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History 554  
Fall 2005  
Class time: MW 11:00-12:15  
Office hours: MW 8:30-11:00  
T 1:00-2:00

## Colloquium in U.S. Policy History

### *Course Description*

The historical profession has come a long way since the time when history was defined as “past politics.” In recent years, social history has grown in prominence, leading some to question whether there was still a place for the study of our political past. Fortunately, a new generation of scholars has combined political analysis with an appreciation for social and cultural movements in American history. The new field of “policy history” looks beyond the surface events of political history to examine the origins, implementations, and consequences of public policies. Policy historians are concerned with explaining how government policies developed in a variety of areas, including antitrust, labor relations, civil rights, welfare, and women’s issues. Policy historians also examine how private actors interact with public policymakers. These private actors include trade associations, labor unions, women’s groups, environmentalists, consumer activists, foundations, and “think tanks,” among others.

### *Required readings*

We are all responsible for the “Required Readings” (see syllabus). In addition, each student will read and report on **two supplementary works**. A supplementary reading is listed for each week that there is a common reading. (You may choose a title not on the list if you clear it with me first). The Journal of Policy History has published special collections devoted to various subject areas; you may consider these as supplementary works too: [http://www.psupress.org/books/book\\_series.html#policy](http://www.psupress.org/books/book_series.html#policy)

Baker, Paula, ed., Money and Politics

Balogh, Brian, ed., Integrating the Sixties: The Origins, Structures, and Legitimacy of Public Policy

Critchlow, Donald T., ed., The Politics of Abortion and Birth Control in Historical Perspective

Graham, Hugh Davis, ed., Civil Rights in the United States

Graham, Otis L., Jr., Environmental Politics and Policy, 1960s to 1990s

Hargrove, Erwin, ed., The Future of the Democratic Left in Industrial Democracies

Loescher, Gil, Refugees and the Asylum Dilemma in the West

Marcus, Alan I., and Hamilton Cravens, eds., Health Care Policy in Contemporary America

Melosi, Martin A., ed., Urban Public Policy: Historical Modes and Methods

Robertson, David Brian, Loss of Confidence: Politics and Policy in the 1970s

Walker, William O., III, ed., Drug Control Policy: Essays in Historical and Comparative Perspective

## *Assignments*

### **Discussion (40%)**

All students are expected to contribute to weekly discussions. Speak up and listen respectfully to others in the group. Convey your understanding of the material, place it in historical context, but also bring your own perspective to bear.

### Reading Log

As part of your discussion grade, you must keep a reading log. Briefly summarize the main theses of the book, and assess the quality of sources, analysis and presentation. Relate the reading to evolving issues in policy history. **Note:** Journal writing is *informal*, a diary of your reflections on the material, not a simple regurgitation of the main points. You should a) demonstrate content mastery (i.e., you've done the reading); b) reflect critically on the assignment; and c) list questions for discussion and relate the material to other readings in the course. Because journal writing is informal, you may digress by relating the readings to other courses, current events or your life experiences

### Leading Discussion

Each student will lead one discussion of common readings. Please prepare 3-5 questions about the weekly reading (make these questions available to your colleagues one week prior to our discussion).

### **Book Reviews (20%):**

You will write short reviews of your two supplementary readings. Before discussing your readings in class, provide everyone with a copy of your review.

### **Government Document Exercises (10%)**

This exercise introduces you to the richness of SIUC's Government Document Collection.

### **Historiographical Essay (30%):**

You will write a 15-20 page essay on a major subject in U.S. policy history (e.g., civil rights, environmental politics, theories of government growth). Explain the principal schools of thought and discuss recent directions in scholarship. Append a select bibliography of important works in this subfield of policy history. Which issues continue to divide scholars?

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Identify one or more topics that deserve further attention. Discuss potential source material to research these topics. During the last several weeks of the semester, you will present your essay to the group.

## SCHEDULE OF READING ASSIGNMENTS

**August 22 Introduction**

**August 29 The Significance of Policy History**

### Required Reading:

Leuchtenberg, "The Pertinence of Political History: Reflections on the Significance of the State in America," Journal of American History (1986): 586-600.

