

GHOSTS OF POLICIES' PAST: POLICY HISTORY FOR OUR AGE OF EXTREMES

**PubPol 495
Fall 2017**

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Course: M/W 8:30-10
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COURSE DESCRIPTION

According to scholars, media commentators, and policymakers, American politics has reached extremes of political polarization not seen since the Civil War. Americans disagree about health care, poverty policy, immigration, criminal justice, and the projection of American power abroad. Perhaps most alarming, Americans disagree about what characteristics—including class status, racial and ethnic identity, gender identity, and employment status—qualify a person as deserving of civic inclusion and government protections. Pundits are quick to blame our present predicament on social media, fake news, and eroding norms of civility. But historians know better: politics and policy are better understood as unfolding historical processes, and our contemporary disputes owe much to why and how policies were crafted and implemented as they were. In this course, we will draw on history to understand our present political moment and equip ourselves to advance meaningful policy discourse in an age of polarization. Topics will include: social welfare policy; immigration; and modern warfare.

This course will teach you to use policy history to understand, analyze, and suggest solutions for policy problems. In particular, you will:

- Enhance your critical thinking skills by learning to recognize, articulate, and critically evaluate the assumptions and values that have shaped policy controversies;
- Understand and apply key concepts including path dependence, institutional stickiness, and contingency to analyze the implications of past policy decisions;
- Learn about important changes and continuities in the history of the modern American state that are relevant to contemporary public policy domains; and,
- Enhance your analytical, speaking, and writing skills by producing a term paper and presentation that analyzes a policy controversy of interest to you.

This course stresses writing skills crucial to public policy. Writing assignments will help you to: a) build skills, rhetorical strategies, and knowledge of writing genres/formats essential for policy writing; b) produce complex, analytical, evidence-based arguments that are tailored for specific (generally hypothetical) audiences, e.g., policy makers or the general public; and c) respond meaningfully to critical feedback from your professor and peers through revision.

Be sure to take advantage of the wonderful folks at the **Ford School Writing Center**. For information on how to schedule an appointment, see: <http://fordschool.umich.edu/writing-center/>

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. ***Class preparation, attendance, and participation (25%)***. This course is discussion-based. It demands that we each engage with complicated, controversial, and sensitive issues. Our class time will be devoted almost entirely to discussion. Active engagement with the reading material and thoughtful participation in discussions are crucial to the success of the course as well as to your own success in it. **I expect you to come to class having done the reading and ready to talk to and learn from each other.** Your preparation for class should not be a passive process of absorbing information from readings; rather, while reading, you should actively identify (and write down!) questions and thoughts you have, and be ready to share them. Your contributions in class should reveal your familiarity with the assigned readings and your analytical engagement with the texts and your peers. Quality and sincerity of engagement matter far more than quantity. Your participation grade will be based on:
 - a. Evidence of preparation—i.e. evidence that you have completed and reflected upon the readings prior to class;
 - b. Evidence of substantive engagement in the classroom through regular, quality contributions to discussion and in-class exercises, as well as attentive and respectful listening and responding to peers.
2. **Discussion Board (10%)**. To assist you in fulfilling (1), during the course of the semester you will post to the class discussion board in advance of five class meetings. Your posts should be between 200-300 words. They do not need to be elaborate, but they should not summarize the reading. They are think pieces. Your entries should reflect on all of the readings assigned for the day, not just a single one. You can also use your posts to explore the relationship between a particular set of readings and readings from another week, or between the readings and current events. You are welcome to write additional posts or comments, either on the readings, on thoughts you have after our discussions, on current events/news related to the class, etc. **Posts are due at 10 pm the night before class.** I will draw on them to frame discussion.
3. ***Memo to the President re: Welfare Reform (10%)***, draft Oct. 9, final Oct. 12
4. ***Memo to the President re: Immigration Reform (10%)***, Nov. 3
5. ***Term Paper Assignment (40%)***. By the end of the semester, you will produce a memo of approximately 10 pages that uses the methods, tools, and scholarly literature of policy history to analyze a contemporary policy controversy of your choice. This is a scaffolded assignment that includes the following components:
 - Topic Description and Preliminary Bibliography (graded P/F; P required to move forward in assignment), Oct. 27
 - Background memo and historical narrative, (10%), Nov. 17
 - Preliminary Full Draft (graded P/F; P required to advance in assignment), Dec. 11
 - Oral Presentation (10%)
 - Final Paper (20%), Dec. 19
6. ***Final Presentation Feedback (5%)***

COURSE POLICIES

1. Attendance: Excused absences for illness, religious observance, or emergencies must be cleared with me *prior to class*. I will not grant excused absences after you've already missed class. **Each unexcused absence will result in a 2-point deduction from your final grade.** Do not arrive late to class; it is disrespectful to me and to your peers. Your final grade will be

adversely affected if you are regularly late. Please refrain from going in and out of the classroom during class time.

