culture, modern society, non-developmental state, pluralist polity, global hegemon, among others. We will consider the state-ness of the American government by examining a selection of leading conceptions and investigations of American politics. How do government institutions get authority to control society and how might they lose or enhance this authority? How does the Constitution shape struggles for power and how do power struggles shape the Constitution? How do Americans think about government and its uses or misuses? How does the representative process influence the ways that citizens get organized to make demands for government action? How do social and economic hierarchies contribute to political change? Does American politics develop as well as change? Is there a direction to politics and what might it be?

Requirements for the course are reading all the assignments in a timely manner and active participation in class discussions. Beginning with part II, every week students will write a one-page abstract of the major reading. Three short papers (10-12 typed pages) are due at the ends of parts II, III, and IV. The papers are to be critical evaluations (of conceptualization, research design, argument, evidence) of a work or works on the required or supplemental reading lists.

Copies of assigned articles will be handed out in class. Additional readings are suggested for those who want to pursue an argument. I recommend purchase of the books that we will read:

Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter, editors, *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development*.  
Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make* (revised paperback edition).  
Gerald Berk, *Alternative Tracks: The Constitution of American Industrial Order, 1865-1917*.  
Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920*.  
Karen Orren, *Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law and Liberal Development in the United States*.  
Bruce Ackerman, *We The People 1: Foundations*.  
Robert C. Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State*.  
John D. Skrentny, *The Minority Rights Revolution*.

## Course Outline

### I. Studying Political Change and Political Development.

Ira Katznelson, "Rewriting the Epic of America", in Katznelson and Shefter, editors, *Shaped by War and Trade*, pp. 3-23.

Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research", in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, *Bringing the State Back In*, pp. 3-37.

Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, "Institutions and Intercurrence: Theory Building in the Fullness of Time", in *NOMOS 38 (1996): Political Order*, edited by Ian Shapiro and Russell Hardin, pp. 111-46.

Suggested:

Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, *The Search for American Political Development* (2004).

Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol, "Historical Institutionalism in Contemporary Political Science", in Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, editors, *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (2002) pp. 693-721.

Margaret Levi, "The State of the Study of the State", in Katznelson and Milner, editors, *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (2002) pp. 33-55.

W. Dean Burnham, "Pattern Recognition and 'Doing' Political History: Art, Science, or Bootless Enterprise?" in Lawrence C. Dodd and Calvin Jillson, eds., *The Dynamics of American Politics* (1994) pp. 59-82.

Raymond Seidelman and Edward J. Harpham, *Disenchanted Realists: Political Science and the American Crisis, 1884-1984*.

Roberto Mangabeira Unger, *False Necessity*.

Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*.

## II. Theories of American Politics: Order Without Development?

### A. The United States as a Liberal Civilization.

Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America*, pp. 3-66, 89-113, 228-72.

J. David Greenstone, "Political Culture and Political Development", *Studies in American Political Development* 1 (1986) pp. 1-49.

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

Suggested:

Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization*.

John Laslett and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Failure of a Dream?*

Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*.

Samuel Huntington, *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony*.

### B. Party Systems, Partisan Realignments and State-Society Equilibrium.

Samuel Huntington, "Political Modernization: America vs. Europe", in idem., *Political Order in Changing Societies*, pp. 93-139.

W. Dean Burnham, "Party Systems and the Political Process", in William Nisbet Chambers and Burnham, eds., *The American Party Systems: Stages of Political Development*, pp. 277-307.

W. Dean Burnham, "The System of 1896: An Analysis", in Paul Kleppner, ed., *The Evolution of American Electoral Systems*, pp. 147-202.

Suggested:

W. Dean Burnham, "Periodization Schemes and 'Party Systems': The System of 1896 as a Case in Point", *Social Science History* 10 (1986).

John Gerring, *Party Ideologies in America, 1928-1996*.

Theodore Rosenof, *Realignment: The Theory that Changed the Way We Think about American Politics*.

David Mayhew, *American Electoral Realignments: A Critique of the Genre*.

Thomas Ferguson, *Golden Rule*.

C. Blocked Development? The Problematic Rationalization of Public Affairs.

Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920*, pp. 3-35, 37-84, 165-211.

Suggested:

Richard Bensel, *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877*.

Martin Shefter, "Patronage and Its Opponents", in Shefter, *Political Parties and the State*, pp. 21-60.

Elisabeth Clemens, *The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925*.

Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur, eds., *Progressivism and the New Democracy*.

Brian Balogh, "Reorganizing the Organizational Synthesis: Federal-Professional Relations in Modern America", *Studies in American Political Development* 5/1 (Spring 1991) pp. 119-72.

Ray Ginger, *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs*.

James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State*.

D. Capitalist Structure.

Charles Lindblom, *Politics and Markets*, pp. 161-221.

Peter Gourevitch, *Politics in Hard Times*, pp. 71-123.

Josh Cohen and Joel Rogers, *On Democracy*, pp. 47-87.

Suggested:

Richard Bensel, *Sectionalism and American Political Development: 1880-1980*.

E. E. Schattschneider, *Politics, Pressure and the Tariff: A Study of Free Private Enterprise in Pressure Politics*.

James Kurth, "The Political Consequences of the Product Cycle: Industrial History and Political Outcomes", *International Organization* 33 (Winter 1979) pp. 1-35.

Elizabeth Sanders, "Industrial Concentration, Sectional Competition, and Antitrust Politics in America, 1880-1980", *Studies in American Political Development* 1 (1986) pp. 142-214.