Graham, "The Stunted Career of Policy History: A Critique and Agenda," Public Historian (Spring 1993): 15-37

Alchon, "Policy History and the Sublime Immodesty of the Middle-aged professor," Journal of Policy History 9, no. 3 (1997): 358-74

Gillon, "The Future of Political History," Journal of Policy History 9, no. 2 (1997): 240-55

Zelizer, "Clio's Lost Tribe: Public Policy History Since 1978," Journal of Policy History 12, no. 3 (2000): 360-394

Critchlow, "Integrating Social History and the State: Policy History Through Case Studies," The History Teacher 31, no. 4 (August 1998): 459-66

**September 5  
(NO CLASS)**

**September 12 The Nineteenth Century: Government as Agent of Change  
(ESSAY TOPIC DUE)**

### Required Reading

John, Spreading the News: American Postal System from Franklin to Morse (1995)

John, "Governmental Institutions as Agents of Change: Rethinking American Political Development in the Early Republic, 1787-1815," Studies in American Political Development (1997): 347-380.

### Supplementary Reading

Bensel, Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877 (1991)

Dunlavy, Politics and Industrialization: Early Railroads in the U.S. and Prussia (1994)

Hughes, Governmental Habit Redux (1990)

Richardson, The Greatest Nation on Earth: Republican Economic Policies During the Civil War (1997)

**September 19: Government as Enemy of the People:  
Black Workers, White Women, Businessmen, Free Thinkers 1860s-1930s**

Required Reading:

- Bernstein, "Racism, Railroad Unions and Labor Regulations," Independent Review 2000)  
Moreno, "An Ambivalent Legacy: Black Americans and the Political Economy of the New Deal," Independent Review (2002)  
Gibson, "The Official Plan to Eliminate the Mid-Wife, 1899-1999," in Liberty for Women: Freedom and Feminism in the Twenty-First Century, ed. Wendy McElroy (2002)  
Vogel, "Why Businessmen Distrust Their State: The Political Consciousness of American Corporate Executives" (1978), chap. 1 in Kindred Strangers: The Uneasy Relationship Between Politics and Business in America (1997), 29-72.  
Sumner, "The Conquest of the United States by Spain" (1898), in On Liberty.

Supplemental Reading:

- Bernstein, Only One Place of Redress: African Americans, Labor Regulations, and the Courts from Reconstruction to the New Deal (2001)  
Campbell, Growth of American Government (1995)  
Feuer, Anti-Imperialism and the Anti-Imperialist Mind (1986)  
Higgs, Competition and Coercion: Blacks in the American Economy, 1865-1914 (1977)  
Higgs, Crisis and Leviathan: Critical Episodes in Growth of American Government (1987)  
Hughes, Governmental Habit Redux (1990)  
Hummel, Emancipating Slaves, Enslaving Free Men (1996)  
Keller, Affairs of State: Public Life in Late Nineteenth Century America (1977)  
McElroy, Wendy, ed. The Debates of Liberty: An Overview of Individualist Anarchism, 1881-1908 (2003)  
-----, McElroy, ed. Freedom, Feminism, and the State: Individualist Feminism (1999).  
Smith, George, ed. The Lysander Spooner Reader (1992)  
Sumner, William Graham. On Liberty, Society, and Politics: The Essential Essays (1992)  
Tompkins, Anti-Imperialism in the United States: The Great Debate, 1890-1920 (1970)

**September 26 Introduction to Government Documents (meet at Morris Library 103D)**

Required Reading:

- Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers (1992), Parts I and II (discuss next week)

**October 3 Origins of "Big Government": The Welfare State, 1865-1920s**

Required Reading:

- Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers (1992), Part III

## Supplemental

- Beito, From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Societies and Social Services, 1890-1967 (1999)
- Bernstein, Only One Place of Redress: African Americans, Labor Regulations and the Courts from Reconstruction to the New Deal (2001)
- Cuff, The War Industries Board: Business-Government Relations During WWII (1973).
- Haber, Efficiency and Uplift: Scientific Management in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920 (1964)
- Keller, Regulating a New Economy: Public Policy and Economic Change in America, 1900-1933 (1990)
- , Regulating a New Society: Public Policy and Social Change in America, 1900-1933
- Martin, Enterprise Denied: Origins of the Decline of American Railroads, 1897-1917 (1971)
- Novak, The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America (1996)
- Rodgers, Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age (1998)

### **October 10 The Twenties: Policy History as Biography**

#### Required Reading:

Wilson, Joan Hoff. Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive (1975)

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#### Supplemental Reading:

- Hawley, "Herbert Hoover, the Commerce Secretariat and the Vision of An Associative State, 1921-1928." Journal of American History 62 (June 1974)
- , "The Discovery and Study of a 'Corporate Liberalism,'" Business History Review (1978)
- McQuaid, "Corporate Liberalism in the American Business Community, 1920-1940," Business History Review (1978)
- Zeiger, "Herbert Hoover, the Wage Earner and the New Economic System, 1919-29," Business History Review (1977)
- Hart, "Herbert Hoover's Last Laugh: The Enduring Significance of the 'Associative State' in the United States," Journal of Policy History 10, no. 4 (1998): 419-444.
- Clark, Deliver us from Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition (1976)
- Tate, Cigarette Wars: The Triumph of the Little White Slaver (1999)
- Kerr, Organized for Prohibition: A New History of the Anti-Saloon League (1985)

## October 17 The Great Depression

### Required Reading:

Leuchtenberg, "The New Deal and the Analogue of War," in Change and Continuity in Twentieth Century America (1964)

Higgs, "Regime Uncertainty: Why the Great Depression Lasted So Long and Why Prosperity Resumed after the War," The Independent Review (Spring 1997)

Choose **one** of the following (or another, subject to instructor approval):

Bean, Beyond the Broker State: Federal Policies Toward Small Business, 1936-1961 (1996)

Beito, Taxpayers in Revolt: Tax Resistance During the Great Depression (1989)

Best, The Critical Press and the New Deal: The Press vs. Presidential Power, 1933-1938 (1993)

\_\_\_\_\_, Pride, Prejudice, and Politics: Roosevelt versus Recovery, 1933-38(1990)

Braeman, John. "The New Deal Revisited," Continuity (Fall 1999): 1-63.

Brinkley, Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression (1982)

Burns, Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox (1956)

Choate, Disputed Ground: Farm Groups that Opposed New Deal Agricultural Program (2002)

Cohen, Lizbeth. Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939 (1992)

Collins, Robert M., The Business Response to Keynes, 1929-1964 (1981).

Fraser and Gerstle, The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980 (1989).

Hawley, New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly (1966)

Hoffman, Abraham. Unwanted: Mexican-Americans in the Great Depression (1974)

Holtzman, The Townsend Movement: A Study in Old Age Pressure Politics (1963)

Kessler-Harris, In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20<sup>th</sup>-century America (2001)

Leuchtenburg, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940 (1963)

\_\_\_\_\_, In the Shadow of FDR: From Harry Truman to George W. Bush rev. ed. (2001)

Patterson, Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal (1967)

\_\_\_\_\_, The New Deal and the States: Federalism in Transition (1969)

Ryan, Franklin D. Roosevelt's Rhetorical Presidency (1988)

Saloutos, Theodore. The American Farmer and the New Deal (1982)

Schlesinger, Coming of the New Deal (1958)

Sitkoff, A New Deal for Blacks (1978)

Sitkoff, ed. Fifty Years Later: The New Deal Evaluated (1985)

Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism (1980)

Ware, Partner and I: Molly Dewson, Feminism, and New Deal Politics (1987)

Weiss, Farewell to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR (1983)

**October 24 The Postwar Era: Ironies and Unintended Consequences**  
***(PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE)***

Required Reading:

Gillon, “That’s Not What We Meant to Do”: Reform and Its Unintended Consequences in Twentieth-Century America (2000)

Supplemental Reading:

Baumgartner and Jones, Agendas and Instability in American Politics (1993)  
Critchlow, Intended Consequences: Birth Control, Abortion and the Federal Government in Modern America (1999)  
Critchlow, ed. Politics of Abortion and Birth Control in Historical Perspective (1996)  
Friedberg, In the Shadow of the Garrison State : America's Anti-Statism and its Cold War Grand Strategy (2000)  
Graham, Toward a Planned Society: From Roosevelt to Nixon (1976).  
Graham, ed. Environmental Politics and Policy, 1960s-1990s (2000)  
Hays, Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics, 1955-1985 (1987)  
Higgs, “The Cold War Economy: Opportunity Costs, Ideology, and the Politics of Crisis.”  
Explorations in Economic History 31 (1994): 283-312.  
Kessler-Harris, In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20<sup>th</sup>-century America (2001)  
Lowi, The End of Liberalism: The Second Republic of the United States (1979)  
Sloan, Eisenhower and the Management of Prosperity (1991)  
Sparrow, From the Outside In: World War II and the American State (1997)  
Stein, Presidential Economics from Roosevelt to Clinton (1994)  
Zelizer, Taxing America: Wilbur D. Mills, Congress and the State, 1945-1975 (1999)