2. Late assignments: Extensions require arrangements with the me well in advance of the due date. Late work will **lose one full grade for each day, or fraction thereof**, that they are late.
3. Academic honesty: All students are expected to abide by the University's standards of academic honesty, integrity, and professionalism. For details, see http://www.rackham.umich.edu/policies/academic_and_professional_integrity/.
4. Electronic devices: **Laptops and other devices are NOT allowed in class.** While I recognize that this may cause some consternation, such technologies negatively impact the character and quality of class discussion. In a class where discussion is so important to the intellectual task we face, the costs of laptop presence outweigh the benefits. Out of respect to the instructor and your fellow students, **put your cell phone away for the duration of class.**
5. Syllabus: Because many topics we cover are subjects of ongoing discussion, I may make occasional changes to the course readings over the semester. I will always notify you in advance of any changes.

FORD SCHOOL AND UM POLICIES

Inclusivity at the Ford School: Members of the Ford School community represent a rich variety of backgrounds and perspectives. We are committed to providing an atmosphere for learning that respects diversity. While working together to build this community we ask all members to:

- share their unique experiences, values and beliefs
- be open to the views of others
- honor the uniqueness of their colleagues
- appreciate the opportunity that we have to learn from each other in this community
- value one another's opinions and communicate in a respectful manner
- keep confidential discussions that the community has of a personal (or professional) nature
- use this opportunity together to discuss ways in which we can create an inclusive environment in Ford classes and across the UM community.

Academic Integrity: The Ford School academic community, like all communities, functions best when its members treat one another with honesty, fairness, respect, and trust. We hold all members of our community to high standards of scholarship and integrity. To accomplish its mission of providing an optimal educational environment and developing leaders of society, the Ford School promotes the assumption of personal responsibility and integrity and prohibits all forms of academic dishonesty, plagiarism and misconduct. Academic dishonesty may be understood as any action or attempted action that may result in creating an unfair academic advantage for oneself or an unfair academic advantage or disadvantage for any other member or members of the academic community. Plagiarism involves representing the words, ideas, or work of others as one's own in writing or presentations, and failing to give full and proper credit to the original source. Conduct, without regard to motive, that violates the academic integrity and ethical standards will result in serious consequences and disciplinary action.

Additional information regarding academic dishonesty, plagiarism and misconduct and their consequences is available at: <http://www.rackham.umich.edu/current-students/policies/academic-policies...>

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: If you believe you need an accommodation for a disability, the University's Services for Students with Disabilities office (SSD) can be a valuable resource with which to start. In addition, if you believe you need an accommodation for a disability in any of your courses, please let the course instructor know at your earliest convenience. You need to allow sufficient time for your faculty member to respond, minimally 7 days, preferably more, in advance of when the accommodation is needed. Some aspects of courses may be modified to facilitate your participation and progress. As soon as you make your instructor aware of your needs, they can work with Student & Academic Services and/or the SSD office to help determine appropriate academic accommodations. Any information you provide will be treated as private and confidential.

Student Mental Health and Wellbeing: The University of Michigan is committed to advancing the mental health and wellbeing of its students. We acknowledge that a variety of issues, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, and depression, directly impacts students' academic performance. If you or someone you know is feeling overwhelmed, depressed, and/or in need of support, services are available. For help, contact [Counseling and Psychological Services](#) (CAPS) and/or [University Health Service](#) (UHS). For a listing of other mental health resources available on and off campus, visit: <http://umich.edu/~mhealth/>.

COURSE SCHEDULE

All course readings are available on Canvas.

Sept. 6: Introduction, Themes, Mechanics

Sept. 11: Our Present, Polarized Moment

Andrew Gelman, *Red State, Blue State, Rich State, Poor State: Why Americans Vote the Way They Do*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), Chapters 8 and 10.

2016 Republican Party Platform, i-ii, 9-10, 16, 25-26, 31-34, 36-37.

2016 Democratic Party Platform, 1-3, 11-19, 27-32.

*And skim the tables of contents of the DNC platform and the section headings of the RNC platform for a comparison of where their contents, language, and emphasis overlaps and diverges.