Alfred DuPont Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business*.

III. Disjointed Institutions, Conjunctures, Group Formation and Reform Projects.

A. America as a Composite Polity.

Karen Orren, *Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law and Liberal Development in the United States*.

Suggested:

Eileen L. McDonagh, "Race, Class, and Gender in the Progressive Era: Restructuring State and Society", in Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur, eds., *Progressivism and the New Democracy*, pp. 145-91.

B. Constitutional Regimes.

Bruce Ackerman, *We The People 1: Foundations*.

C. Contingent Political Economy.

Gerald Berk, *Alternative Tracks: The Constitution of American Industrial Order, 1865-1917*.

Suggested:

Gretchen Ritter, *Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance in America*.

Morton Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1780-1830*.

Charles F. Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin, eds., *World of Possibilities: Flexibility and Mass Production in Western Industrialization*.

D. Ideology and State in Class Formation.

Gwendolyn Mink, *Old Labor and New Immigrants in American Political Development*, pp. 15-68.

Martin Shefter, "Trade Unions and Political Machines: The Organization and Disorganization of the American Working Class in the Late Nineteenth Century", in Ira Katznelson and Aristide Zolberg, editors, *Working-Class Formation in Nineteenth Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States*, pp. 197-276.

Herrigel, Gary, "Identity and Institutions: The Social Construction of Trade Unions in Nineteenth-Century Germany and the United States", *Studies in American Political Development* 7,2 (Fall 1993) pp. 371-94.

Richard Oestreicher, "Urban Working-Class Political Behavior and Theories of American Electoral Politics, 1870-1940", in Skocpol and Campbell, pp. 207-225.

Suggested:

Victoria Hattam, *Labor Visions and State Power: The Origins of Business Unionism in the United States*.

Elizabeth Sanders, *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877-1917*.

David Brian Robertson, *Capital, Labor, & State: The Battle for American Labor Markets from the Civil War to the New Deal*.

Ian Haney Lopez, *White by Law*.

E. Presidential Leadership.

Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make*, pp. 3-58, 197-464.

F. Debate About the New Deal Regime: What Changed, What Developed?

Margaret Weir and Theda Skocpol, "State Structures and the Possibilities for 'Keynesian' Responses to the Great Depression in Sweden, Britain, and the United States", in Peter Evans et al., *Bringing the State Back In*, pp. 107-63.

Theda Skocpol and Kenneth Finegold, "State Capacity and Economic Intervention in the Early New Deal", *Political Science Quarterly* 97/2 (1982) pp. 255-78.

Thomas Ferguson, "Industrial Conflict and the Coming of the New Deal: The Triumph of Multinational Liberalism in America", in Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980*, pp. 3-31.

Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, "Regimes and Regime Building in American

Government: A Review of Literature on the 1940's", *Political Science Quarterly* 113/4 (1998) pp. 689-702.

Stephen Amberg, "Declension and Construction Themes in the Study of Labor Politics in the United States", *Studies in American Political Development* 17/1 (Spring 2003) pp. 34-60.

Suggested:

David Plotke, *Building a Democratic Political Order*.

Theodore Lowi, Jr., *The End of Liberalism*.

Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, *The Second Industrial Divide*.

Richard A. Harris and Sydney Milkis, *The Politics of Regulatory Change*.

Ruth O'Brien, *Workers' Paradox: The Republican Origins of New Deal Labor Policy*.

#### IV. On Beyond Industrial Order: Race, Gender and State.

##### A. Re-constructing Racial Hierarchy in the Welfare State.

Robert C. Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State*.

Suggested:

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

Daniel Kryder, *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State During World War II*.

Margaret Weir et al., *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*.

Reva Siegel, "Why Equal Protection No Longer Protects: The Evolving Forms of Status-Enforcing State Action", *Stanford Law Review* 49:1111.

Theda Skocpol, "State Formation and Social Policy in the United States", *American Behavioral Scientist* 35/4-5 (1991) pp. 559-84.

##### B. Institutionalizing Non-Discrimination.

John D. Skrentny, *The Minority Rights Revolution*.

Suggested:

Forum on The Minority Rights Revolution, in *Studies in American Political Development* 18/1 (Spring 2004) pp. 60-80.

Judith Stein, *Running Steel, Running America*.

Michael Goldfield, *The Color of Politics*.

Cass Sunstein, *Free Markets and Social Justice*.

##### C. External Sovereignty and Domestic Politics.

Aristide R. Zolberg, "International Engagement and American Democracy: A Comparative Perspective", in Katznelson and Shefter, *Shaped by War and Trade*, pp. 24-54.

Judith Goldstein, "International Forces and Domestic Politics: Trade Policy and Institution Building in the United States", in Katznelson and Shefter, pp. 211-36.

Bartholomew H. Sparrow, "Limited Wars and the Attenuation of the State: Soldiers, Money, and Political Communication in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam", in Katznelson and Shefter, pp. 267-300.

Chalmers Johnson, *Sorrows of Empire* (2004).

Suggested:

Fred Block, *The Origins of International Monetary Disorder*.

Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*.

Bartholomew H. Sparrow, *From the Outside In: World War II and the American State*.

Aaron L. Friedberg, "American Antistatistism and the Founding of the Cold War State", in Katznelson and Shefter, *Shaped by War and Trade*, pp. 239-66.

Peter Gourevitch, "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics", *International Organization* 32 (Autumn 1978).

David Calleo, *The Imperious Economy*.

Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Structure of Nations and Empires*.

## V. Doing and Thinking Politics.