**October 31 The Sixties: The Ironies of Affirmative Action**

Required Reading:

Skrentny, Ironies of Affirmative Action: Politics, Culture, and Justice (1996)  
Read one essay from Skrentny, ed., Color Lines: Affirmative Action, Immigration, and Civil Rights Options (2001) [On Reserve in Morris Library]

Supplemental Reading:

Andrew, The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics (1997)  
Balogh, ed. Integrating the Sixties: The Origins, Structures, and Legitimacy of Public Policy in a Turbulent Decade  
Bean, Big Government and Affirmative Action: The Scandalous History of the Small Business Administration (2001)  
Graham, The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy, 1960-1972 (1990)  
Jencks, Rethinking Social Policy: Race, Poverty and the Underclass  
King, Separate and Unequal: Black Americans and the U.S. Federal Government (1996)

Lynch, The Diversity Machine: The Drive to Change the “White Male Workplace” rev. ed. (2002)  
Moreno, From Direct Action to Affirmative Action: Fair Employment Policy in America, 1933-72 (1997)  
Sniderman and Piazza, The Scar of Race (1993)  
Sowell, Preferential Policies: An International Perspective (1990)  
-----, ed. Color Lines: Affirmative Action, Immigration, and Civil Rights (2001)  
Sugrue, Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race & Inequality in Postwar Detroit (1997)  
Thernstrom, America in Black and White: (1997)

## **November 7 The Seventies and Eighties: The Rise of Think Tanks**

### Required Reading:

Critchlow, ed. The Politics of Abortion and Birth Control in Historical Perspective (1996)

### Supplemental Reading:

Aharoni, Yair. The No-Risk Society (1981)  
Keith Cassidy “The Abortion Controversy as a Problem in Contemporary American History: Some Suggestions for Research,” Journal of Policy History (1989)  
Derthick and Quirk, The Politics of Deregulation (1985)  
Johnson, Chalmers (ed.). The Industrial Policy Debate (1984)  
Golden, What Motivates Bureaucrats? Politics and Administration during the Reagan Years (2000)  
Graham, Losing Time: The Industrial Policy Debate (1992)  
Kengor, Paul and Peter Schweizer, ed. The Reagan Presidency: Assessing the Man and His Legacy (2005)  
Himmelberg (ed.). Regulatory Issues Since 1964: The Rise of the Deregulation Movement (1994)  
Robertson, ed. Loss of Confidence: Politics and Policy in the 1970s (1998)  
Smith, The Idea Brokers: Think Tanks and the Rise of the New Policy Elite (1991) **OR**  
Stockman, The Triumph of Politics: The Inside Story of the Reagan Revolution (1987)  
Vietor, Contrived Competition: Regulation and Deregulation in America (1994)  
Vogel, Fluctuating Fortunes: The Political Power of Business in America (1988)  
-----, Kindred Strangers: The Uneasy Relationship Between Business and Government in America (1996)  
Wilson, Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It (1989)

**November 14: SPEAKING TRUTH TO POWER? THE HISTORIAN AS BUREAUCRAT**

Required Reading:

Andrew, Power to Destroy: The Political Uses of the IRS from Kennedy to Nixon (2002)  
Harden, "What Federal Historians Do," Perspectives (May 1999): 19-24.

Supplemental Reading

Beito, Taxpayers in Revolt: Tax Resistance during the Great Depression (1989)  
Brownlee, Federal Taxation in America: A Short History (1996).  
-----, ed. Funding the American State, 1941-1996 (1996)  
Davis, Unbridled Power: Inside the Secret Culture of the IRS (1997), 11-47, 76-99, 163-77, 202-207, 233-63.  
Howard, The Hidden Welfare State: Tax Expenditures and Social Policy (1997)  
Stanley, Dimensions of Law in Service of Order: Origins of the Federal Income Tax (1993)  
Witte, The Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax (1985)  
Zelizer, Taxing America: Wilbur D. Mills, Congress and the State, 1945-1975 (1999)

**November 21: NO CLASS**

**November 28 INDEPENDENT RESEARCH**

**December 2:** Oral Presentations

**December 9:** Oral Presentations [*HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY DUE*]

## Discussion Leaders

September 12

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September 19

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October 3

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October 10

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October 24

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October 31

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**Supplementary Readings (HIST 554)**

September 12

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