Sept. 13: Deeper Roots

George McGovern, "The Historian as Policy Analyst," *Public Historian* 11.2 (Spring 1989): 27-36.

Paul Pierson, "The Study of Policy Development," *Journal of Policy History* 17.1 (2005): 34-51.

Rogers Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History*, 30-35.

Wendy Wall, *Inventing the "American Way": The Politics of Consensus from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Movement* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 278-290.

ONE: POVERTY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Sept. 18: Poverty Reduction: The Contemporary Debate

U.S. Census Bureau, *Income and Poverty in the United States 2015*, pp. 1-4, 12-19.

Michael Tanner and Charles Hughes, *The Work vs. Welfare Trade-Off: 2013* (Cato Institute, 2013).

Rebecca M. Blank, "High Priority Poverty Reduction Strategies for the Next Decade," (Brookings Institution, 2008).

Sept. 20: Deserving and Undeserving in America

Michael Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America*, 2nd Rev. ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 213-55.

Gwendolyn Mink, "The Lady and the Tramp: Gender, Race, and the Origins of the American Welfare State," in Linda Gordon, ed., *Women, the State, and Welfare* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 92-122.

Michael Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York: Pantheon, 1989), 3-15.

Sept. 25: Policy Options and Paths Not Taken *Discussion Board Post*

Unemployment, Old Age, and Social Insurance: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor, House of Representatives (Washington: US GPO, 1935).

- Read Foreword (vii-viii), Text of H.R. 2827, aka "The Workers' Bill," (1-2); Statement of Ernest Lundeen (4-9).

Economic Security Act: Hearings before the U.S. House Committee on Ways and Means (Washington: US GPO, 1935).

- Read "Message from the President" (13-15).

And read at least *two* testimonies of someone who reflects your assigned position, ideally one from each hearing. This will not be possible in every case. Use the tables of contents from the hearings to locate appropriate testimonies. As you do this, also note the similarities and differences between participants in each set of hearings. What does this information tell you about the hearings? Come prepared to talk about the perspectives of your assigned position.

Sept. 27: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare

Steven M. Gillon, *That's Not What We Meant to Do* (New York: Norton, 2000), 56-86.

Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 21-30, 102-32.

Oct. 2: Welfare Reform Then. And Now?

Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, 300-34.

AEI/Brookings Working Group on Poverty and Opportunity, *Opportunity, Responsibility, and Security: A Consensus Plan for Reducing Poverty and Restoring the American Dream* (2015), 5, 8-15, and **skim** the rest.

Oct. 4: Coda: Implicit Bias and Public Policy

Franklin D. Gilliam, Jr., “The ‘Welfare Queen’ Experiment: How Viewers React to Images of African-American Mothers on Welfare,” *Nieman Reports* Summer 1999.

Lauren Kaori Gurley, “Why the Left Isn’t Talking About Rural American Poverty,” *In These Times*, Oct. 22, 2015. Web.

And take at least two Project Implicit Tests (<https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html>).

Oct. 9: Presidential Memo Peer Review

Rough Draft of First Memo Due

In-Class Peer Review

Oct. 11: No Class: Prof. Rohde out of Town

****Thursday, Oct. 12: First Memo Due by midnight in Canvas****

Oct. 16: No Class: Fall Study Break

TWO: IMMIGRATION

Oct. 18: Borders and Bans **Discussion Board Post**

Muzaffar Chishti et al., “Fifty Years On, the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act Continues to Reshape the United States,” Oct. 15, 2015, Online Journal of the Migration Policy Institute.

Samuel P. Huntington, “The Hispanic Challenge,” *Foreign Policy* Oct. 28, 2009.

Ted Hesson, “Five Ways Immigration System Changed After 9/11,” ABC News, Sept. 11, 2012, http://abcnews.go.com/ABC_Univision/News/ways-immigration-system-changed-911/story?id=17231590

Leti Volpp, “The Citizen and the Terrorist,” *UCLA Law Review* 49.5 (2002). Pages 1575-6 and 1592-99 required; the rest is recommended if the topic is unfamiliar to you.

Aaron Blake, “Whip Count: Here’s Where Republicans Stand on Trump’s Controversial Travel Ban,” *Washington Post* January 31, 2017. **Skim** statements of support, pp. 10-31.

Oct. 23: Library Session

Come with ideas about policies and topics you’d like to explore for your term project. And get ahead on the reading for Oct. 25—it’s heavier than usual!

Oct. 25: The Roots and Consequences of Immigration Policy

Mai Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 1-55 and 227-64.

Douglas S. Massey and Karen A. Pren, “Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Policy: Explaining the Post-1965 Surge from Latin America,” *Population and Development Review* 38.1 (March 2012): 1-29.

****Friday, Oct. 27: Topic Description and Bibliography Due by midnight in Canvas****

Oct. 30: Citizenship and Islamophobia

Louise Calkins, "The Social Construction of Difference and the Arab American Experience," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 25.2/3 (2006): 243-78.

Mehdi Bozorgmehr and Anny Bakalian, "Post-9/11 Government Initiatives in Comparative and Historical Perspectives," in Elliot R. Barkan et. al, eds., *From Arrival to Incorporation: Migrants to the U.S. In a Global Era* (New York: NYU Press, 2007), p. 246-266.

Roger Daniels, "Detaining Minority Citizens, Then and Now," *Chronicle of Higher Education* Feb. 15, 2002.

Nov. 1: Policy Paradoxes

Mae Ngai, Gary Gerstle, and David G. Gutiérrez, contributions to special issue on immigration debate, *International Labor and Working-Class History* 78 (Fall 2010): 93-122.

****Friday Nov. 3: Second Memo Due by midnight in Canvas****

THREE: DRONE WARFARE

Nov. 6: New Technology, New Challenges *Discussion Board Post*

Jane Mayer, "The Predator War," *New Yorker*, October 26, 2009.

Peter W. Singer and Konstantin Kakaes, "Drones: The Science Fiction Technology of Tomorrow is Already Here Today," *New America*, Nov. 30, 2015 <https://www.newamerica.org/new-america/in-the-news/drones-the-science-fiction-technology-of-tomorrow-is-already-here-today/>

Daniel Brunstetter and Megan Braun, "The Implications of Drones on the Just War Tradition," *Ethics and International Affairs* 25.3 (Fall 2011), 337-358.

Scott Shane, "The Moral Case for Drones," *New York Times*, July 14, 2012.

Examine website: <http://drones.pitchinteractive.com/>

Nov. 8: The History of Killing

Ian G. R. Shaw, *Predator Empire: Drone Warfare and Full Spectrum Dominance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 91-98, 111-36.

John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York: Viking Press, 1976), 314-36.

Nov. 13: Old Allies, New Enemies, and Long Wars *Discussion Board Post*

John Prados, *Safe for Democracy: The Secret Wars of the CIA* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006), 467-92.

Charles C. Cogan, "Partners in Time: The CIA and Afghanistan since 1979," *World Policy Journal* 10.2 (1993): 73-82.

Mary Dudziak, *War Time: An Idea, Its History, Its Consequences* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 95-132.

Nov. 15: Masculinity, Lethality, and Bureaucratic Logic

Josh Begley, "A Visual Glossary: Decoding the Language of Covert Warfare," *The Drone Papers*, <https://theintercept.com/drone-papers/a-visual-glossary/>

Look at "Operation Haymaker," <https://theintercept.com/document/2015/10/15/operation-haymaker/#page-1>

Read at least one of the following:

- Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," *Signs* 12 (1987): 687-718.
- James William Gibson, *Warrior Dreams: Paramilitary Culture in Post-Vietnam America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), 3-32.

****Friday, Nov. 17: Background Memo and Historical Narrative Due by midnight in Canvas****

Nov. 20: Policy Analysis by Historical Analogy **Discussion Board Post**

Richard Price, *The Chemical Weapons Taboo* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 44-69, 164-76.

Nov. 22: No Class: Thanksgiving Break

Nov. 27: Paths Forward?

James S. Fishkin and Jane Mansbridge, "Introduction"; Nicole Curato et al., "Twelve Key Findings in Deliberative Democracy Research"; and Ian Shapiro, "Collusion in Restraint of Democracy: Against Political Deliberation," *Daedalus* 146.3 (Summer 2017).

Eric Maskin and Amartya Sen, "[The Rules of the Game: A New Electoral System](#)," *New York Review of Books*, January 29, 2017

Nov. 29: Oral Presentations

Dec. 4: Oral Presentations

Dec. 6: Oral Presentations

Dec. 11: Oral Presentations and Course Conclusions

****Dec. 11: Draft of Final Memo Due by midnight in Canvas****

****Dec. 19: Final Memo Due by 5 pm in Canvas****